Embellishing the Liturgy

Tropes and Polyphony

Edited by

Alejandro Enrique Planchart



Music in Medieval Europe

Embellishing the Liturgy

Music in Medieval Europe
Series Editor: Thomas Forrest Kelly

Titles in the Series:

Poets and Singers
Elizabeth Aubrey

Chant and its Origins
Thomas Forrest Kelly

Oral and Written Transmission in Chant
Thomas Forrest Kelly

Instruments and their Music in the Middle Ages
Timothy J. McGee

Ars nova
John L. Nádas and Michael Scott Cuthbert

Embellishing the Liturgy
Alejandro Enrique Planchart

Ars antiqua
Edward Roesner

Embellishing the Liturgy

Tropes and Polyphony

Edited by

Alejandro Enrique Planchart

University of California at Santa Barbara, USA



LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2009 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Embellishing the liturgy : tropes and polyphony. - (Music
in medieval Europe)
1. Tropes (Music) - History and criticism
I. Planchart, Alejandro Enrique
782.2'97

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data
Embellishing the liturgy : tropes and polyphony / edited by Alejandro Planchart.
p. cm. – (Music in medieval Europe)
Includes index.
ISBN: 978 0 7546 2764 7 (alk. paper)
1. Tropes (Music)–History and criticism. I. Planchart, Alejandro Enrique.

ML3082.E63 2008
782.2'97–dc22

2008002395

ISBN 9780754627647 (hbk)

Contents

PART II AQUITAINE AND THE WEST

PART III ST GALL AND THE EAST

PART IV THE ORDINARY

PART V TROPES IN THE OFFICE

Acknowledgements

The editor and publishers wish to thank the following for permission to use copyright material.

Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis for the essays: David Hiley (1983), 'Some Observations on the Interrelationships between Trope Repertories', in Gunilla Iversen (ed.), Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1-3, 1981, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 29–37; Michel Huglo (1986), 'Les "Libelli" de Tropes et les premiers Tropaires-Prosaires', in Ritva Jacobsson (ed.), Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 13–22; Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler (1986), 'Tropes and the Concept of Genre', in Ritva Jacobsson (ed.), Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 59–89; Ritva Jonsson (1983), 'The Liturgical Function of the Tropes', in Gunilla Iversen (ed.), Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1-3, 1981, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 99–123; Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug (1993), 'Tropentypen in Sankt Gallen', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (eds), Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 119–74; Susan Rankin (1993), 'From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts: The Shaping of a Trope Repertory at Saint Gall', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (eds), Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 395–413; Gunilla Iversen (1986), 'Pax et Sapientia: A Thematic Study on Tropes from Different Traditions', in Ritva Jacobsson (ed.), Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences. In Memory of Gordon Anderson, Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International, pp. 23–58.

Broude Brothers Limited for the essay: John G. Johnstone (1983), 'Beyond a Chant: "Tui sunt caeli" and its Tropes', in *Studies in the History of Music, 1: Music and Language*, New York: Broude Brothers, pp. 24–37. Copyright © 1983 by Broude Brothers Limited.

Ernst Stäblein for the essay: Bruno Stäblein (1963), 'Zum Verständnis des "klassischen" Tropus', *Acta Musicologica*, **35**, pp. 84–95.

Hungarian Academy of Science for the essay: David Hiley (1992), 'Some Observations on the Repertory of Tropes at St. Emmeram, Regensburg', in Lazlo Dobszay, Ágnes Papp and Ferenc Seb (eds), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 337–57.

Medieval Academy of America for the essay: James Grier (1994), 'A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine', *Speculum*, **69**, pp. 1023–69.

Oxford University Press for the essay: Richard L. Crocker (1966), 'The Troping Hypothesis', *The Musical Quarterly*, **52**, pp. 183–203.

Société Française de Musicologie for the essay: Michel Huglo (1978), 'Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation: le trope méloforme d'introït', *Revue de Musicologie*, **64**, pp. 5–54.

University of California Press for the essays: Alejandro Enrique Planchart (1988), 'On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **41**, pp. 215–49; David G. Hughes (1966), 'Further Notes on the Grouping of the Aquitanian Tropers', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **19**, pp. 3–12; Charles M. Atkinson (1977), 'The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and its Tropes', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **30**, pp. 1–19; David A. Bjork (1980), 'The Kyrie Trope', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **33**, pp. 1–41; Thomas Forrest Kelly (1984), 'Introducing the *Gloria in Excelsis*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **37**, pp. 479–506; Hans-Jörgen Holman (1963), 'Melismatic Tropes in the Responsories for Matins', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **16**, pp. 36–46; Thomas Forrest Kelly (1977), 'New Music from Old: The Structuring of Responsory Prosas', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **30**, pp. 366–90. All published by University of California Press on behalf of the American Musicological Society.

Every effort has been made to trace all the copyright holders, but if any have been inadvertently overlooked the publishers will be pleased to make the necessary arrangement at the first opportunity.

Series Preface

This series of volumes provides an overview of the best current scholarship in the study of medieval music. Each volume is edited by a ranking expert, and each presents a selection of writings, mostly in English which, taken together, sketch a picture of the shape of the field and of the nature of current inquiry. The volumes are organized in such a way that readers may go directly to an area that interests them, or they may provide themselves a substantial introduction to the wider field by reading through the entire volume.

There is of course no such thing as the Middle Ages, at least with respect to the history of music. The Middle Ages – if they are plural at all – get their name as the temporal space between the decline of classical antiquity and its rediscovery in the Renaissance. Such a definition might once have been useful in literature and the fine arts, but it makes little sense in music. The history of Western music begins, not with the music of Greece and Rome (about which we know far too little) but with the music of the Latin Christian church. The body of music known as Gregorian chant, and other similar repertories, are the first music that survives to us in Western culture, and is the foundation on which much later music is built, and the basis for describing music in its time and forever after.

We continue to use the term 'medieval' for this music, even though it is the beginning of it all; there is some convenience in this, because historians in other fields continue to find the term useful; what musicians are doing in the twelfth century, however non-medieval it appears to us, is likely to be considered medieval by colleagues in other fields.

The chronological period in question is far from being a single thing. If we consider the Middle Ages as extending from the fall of the Roman Empire, perhaps in 476 when Odoacer deposed Romulus Augustus, into the fifteenth century, we have defined a period of about a millenium, far longer than all subsequent style-periods ('Renaissance', 'Baroque', 'Classical', 'Romantic' etc.) put together; and yet we tend to think of it as one thing.

This is the fallacy of historical parallax, and it owes its existence to two facts; first that things that are nearer to us appear to be larger, so that the history of the twentieth century looms enormous while the distant Middle Ages appear comparatively insignificant. Second, the progressive loss of historical materials over time means that more information survives from recent periods than from more distant ones, leading to the temptation to gauge importance by sheer volume.

There may be those who would have organized these volumes in other ways. One could have presented geographical volumes, for example: Medieval Music in the British Isles, in France, and so on. Or there might have been volumes focused on particular source materials, or individuals. Such materials can be found within some of these volumes, but our organization here is based on the way in which scholars seem in the main to organize and conceptualize the surviving materials. The approach here is largely chronological, with an admixture of stylistic considerations. The result is that changing styles of composition result in volumes focused on different genres – tropes, polyphony, lyric – that are not of course entirely separate in time, or discontinuous in style and usage. There are also volumes –

notably those on chant and on instrumental music – that focus on certain aspects of music through the whole period. Instrumental music, of which very little survives from the Middle Ages, is often neglected in favour of music that does survive – for very good reason; but we do wish to consider what we can know about instruments and their music. And liturgical chant, especially the repertory known as Gregorian chant, is present right through our period, and indeed is the only music in Western culture to have been in continuous use from the beginnings of Western music (indeed it could be said to define its beginnings) right through until the present.

The seven volumes collected here, then, have the challenge of introducing readers to an enormous swathe of musical history and style, and of presenting the best of recent musical scholarship. We trust that, taken together, they will increase access to this rich body of music, and provide scholars and students with an authoritative guide to the best of current thinking about the music of the Middle Ages.

THOMAS FORREST KELLY
Series Editor

Introduction

After the imposition of Gregorian chant upon most of Europe by the authority of the Carolingian kings and emperors in the eighth and ninth centuries a large number of repertories arose in connection with the new chant and its liturgy. The purpose of these repertories was to augment, embellish, explain or make more solemn the liturgy, and the names that local scribes and cantors gave to the new genres varied not only according to the different genres but sometimes from one region to another. And the designations sometimes overlapped. The basic typology of these additions is, at first glance, relatively simple.

1. The addition of a melisma without additional text. These were usually labelled *sequentia* or *tropus* (a Latinized Greek term subjected to various spellings)[1] depending on the context.
2. The addition of words to a pre-existing melody (usually a melisma). These were labelled *prosula*, *prosa*, *versus*, *verba* or even *tropus* in different sources and contexts.
3. The addition of new text *and* music to an existing chant, either as an introduction or as an interpolation. These were labelled *tropus*, *versus* or *laudes*, depending most of the time on the context.

Clearly there was no systematic terminology for these genres in the Middle Ages, and not only are the labels applied inconsistently from source to source or even within one source, but there are numerous instances where examples of one or another of these genres occur with no label whatsoever.[2] These genres affected not only the chants for the mass but those of the office, but while one can find identifying rubrics for most of these genres in manuscripts with music for the mass they are virtually absent from all manuscript of music for the office.[3]

The one term common to all three groups is *tropus*, and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars seized upon that term as a blanket category for all these repertories, even extending its reach to encompass certain forms of early polyphony, with results that were not entirely happy. Terminological confusion grew and the volume of tropes for the propers of the mass in Analecta Hymnica contains a good number of items that even under the loosest application of the term are not tropes (Blume, 1906). Richard Crocker, in two essays (1958 and Chapter 1, this volume), sought to disentangle the terminological confusion created by earlier scholarship, even if he could not disentangle that in the medieval sources, but his example was not followed by later scholarship. Instead a compromise was crafted by Michel Huglo and adopted by the editors of the *Corpus Troporum*, using the terms '*meloforme*', '*mélogene*' and

---

1 'Τρōπος' means, among other things, 'a turn', which is similar to the meaning of the Latin versus.

2 A useful although incomplete survey of the medieval rubrics can be found in Odelman (1978).

3 It is worth noting that one of the few sources I know that does apply such rubrics to office chants, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 1118, is overwhelmingly a manuscript of music for the mass with a small section of office chants.

'*logogene*' to refer to the three categories described above (Huglo, Chapter 3, this volume). It is a clumsy compromise, but it has come into general use. Its main problem is that the term 'trope' (in its various Latin forms) is virtually never used in the medieval sources for the second category listed above. The exception, unfortunately, is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, an enormous but quite idiosyncratic anthology of tropes, *prosulae*, *sequentiae* and proses, which has become one of the best-known trope collections, a true 'celebrity' among medieval manuscripts, not only because of its size but because of a series of quite beautiful and evocative miniatures in its tonary that have been endlessly reproduced.[4]

One can, however, deal with some of the rubrics in the three categories given above in a relatively simple manner. In the first category the term *sequentia* was applied in West Francia only to the melodies added at the end of the repeat of the alleluia respond after the verse, possibly as a replacement of the original *iubilus*. When these melodies were provided with text they were called *prosa* in West Francia and still *sequentia* in East Francia and in Italy, and this lies behind the modern term 'sequence' for these pieces. The melismatic *sequentia* proper is the one of these genres about which we have the earliest notices. The mass Antiphoner of Mont-Blandin, copied in the late eighth or early ninth century, gives a number of alleluias with the rubric *cum sequential* (Hesbert, 1935, no. 199a), and writing around 830 Amalar of Metz refers to it as 'haec iubilatio quam cantores sequentiam vocant'(Hanssens, 1948–50, II, p. 304). The Council of Meaux, in a decree condemning tropes and *prosae* that could date back to 848, counts the *sequentia* among the 'venerable antiquities' being defiled by the new usages (Silagi, 1985, p. vii). *Sequentiae* and *prosae* or sequences fall outside the purview of this volume, although I will briefly touch on their import later in this introduction.

Laudes is used almost exclusively for tropes connected with the Gloria, the Sanctus and rarely the Agnus Dei. But in the case of the Gloria it poses the problem that the Gloria itself is often called *laus angelica* or even *laudes*. Thus Aquitanian, French, Spanish and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts use *laudes* as a generic term for a Gloria with tropes, but we encounter also *laudes* as a rubric for Glorias without tropes (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1135, fol. 173v), but also *laudes cum tropi* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, fol. 4v) and *tropi cum laudes* (Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, 1169, fol. 1v).[5]

Melismatic Additions

Melismatic additions to the chant, Huglo's *tropes méloformes*, affect four repertories: introits, Glorias, Sanctus and the responsories of the office. Those for the introit and the Gloria are most easily detected, since they are sometimes indeed labelled 'trope' in the sources. The additions to the Sanctus are problematic in that in almost all cases they survive only with added prosulas and it is the multiplicity of texts for a given melisma that has led scholars to postulate that at one point the melismas were independent textless additions. The additions to the responsories are also problematic in that the responsories themselves are already melismatic chants, and

4 The most recent study of the manuscript is Doyle (2000).

5 The use of laudes for tropes to the introit is infrequent and restricted to manuscripts from the Rhineland and northern Italy.

the additions are never labelled,[6] so the only way of determining whether the melisma is an addition is by a laborious comparison of multiple sources for each responsory.[7]

Melismatic Additions to the Introit

The melodic additions to introit have been partially catalogued by Michel Huglo (Chapter 3, this volume). With one exception they appear in two sets of manuscripts, one from German-Swiss sources originating in St Gall, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the other in Aquitanian manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The exception is a melodic addition to the final repetition of the introit *Ex ore infantium* for the Holy Innocents in an eleventh-century Gradual from Saint-Vaast in Arras (Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 75, fol. 10r). The Aquitanian manuscripts transmit only one melisma or set of melismas for any given introit. Ornamentations of the introit antiphon are very infrequent,[8] not so additions to the end of the psalm of the amen of the doxology, but these have not been catalogued or studied. None of the melismatic additions to the introit in Aquitaine or in northern France appear with text in any source.

The German-Swiss tradition is very different. A large number of introits are provided with multiple melodic additions, and then some of these additions appear elsewhere in the same sources with text under them. Because the German-Swiss manuscripts used unheightened neumes into the twelfth century, well after the tradition of melismatic tropes had died out, the only examples of these additions that are recoverable today are some of those that were also provided with text, a few of which were transmitted as texted tropes to north Italian sources of the eleventh century that used heightened neumes or to later German manuscripts that used staff notation. The most detailed study of these melodic tropes (and other proper tropes in this tradition) is the truly magisterial account by Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug (Chapter 13, this volume).[9] The existence of melismatic additions, some of which never had a text added to them and others that do, poses an immediate question. Did the melismas come first and was the text added later in the manner we find in prosulas? It is possible that this was the case, and scholars as a rule assume that when a melisma is provided with multiple texts the melisma came first. But there are countless examples that suggest that in a good number of cases what appear to be melismatic additions had a text attached to them from the start, which was suppressed in some instances or replaced by another text in others. Among the melismatic additions to the introit a case in point are the tropes for the introit *In medio ecclesiae* for St

6 The labels in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fonds latin 1118, appear in a collection of multiple textings of responsory melismas copied as a unit and not within the responsories themselves.

7 The repertory of responsories is immense and has never been completely studied and catalogued. A series of important studies of different segments of the repertory exists, the most important of these being Holman (1961, Chapter 20, this volume), Hofman-Brandt (1971), Kelly (1973, 1974 and Chapter 21, this volume) and Steiner (1973a).

8 Only four introits, Nunc scio vere (St. Peter), Puer natus (Christmas), Resurrexi (Easter) and Viri galilei (Ascension), have melodic tropes. See Weiss (1970, supplement, pp. 20, 23, 29, 31).

9 Particularly useful for the recovery of the melodic substance of the German and German-Swiss repertory are the following editions and studies: Björkvall and Haug (1992), Haug (1995), Borders (1996), Camillot-Oswald (1997), Kruckenberg (2003).

John the Evangelist,[10] where the putative prosula is a hexameter that fits the melody perfectly. David Hiley sensibly asks, 'Is it chance that the verse *milibus argenti* is a hexameter, that the right number of notes were available?' (1993b, p. 197). What this appears to point to is that the border between purely melodic additions and additions of text and music was apparently relatively fluid, and that both types of additions appeared at about the same time. Probably three kinds of troping appeared virtually simultaneously – purely melodic tropes, tropes that could have text but could be purely melodic and tropes that always had text – and the differences between these categories and the reasons for their existence were probably clear to their creators and the circle around St Gall, but proved too tenuous or cumbersome to last very long.

Melodic additions in the singing of the introit affected not only the introit itself but a few introit tropes (category 3 above) which in some sources are fitted with ornamental melismas (see Weiss, 1964). Though troping a trope would appear to be gilding the lily it was not unknown, even in terms of tropes containing text and music: the verse *Hora est psallite iubet domnus canere* is used only to introduce, that is to trope, another trope verse (Björkvall, Iversen and Jonsson, 1982, p. 117). In any case, the addition of melismas to make a chant more impressive and solemn is found in all the chant traditions. Entrance chants were apparently not particularly prominent except in the Roman, Gregorian and Beneventan traditions, but the Beneventan *ingressa* for Easter, the most solemn feast of the year, is one of the most extravagantly melismatic chants in the Beneventan repertory, and is fitted with two enormous alleluias that were apparently 'separable' elements, not entirely unlike melodic tropes (Planchart, 2004).

Melismatic Additions to the Gloria in excelsis

Melismatic additions appear also in the Gloria repertory, and again the principal sources are German-Swiss and Aquitanian, with a similar prolixity of German-Swiss examples and relative paucity of Aquitanian ones. The fundamental study for the Gloria tropes, melismatic or textual, remains that of Klaus Rönnau (1967b), and even though his main concern is the Aquitanian repertory it has a wealth of information on other sources.[11] Although purely melismatic additions to the Gloria are limited to the German-Swiss repertory, they bear some resemblance to traits in what appears to be the main melodic substance of what is probably the oldest and most important of the Gloria melodies, known today as Gloria A, which has long melismatic extensions to a number of its phrases unseen in other untroped Gloria melodies (Bosse, 1955, no. 39).[12] In addition to purely melodic tropes, in the German tropers we find a

10 For facsimiles, see Arlt and Rankin (1996, II, pp. 36–37; III, pp. 212–13) and Weakland (1958). For transcription and further references to facsimiles, see Hiley (1993b, p. 198).

11 Two other more restricted studies are also quite valuable, see Leach (1986) and Falconer (1989).

12 Gloria A is invariably the first Gloria in almost all sources that transmit it. It seldom appears without tropes, but most of the tropes demonstrably belonging to the earliest layer were associated with it. The Gloria itself is tonally unstable and was essentially abandoned as staff notation was adopted. It is not found in the modern chant books. A critical edition of the melody remains to be undertaken, but see the discussions in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 201–5), Falconer (1989, pp. 36–39), Crocker (n.d., 'Gloria'), Colette (1993) and Boe (1982).

situation similar to that found with the introit tropes: a number of tropes where the melismatic additions are provided with text, but are notated successively. These Rönnau calls tropes 'in the manner of prosulas [*Prosula-Technik*]' (1967b, p. 188). He notes further that all the tropes he believes originated in St Gall are tropes in prosula technique (1967b, p. 197), and although he does not deal with the purely melodic tropes, these also survive only in the earliest St Gall manuscripts, 484 and 381 (Arlt and Rankin, 1996, II, pp. 217–18; III, p. 307). The tropes in the manner of prosulas pose the same problem as those for the introit as to the priority of the melody.

The Aquitanian repertory of such tropes consists of a single set of melodies with three texts: *Quem cuncta laudant*, *Angelica iam pater* and *Carmine digno*. The first two probably originated at St Martial, in the first and second halves of the tenth century; the third is a non-St Martial trope from the late tenth or the early eleventh century. In the earliest sources for *Quem cuncta laudant* and in the only two sources for *Carmine digno* each trope verse is preceded by a melismatic version of the music for the verse, and the verses that make the original body of the trope (there are additions in later sources) have assonance as one finds in prosulas and proses. *Angelica iam pater* belongs with them by virtue of having the same melodies, but no source for it transmits the melismas. Later sources or non Aquitanian sources eliminate the melismas.[13] The possibility remains that indeed the melodic version of the trope came before any of the versions with text, but we have no sure evidence. On the other hand this melody (or collection of melodies) is the only one in the Aquitanian or French repertories subjected to multiple textings and yet one must remember that there is one repertory, that of the Kyrie verses or Latin Kyries, where pieces that were most likely composed with text and music at the outset were considered fair game by later poets for new texts.

Melismatic Additions to the Alleluia

Melismatic additions to the alleluia, primarily the *sequentiae*, were already numerous by the end of the ninth century, and according to Notker's letter to Liutward of Vercelli were already being provided with texts by the time the Normans sacked Jumièges, probably around 851.[14] The repertory that can be traced to the end of the ninth century is between 60 and 100 melodies; a small number of them were relatively short melodies, but most were longer melodies where many of the phrases were repeated, and a very small number of these larger melodies had small segments of text in some of the phrases.[15] The origins of the practice could well lie in pre-Gregorian music in the area of Gallican chant, because both the Milanese and the Old Spanish repertories provide their alleluias with extensive melismas with repeating structures, and the *Exposition antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* speaks of a threefold alleluia (Ratcliff, 1971, pp. 10–13). The connection of the *sequentiae* to the alleluias has been considerably argued; a sane and judicious summary of these arguments is provided by David Hiley (1993b, pp. 186–88). Collections of purely melismatic *sequentiae* appear in Aquitanian, French and

13 For concordances, see Rönnau (1967b, pp. 90, 116, 127). For discussion and transcriptions, see Rönnau (1967b, pp. 188–91).

14 Notker's text is most easily accessible in von den Steinen (1948, II, pp. 8–10, 160). An English translation is available in Crocker (1977, pp. 1–2).

15 The best studies of the repertories of purely melismatic sequentiae are Hiley (1992, 1993a) and Bower (2002).

English manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and exceptionally in the earliest of the St. Gall tropers, but in the course of the eleventh century they were replaced by collections where the melodies are given only with a text. Still, in certain French and German centres melismatic *sequentiae* or, by that time, sequences purged of their text, were sung during certain feasts well into the thirteenth century (see Kruckenberg, 2006). *Sequentiae* with text, that is *prosae* or sequences, grew exponentially during the tenth and eleventh centuries and are in many ways the major form of monophonic composition of the central Middle Ages. The production, particularly of new texts, continued unabated until the Renaissance, and the influence of sequences both as poetry and as music extended to every musical and poetic field of the central and late Middle Ages, but a detailed consideration of this immense repertory falls outside the scope of this book.

A little-noticed phenomenon, however, is a very small repertory of melodic ornamentations of the alleluia that are apparently not sequences, and which were as short-lived as the purely melodic ornamentations of the introit or the Gloria. They appear only in the St Gall tropers and, in slightly abridged form, in the Minden troper most likely copied at St Gall (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, pp. 237–38; MS 381, pp. 307–8; Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (olim Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), MS theol. IV° 11, fols 3r, 6v, 10v, 15v). They appear to be the same kind of melodic additions with prosula like texts found in these manuscripts in connection with the introit and discussed above, except that in the case of the alleluia tropes the text of the ornamental melody is a repeat of the verse text, so they have escaped the notice of literary trope scholars. This repertory was as short-lived as that connected to the introit, and none of the melodies survive in transcribable notation. The same two St Gall tropers transmit a set of melodic additions to a single offertory, *Anima nostra* for the Holy Innocents (St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, pp. 56–57; MS 381, pp. 222–23).

Melismatic Additions to the Office Responsories

The practice of melismatic additions to the office responsories goes back to the early ninth century and, as in the case of the alleluias, may have roots in pre-Gregorian chant traditions. The *responsoria cum infantibus* of the Milanese rite are often provided with enormous melismas that dwarf what one encounters in the Gregorian or post-Gregorian repertory, with the exception of the longest sequence melodies (see Caglio, 1957). Our earliest witness of melismatic additions to the Gregorian responsories is Amalar of Metz, who writing *c.*830 describes such an addition: 'In the last responsory, that is, *In medio ecclesiae*, unlike the case with other responsories, a triple melisma (*neuma triplex*) is sung and the verse and the Gloria are extended beyond the usual manner.'[16] Amalar then adds that modern singers sing it instead in connection with the responsory *Descendit de caelis* for Christmas, at the words *fabricae mundi* (Hanssens, 1948–50, p. 54).[17] In later manuscripts this *neuma triplex* is associated most often with *Descendit de caelis* but also with *In medio ecclesiae* and a few other responsories as well. The melisma comes at the very end of the respond, which in the last responsory of

16 'In novissimo responsorio, id est "In medio ecclesiae," contra consuetudinem ceterorum responsoriorum, cantatur neuma triplex, te versus eius atque gloria extra morem neumate protelantur' (Hanssens, 1948–50, III, p. 54).

17 Even though Amalar claims that the *neuma triplex* protracts the verse and the doxology, the melismas are actually added to the end of the respond itself.

each nocturn in matins is sung three times, since the final section of the respond returns after the verse and again after the doxology; each time the melisma becomes more elaborate.[18] Triple melismas such as this are rare; more frequent is the addition of a single melisma near the end of the responsory, either to the last responsory of matins or to the responsory that concludes one of the first two nocturns. These additions are never rubricated as such, and since responsories are melismatic chants they can be difficult to detect, all the more so since they are often an amplification of an already existing melisma or the substitution of a longer melisma for a shorter one. The only way of detecting them is a detailed comparison of multiple sources for each responsory (see Holman, 1961and Chapter 20, this volume; Hughes, 1972). The repertory is variable and extremely unstable, and even today we do not have a complete overview of the entire corpus of medieval responsories, much less one of the additions to them.[19] Many of these melodic additions were eventually provided with text in the manner of prosulas, and some, like the *neuma triplex* mentioned by Amalar, were the source for multiple texting. These prosulas will be discussed below.

The Addition of Words to a Melody: Prosulas and Verses

The addition of words to a pre-existing melody, usually a melisma, also goes back at least to the ninth century. What may be the oldest example of musical notation in the West transmits one such piece, the prosula *Psalle modulamina* for the Alleluia V. *Christus resurgens* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 9543, fol. 199v; see Smits van Waesberghe, 1957; Stäblein, 1963; Möller, 1990). It was connected mainly with responsorial chants: the gradual, alleluia, offertory and the office responsories, but it affected a few other chants in different ways. The *prosa* began as additions of words to the *sequentia*, but even after sequences began to be composed with both words and music at the outset, poets regarded the melodies of sequences as melodies that could be reused for new texts, and when rhyme and rhythmic verse were used instead of prose texts in the later sequences, poets realized that any text written in a specific metric and stanzaic pattern would fit any number of melodies, and thus, even though new sequences, melody and text continued to be composed, the production of new texts vastly outnumbered that of new melodies. By the same token, another repertory, that of Latin Kyries or Kyries with verses, also developed in a similar manner, as did the corpus of verses for some of the osanna melismas at the end of the Sanctus, and verses for the *regnum tuum solidum* trope within the *Gloria in excelsis*. All of these will be discussed in some detail below.

Prosulas to the Gradual and the Tract

Among the melismatic chants of the mass, the gradual and the tract received by far the least amount of prosulas, and these have not been systematically studied. The texts of a number of prosulas for melismas in graduals were edited in by Clemens Blume (1906, pp. 215–65), but this edition must be used with extreme caution. It includes some prosulas to melismas in graduals, some of the even less frequent tropes to the gradual, mislabelled offertory tropes,

18 A very useful description of the process of elaboration appears in Kelly (1973, pp. 45–46).

19 In addition to Holman's works cited above, Steiner (1973b) and Kelly (1973, 1974 and 1988) are the best introductions to this enormous topic.

antiphonae ante evangelium and a good number of independent pieces that are neither tropes nor prosulas. Stäblein in *MGG* gives some late examples of gradual prosulas (1949–86b, V, cols 655–58). But the practice existed already by the eleventh century.

Example 01 is a prosula within the verse *Vias tuas* of the gradual *Universi qui te exspectant* for the first Sunday in Advent in an eleventh-century *cantatorium* from Novalesa (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 222, fols 3r–3v, pitches established with Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C 120, fol. 1v). In the manuscript the Respond (not included in the transcription) appears only as an incipit, since the manuscript was essentially for the soloist. The melisma is copied continuously, followed by the prosula without a rubric but with a coloured initial, and then the rest of the verse. This was the standard manner of notating prosulas, except that in most sources the rubric *prosa* or *prosula* is added at the beginning of the prosula.

Two details are worth noting about this prosula. First, as with most of this repertory, whoever wrote the text mostly chose words with as many syllables as there were notes in each neume or, as in the case of *te cuncti* and *cuncti te*, chose two words that fill out the neume. At no point does a word go across a division between neumes. This seems to have been an almost universal goal of the *prosulatores*.[20] Second, the prosula most likely came to Novalesa independently of the gradual. The ending of the melisma in the gradual is that found in most of the early Gregorian sources as well as in the modern chant editions; the ending of the prosula appears to have simply repeated twice the final a of *omni* to accommodate the word *plebe*, but at least one north Italian Gradual without the prosula gives the end of the melisma with the melodic contour found in the prosula (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 123, fol. 18v).[21] The prosula itself survives in three eleventh-century tropes from Nonantola, with the ending exactly as that found in Novalesa (Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 2824, fol. 17v; Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1741, fol. 48r;[22] and Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, M1343, fol. 18v (see Borders, 1996, II, p. 61)) and in a Gradual from Benevento with the ending following the traditional form of the melisma (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34, fol. 1).[23] Eleventh-century prosulas for another gradual, *Qui sedes, Domine* for the third Sunday in Advent, also appear in the edition of Nonantolan chants by Borders (1996, II, p. 62),[24] and a number of late examples from Bohemian sources have been edited by Hana Vlhová-Wörner (2004, pp. 116–21).

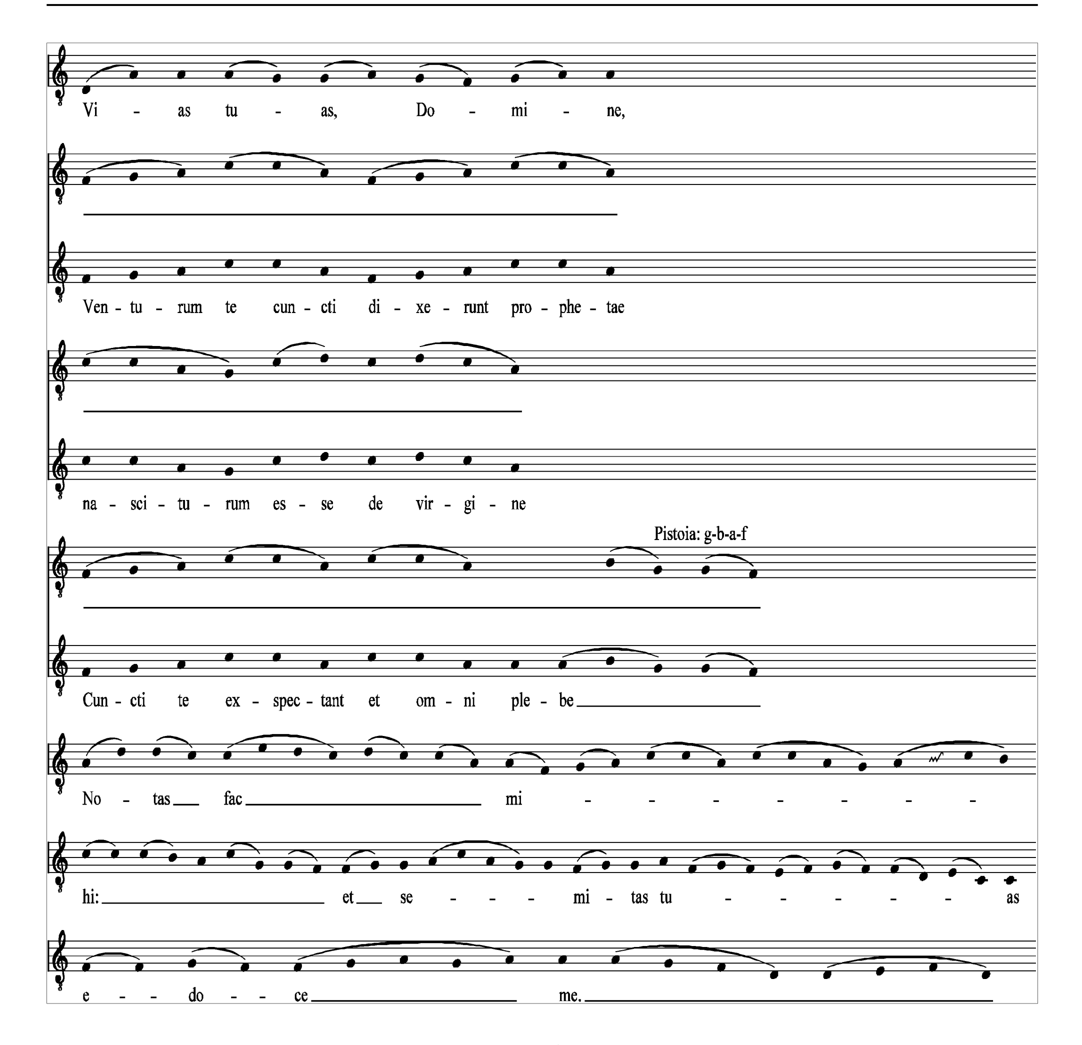
20 I thank Thomas Kelly, who is preparing a study of this phenomenon for this information.

21 For a facsimile, see Froger (1974).

22 For a facsimile, see Vecchi (1955).

23 For a facsimile, see Huglo (1937). The prosula appears also in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CVII (100), fol. 54r, from Mantua, Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 60, fol. 4r, from Pavia, and in a much later Venetian Gradual, Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS 40060, fol. 1r.

24 The prosula appears also in Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34, fol. 5v (facsimile in Huglo, 1937). These are the only two gradual prosulas in the Nonantola and Benevento sources.



Example 01

The situation with the prosulas to the melismas in the tracts is similar to that of the gradual prosulas. There is a very small repertory confined, for the most part, to Italian manuscripts. No systematic study of them has been undertaken.[25] They appear in a few sources and seem to be

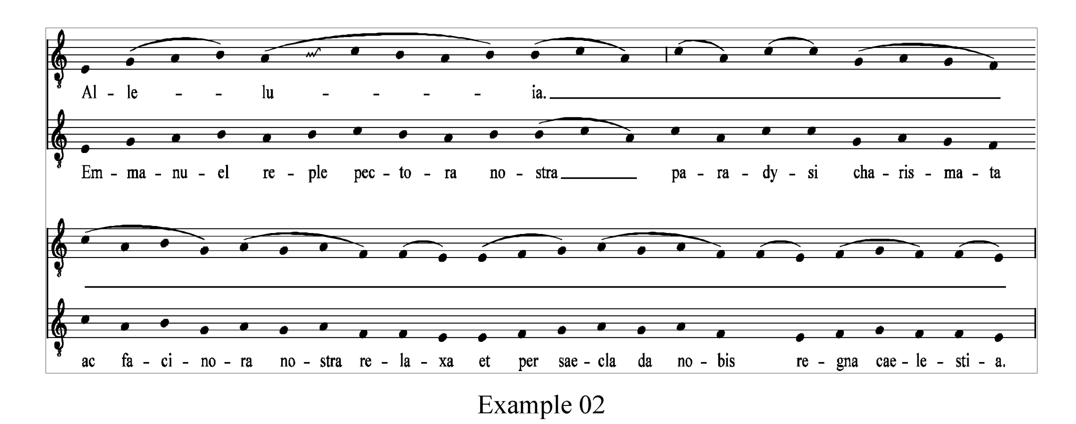
25 The following are available either in facsimile or in modern editions: Libera me Christe, for the tract Deus, Deus meus for Palm Sunday; Memento quaesumus, for the tract Confitemini for Sunday II in Lent; Mons magnus, for the tract Qui confidunt for Sunday IV in Lent; Sana Christe rex and Ut fugiant a vobis, both for the tract Commovisti for Sunday II in Lent. See Huglo (1937, fols 75r, 90r, 110r), Froger (1974, fols 74r–75r) and Borders (1996, II, pp. 64–65). Sources for some of these pieces not mentioned by Borders or in facsimile include Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 35, fols 36r and 45r (Memento quaesumus and Mons magnus) and Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MSS C 119, fol. 24v and C 120, fol. 44r (Mons magnus).

unique to their localities, only *Mons magnus est* for the tract *Qui confidunt in Domino* had a wider distribution in the peninsula. As with the gradual prosulas two late prosulas to melismas in the tracts appear in Hungarian and Bohemian manuscripts (Vlhová-Wörner, 2004, pp. 122–27; Skendrei, 1990).

Prosulas to the Alleluia

In contrast, prosulas in the alleluia repertory are found in all areas of Europe and are quite numerous. They were copied primarily in two kinds of manuscripts – tropers or cantatories, when they are grouped together in a section, and graduals, where they are copied as part of the alleluias as these appear within the mass formularies throughout the year. The only editions of alleluia prosulas as such are thus far purely literary and need to be used with some caution (Blume, 1906; Marcusson, 1976; Odelman, 1986). Two of the volumes, Analecta Hymnica 49 and *Corpus Troporum II*, include pieces that are not prosulas, and *Corpus Troporum IV* edits an interesting but virtually unique repertory. In addition *Corpus Troporum II* was published when the resources available to the editors of the *Corpus Troporum* were seriously deficient in terms of Italian sources, which are some of the richest in prosulas for the alleluia and the offertory. Studies of the alleluia prosulas as a text and music phenomenon are rare. Some appear in Ruth Steiner's study of one of the Aquitanian manuscripts (1969), and two studies by Luisa Nardini (1995, 1997) not only deal with the music but cover some of the Italian sources not used in *Corpus Troporum II*. Most alleluia prosulas are copied in the sources in the same way as the gradual prosula cited above, with the melisma followed by the texted version. In a few of them that add text not just to a melisma but to a phrase of the alleluia verse with both melisma and some text, the writers of the prosula text often found ingenious ways of using words of the alleluia text as part of the prosula. David Hiley (1993b, p. 203) gives a particularly widespread and very elegantly constructed example of such a procedure. Further, given that the melismas of the alleluias are not extremely long and that the added text is in prose, the extent to which the writers sought to use assonance is still notable, as in Example 02, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin*, 776, fol. 92r, of one of the alleluias for Pentecost.

The matter of assonance here is not simply picking as many words ending in 'a' as possible, although there is also that, but of where these words and some of the other traits of the prosula are placed. The only syllable with more than one note in the prosula matches the end of the alleluia intonation, which probably would precede the singing of the prosula itself (if the prosula were intended to actually replace the *iubilus*), the next 'a' ending comes at the end of the next syntactical unit of the text and coincides with the only large leap in the melody, which would have called automatically for an articulation even in the melismatic version. For the next syntactical unit, *ac facinora nostra relaxa*, despite the profusion of 'a' endings the text deliberately overrides the neumatic structure of the melisma, so that the main 'point of assonance' is the E, which is the final of the mode. The same applies to the end of the prosula, and the suppression of the repeated F in the melisma allows the final phrase to flow to the end without any internal point of stasis (see also Rönnau, 1984).



Example 02

Since prosulas and proses or sequences are virtually contemporary and the text of the proses, particularly in the West, makes extended use of assonance tied to what might be called musical rhyme in the melodies (see Planchart, 2007, pp. 315–19), it is more than likely that it was the early repertory of proses that influenced the efforts of the *prosulatores* (who might well themselves have been writers of *prosae* as well).

Prosulas to the Offertory and its Verses

By far the largest repertory of prosulas in tenth- and eleventh-century sources is that of prosulas added to the melismas of the offertories, almost always to the immense melismas one finds in the verses, but sometimes even to the melismas of the responds (Björkvall and Steiner, 1982). No comprehensive study of the entire repertory exists, and until recently there were no studies of any of the subrepertories. A number of recent studies suggest that there are at least two distinct repertories, one in the German area and another in France and Italy, although it is possible that the French and Italian repertories, despite a great deal of overlapping, may be different as well (see Björkvall, 1990, 1992; Locanto, 1997; and also Skendrei, 1990 and Vlhová-Wörner, 2004). One repertory that has been now subjected to an exhaustive study and edition is the Aquitanian (Hankeln, 1999), although the smaller repertory fount in the manuscripts from the Abbey of Nonantola has also been published in its entirety (Borders, 1996, II, 61–75). The tendency towards composing the texts with assonance related to the text of the melisma itself is also present in offertory prosulas though not quite as pronounced as in the alleluia prosulas (see, for example, Hiley, 1993b, p. 202).

The offertory prosulas tend to appear not only in the offertories of festal masses that were often, at least in France and Germany, embellished by tropes, but also in ones that are distributed more evenly throughout the year in the sources that transmit them, although in Aquitaine, as Steiner (1969, p. 371) has noted, there might have been a slight categorization of the ornamentation, where offertories with prosulas were not provided with tropes and those with tropes usually had no prosulas. In Italy a slightly different situation obtains. Italian Graduals and tropers are fairly rich in offertory prosulas but have a very small repertory of

offertory tropes, and in some of the manuscripts the few offertory tropes copied are copied not within the troper but within the prosulary and labelled *prosa* or *prosula* as well.[26]

The notation of the prosulas for all of the mass chants, as well as those for the responsories, which will be discussed below, does not ever indicate how they are to be performed. Does the melisma precede the prosula (this is the common manner of notation)? Is the prosula a substitution for the melisma? Are they to be sung together in a form of heterophony? The silence of both the music manuscripts themselves and writers about music on this matter is nearly total. Some late *ordines* mention the performance of the Kyrie verses, or exceptional performances of the sequences and their *sequentiae* that may or may not indicate the survival or transformation of earlier traditions (Kruckenberg, 2006, pp. 275–79). A few scholars have ventured hypotheses, but these remain so (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 188; Marcusson, 1979).

Prosulas to the Responsories

Prosulas to the responsory melismas affect both melismas original to the responsory in question and melismas that were added to them as melodic tropes. As with the case of the melodic tropes, the prosulas are seldom identified by a rubric, and the repertory is both relatively large and diffuse. The only study to attempt a review of the whole repertory is that of Helma Hofman-Brandt (1971), which examined 496 and traced more than 700 prosulas.[27] Also immensely valuable is the study by Francesc Bonastre (1982) of the prosula sources and traditions in Catalonia. The repertory of responsory prosulas is both quite extensive but also 'thin' in terms of its distribution; most antiphoners contain only a few prosulas and nearly a third of the sources examined by Hofman-Brandt have a single prosula in them. Only exceptionally are responsory prosulas copied by themselves and in a series, as is the case with the ten prosulas to the *Fabricae mundi* melisma found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1118, fols 117v–119r.

The procedures and evolution of the responsory prosulas are similar to those found in relation to the alleluia and offertory prosulas. Writers seek to articulate the neumatic text of the music by choosing words with the appropriate number of syllables, and increasingly they seek words that would produce assonance with the word of the melisma itself. But in responsory prosulas things go further. Because prosulas in the responsories were written not only under the melismas that were part of the responsory, but under melismas that had been expanded or were entirely new additions, as the literary taste changed and metric and rhyming texts became popular under the influence of sequence poetry, musicians and poets felt free to replace the existing melismas (whether original or early additions) with longer ones in double phrases that could accommodate the new texts in rhyming couplets. The many forms this process took in different cases have been carefully studied by Thomas Kelly, although Kelly (Chapter 21, this volume) takes pains to show that many of these expanded melismas existed as melodic ornaments that went from one responsory to another and that the expansions were not simply a result of the added words, and that 'old' and 'new' forms of prosulas or *prosae*

26 This is the case in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 107; see Planchart (1985, pp. 17–19).

27 The number of sources Hofman-Brandt examined is all the more remarkable when one considers that René-Jean Hesbert (1963–79) considered 800 manuscripts, and that most of the earliest ones have no tropes or *prosulae*.

for these melismas coexisted even in late sources, so that an entirely teleological view of their evolution is surely misguided. A few of the most extended textings, such as the very popular *Sospitati dedit aegros* for a melisma added at the end of the responsory *Ex eius tumba* for St Nicholas, eventually became virtually independent works, used sometimes as sequences in the mass or set to polyphony in the fifteenth century as independent motets.

Prosulas to the Sanctus and the Osanna

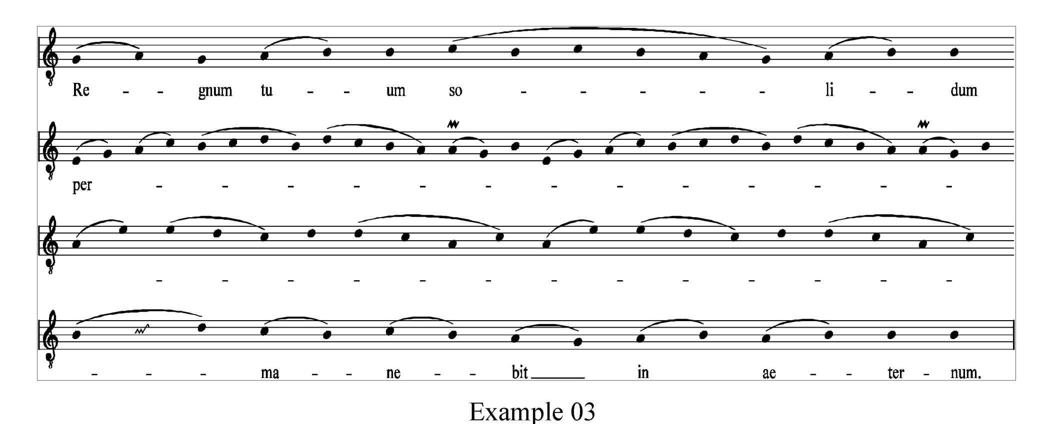
The prosulas to the Sanctus resemble those found in the responsories in two ways. First of all most of these appear with melismas that are not part of the original musical substance of the Sanctus, but were added instead to the final Osanna, and because they occur in an 'open-ended position', as do the prosulas to the final melisma of a responsory, they could be expanded into sequence-like pieces with a double versicle and assonance, and like some of the prosulas for the responsories, a few of these became independent and were used as sequences as well. The extent of this repertory until the thirteenth century can be gathered from Gunilla Iversen's exemplary edition of the trope and prosula texts (1990a). Although Iversen does not deal with the music except for giving the numbers in Thannabaur's catalogue (1962) and an occasional reference in the notes, the length and elaboration of a great number of the Osanna prosulas bespeaks long melodies organized in pairs of strains. These additions, particularly the later ones, blur the boundary between prosula and trope in that all surviving sources have the melody and the text, so it is quite possible that they represent additions of text and music at the same time and hence tropes rather than prosulas. But multiple textings of some of these melodies suggest that, as with the Kyrie verses and the sequences, poets and musicians in the late Middle Ages regarded words and melody in these pieces as detachable.[28] In rare and relatively late instances the prosulas affect the Sanctus melody rather than that of the Osanna (Thannabaur, 1967).

Prosulas to the Regnum tuum solidum

One final group of prosulas, which arose from a melisma in a trope verse, remains to be considered. Originally it was either one of a series of independent trope verses that preceded the formation of what Rönnau calls 'the closed Gloria trope repertory' or else the next to last verse of one of the oldest Gloria tropes, *Laus tua deus*,[29] connected with the melody known as 'Gloria A' (Bosse, 1955, no. 39; see also Falconer, 1989, pp. 36–39 and Rönnau, 1967b, pp. 179–81). Example 03 shows the verse as it appears in a mid-eleventh-century source (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871, fol. 71v).

28 For studies of the relationship between text and music in the Osanna prosulas, see Atkinson (1985, 1993) and Iversen (1990b).

29 See Rönnau (1967b, pp. 140–47) for a detailed concordance, but also Falconer (1989, pp. 16–43).



Example 03

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1871, fol. 71v

Example 03 presents what might be called the mature West Frankish form of the melisma, consisting of four phrases in the pattern aa bb. Klaus Rönnau, in a very careful study of this verse and its prosulas, gives 17 sources for the verse without the prosulas (1967a, p. 195, n. 4),[30] but of these only seven and none of the East Frankish manuscripts are transcribable. Rönnau (1967a, pp. 198–99) argues convincingly that the original form of the melisma was aa b, the form in which it appears in Saint Gall 484 and in London, British Library, Additional 19768, and that the later aa bb form and an aa bb cc pattern found in St. Gall and German sources are later. But all these forms already existed by the second quarter of the tenth century as did the prosulas, which are, by and large, a West Frankish and Italian phenomenon. The general shape of each phrase of the melisma is essentially the same in all versions, but the actual pitches differ noticeably among the transcribable sources.[31]

By the late tenth century the connection of *Regnum tuum solidum* and its prosulas with the trope *Laus tua deus* or even with Gloria A had loosened, and mid-eleventh-century Aquitanian manuscripts transmit a series of *Regnum* prosulas as independent works that could presumably be attached to any Gloria trope at will, or even to an otherwise untroped Gloria.[32]

30 To Rönnau's list one may add Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 35, fol. 185v; Montecassino, Archivio della Badia, MS 546, fol. 63v; Modena, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS O.I.7, fol. 10r; Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 76, fol. 31r; Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 4, 47, fol. 20v; Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F. IV. 18, fol. 14r, MS G. V. 20, fol. 117v. Some of these, even though they have prosulas, transmit the entire melisma uninterrupted.

31 For different versions of the melisma, see Planchart (n.d.), Falconer (1989, p. 38), Boe (1990a, pp. 140–42) and Borders (1996, I, pp. 41–42, 53).

32 So in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 887, fols 84v–86r; 909, fols 95v–99r; 1084, fols 149r–151r; 1119, fols 132v–139v; 1120, fols 95v–98v; 1121, fols 50v–53r; *nouv.ac.lat.* 1177, fols 4r–4v; Huesca, Biblioteca Capitular, 4, fols 141r–142v. The last two manuscripts in the list have no Gloria tropes in them except for the *Regnum* prosulas.

The Kyrie Verses or Prosulas and the Latin Kyries

The Kyrie presents a number of unique problems. David Hiley (1993b, pp. 151–52) and David Bjork (2003, pp. 1–4) admirably summarize its early history. The Kyrie was part of a number of litanies as far back as the fourth century. In Byzantium it became part of the mass sung after the lessons, but in the West it was incorporated near the beginning of the mass, although how this took place is not altogether clear.[33] By the eighth century its position after the introit is specified in Ordo Romanus I (*c*.700) (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 84), but it was in some ways an 'open form' piece where the number of acclamations varied, although the two main forms, *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, are attested already in a letter of Pope Gregory I (d. 604).[34] It was apparently also an acclamation sung by the clergy and the congregation or else by the *schola* and the *regionarii* (subdeacons) in some form of alternation (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 159). Between the time of Ordo Romanus I and Ordo Romanus IV, which represents the situation at the end of the eighth century, the Kyrie had been reduced to nine, or perhaps twice nine invocations (Andrieu, 1961–74, II, p. 159, but see also Crocker, n.d., 'Kyrie'). The earliest sources with music date from the tenth century, and as Bjork (2003, p. 4) notes, the creation of this early tenth century repertory, which includes a good number of Kyries with Latin verses that appear to have been composed from the beginning with their Latin text and show an intricate formal structure, could not have predated the systematization of the number of invocations at nine (or as an alternative as two times nine).[35] In the early tenth century repertory we find side by side Kyrie melodies notated with and without their Latin texts as well as Kyrie melodies that never appear with a Latin text. These Latin texts have been called tropes by modern scholars, but the sources almost never call them so. The most frequent labels, when there is a label other than 'Kyrie', are *versus*, *prosula* and *prosa*.[36] This distinction is worth emphasizing because there is a small repertory of true Kyrie tropes, which will be discussed below, but the vast majority of what modern scholarship calls Kyrie tropes are either prosulas (or verses) or Latin Kyries, works written from the start with Latin and Greek acclamations in alternation. Bjork (2003, pp. 4–5) finds that there are four early Kyrie repertories: Aquitanian-French, German-Swiss, English and Italian.[37] This is correct in terms of the actual repertory of pieces, but in terms of melodic procedures and the writing of the Latin texts this can be subsumed into three traditions: West Frankish, including Aquitaine, northern France, England and Spain; East Frankish, generally including the border region of the Rhine, Germany and Switzerland; and south Italian. North Italian sources are largely within the East Frankish orbit in the east (Venice and Aquileia), and a mixture of East and West Frankish traditions in the centre and west. Written witnesses of the south Italian tradition are no earlier than the middle of the eleventh century, but some of the Kyries in these sources

33 See Bjork (2003, pp. 2–3) for a summary of the different views.

34 *Gregorii papae registrum epistolarum* (ed. Ewald and Hartman), II, Liber IX, 26.

35 It is interesting to note that the performance implied by the notation of most early Kyries results most of the time in 18 invocations as well.

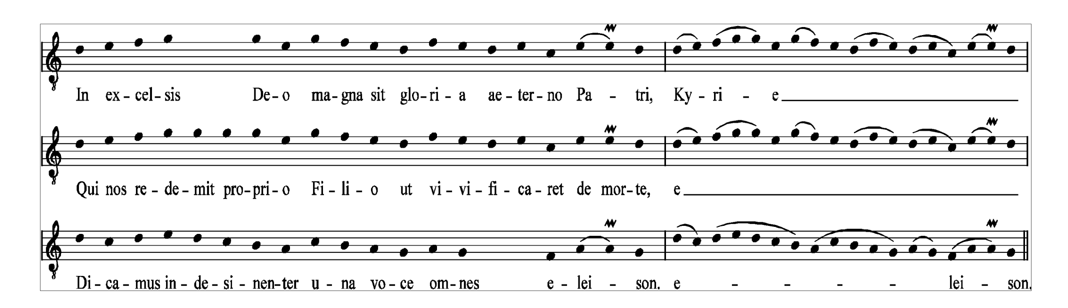
36 Cf. Bjork's thoughtful discussion (2003, pp. 15–18).

37 The melodies themselves are catalogued in Mielnicki (1954). Unfortunately Mielnicki did not use most of the earliest sources notated in non-diastematic neumes, so there are important *lacunae* in her catalogue, some of which are filled in by Hiley (1986).

show traces of having stylistic roots going back to before the time of Ordo IV (see Boe, 1989, 1, pp. 30–32 and 1990b, pp. 345–56).

Two of these traditions have been studied with great care, the West Frankish tradition, particularly in terms of the Aquitanian repertory by David Bjork, and the south Italian tradition by John Boe. No comparable study of the East Frankish tradition exists, although Bjork (1980a, 1980b) has contributed a number of important insights into it.

The normal practice in the West Frankish tradition, at least in the early sources, is for the Latin text to be sung followed by the melody with the Greek invocation.[38] At their simplest the West Frankish Kyries consisted of two melodic strains distributed as follows: AAA BBB AAA', where A' has a different opening but the same ending as A. At their most elaborate they consisted of six strains: ABA CDC EFE', where E' has an elaborate opening consisting of a repeated first phrase, and often there are melodic motives that connect the different strains. As noted above, the melismatic Greek invocation follows each texted phrase except that in the final phrase of the most extended Kyries the melismatic version is interlaced with the texted one. Example 04 shows the final invocation of the Kyrie that most often opens the series of Kyries in West Frankish manuscripts and is the probably the most elaborate Kyrie to have come down to us.



Example 04

Final phrase of *Tibi Christe supplices*[39]

No extended study of the German tradition of Latin Kyries has been undertaken. The early manuscripts show a preponderance of true Kyrie tropes (discussed below) over Latin texted Kyries, but by the beginning of the eleventh century the tropes are falling out of fashion and a larger repertory of Latin texted Kyries is being added.[40] Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek MSS 484 and 381 have no Latin Kyries, but three and five Kyrie tropes respectively, but

38 See Bjork (2003, pp. 21–27) for a particularly thoughtful account of the performance possibilities.

39 This is a critical edition based on a number of north French and English sources, specifically Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, fol. 2r; London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. IV, fol. 2v, MS Royal 8. C. XIII, fols 1r–1v; Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, MS 61, fol. 154v; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.l. 1235, fol. 185r. See also Bjork (2003, pp. 264 and 266); the entire Chapter VI of the work is a detailed analysis of the Aquitanian version of the Kyrie.

40 See Bjork (1980c, p. 11) on the situation in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 378.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS theol. IVo 11,[41] copied in 1024 at St. Gall for Minden, still has the five tropes found in St. Gall 381 plus five Latin Kyries. Among the early Latin Kyries there are few concordances between the West Frankish and East Frankish Kyries. For example, Kyrie melody 55 (Mielnicki, 1954) set to *Tibi Christe supplices* in the West, is set in German sources to *O theos chritis*.[42] Because the repertory of the early German sources is preponderantly not just a trope repertory, but a repertory of tropes that follow a specific pattern, where the first Greek invocation is sung and then a trope introduces the following eight invocations, a number of the early Latin Kyries of the German tradition have only eight verses as well; in some cases a ninth verse was added in later sources to bring them in line with the newer repertory of Latin Kyries often imported from elsewhere. In this respect the later repertory of Latin Kyries in the German sources, pieces that began to be added in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, consists for the most part of a truly international repertory that was sung on both sides of the Rhine. This makes the later Latin Kyries an exception to other repertories, which seldom crossed the stylistic boundary between the French and German regions.

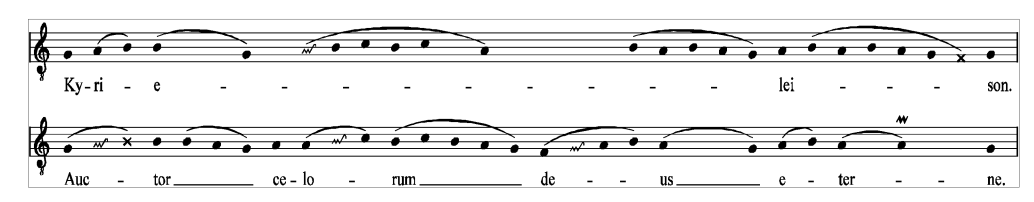
Italian sources show a mixture of East Frankish and West Frankish Kyries, but in addition there is a group of Kyries that are clearly Italian in origin and these seem to follow a slightly different tradition from those written north of the Alps. The earliest Italian sources for these repertories are northern and no earlier than *c.*1000; the earliest Roman and south Italian sources are later still, the oldest ones dating from *c.*1050. But as John Boe (1989, 1, pp. 31–32) has shown, some of the Kyries in these sources make references that go back to the seventh and eighth centuries and have more than nine invocations, and the melodic construction of these Kyries has much in common with the melos of southern Italy's putatively pre-Gregorian repertories (see Planchart, 1982, 1985, 1993). Characteristically the Italian tropes begin with the Greek invocation which is followed by the Latin verse, and the Latin verse is set not always to the melody of the Greek invocation but to a variant of it that cannot, however, be viewed as a different melody. This pattern, A, A', is repeated identically for each successive invocation, so there are only two closely related melodic strains in the entire Kyrie. Example 05 gives the opening verse of what was probably the most wide-spread Italian Kyrie, in its southern version, which is probably the original one.[43] At the end there is a melismatic amen, which in the Roman Kyries is set to the entire melisma, while in the non-Roman ones it is set to a short melisma that is either new or derived from one of the two strains. In the case of *Auctor caelorum Deus* the amen is set to the music of 'Deus aeterne'.

---

41 Now held in the Biblioteka Jagiellonska in Krakow.

42 The earliest source for *O theos critis*, London, British Library, Additional MS 19768, fol. 28v, is roughly contemporary with the earliest source for *Tibi Christe supplices*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1240, fol. 79r. *O theos critis* made a modest inroad into French territory, since it appears also in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1169, fol. 19v.

43 The northern version has melodic variants that mark it as an adaptation and does not end with an amen.



Example 05
Opening of the Kyrie *Auctor caelorum Deus*
Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 40, fol. 21r–21v

Latin Kyries, particularly many of those of the central repertory of West Frankish pieces, continued to be sung until the sixteenth century, notably in England, but also in other parts of Europe. From the thirteenth century on, the Latin Kyries, when they are copied with their Latin text, are copied only once, although it is possible that they were still being sung in alternation with the melismas.[44] Their long life means that they overlapped with the genesis of what became one of the most important musico-liturgical genres of the fifteenth century, the polyphonic *cantus firmus* mass. The Kyries of most of the surviving polyphonic masses written in England in the fifteenth century, including that of the immensely influential *Missa Caput* (*c.*1440), set the Kyrie verses (usually *Deus creator*, which was used in England for the feasts of duplex rank), although also in France (or in northern Italy), we encounter a polyphonic setting of Kyrie verses, some of them newly composed, as those in the *Missa Verbum incarnatum* by Arnold de Lantins (d. 1432), and others traditional, as in the *Missa de Beata Virgine* by Juan de Anchieta (d. 1532).[45] Probably the last documented composition of Kyrie verses is found in an enormous cycle of six polyphonic masses built on the tenor *L'homme armé* and composed at the court of Burgundy sometime around 1468. These works have Kyrie verses written ad hoc for them, full of classical Virgilian references that interact in terms of their meaning with segments of the *L'homme armé* melody being used for each Kyrie and the canons that govern the performance of the music.[46]

Textual and Musical Additions

Tropes to the Introit

The introit tropes can be divided into two categories: introductions to the introit antiphon and interpolations of antiphon text in the manner of a commentary. There were also tropes

44 That, for example, is the import of the rubrics for the Kyries in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 546, copied in 1507.

45 For the *Missa verbum incarnatum*, see van de Borren (1932), and for Anchieta, see Anglès (1941).

46 For a detailed description with references to earlier literature and music editions, see Wright (2001, pp. 184–88 and Appendix B).

that introduced the psalm verse and the doxology, and very rarely interpolatory lines between the two halves of the doxology. 'Tropings', or constellations of trope verses including an introduction and one or more interpolatory verses, appeared in more or less stable combinations within a specific region, for example the Limousin, but when the same verses were employed in another region they were likely to appear in different combinations and orderings.[47] Scholars see different purposes in the addition of tropes to the introit (and to other proper chants). Among the earliest layer of introit tropes a good number begin with the word *Hodie* (today) and introduce the feast itself. Others include at the end of the verse an exhortation to sing the chant itself. This led Heinrich Husmann (1959) to propose that this was most likely the original goal of most early tropes, although this suggestion appears too reductive when one sees the extent of topics and approaches in even the earliest collections. Bruno Stäblein (1964, pp. 55–59) is surely closer to the mark when he viewed the tropes as glosses that made the sometimes liturgically neutral and culturally distant texts of the introits, offertories or communions more comprehensible and connected to the specific liturgy of the day, something that is carried out in a few manuscripts to create a true liturgical plan out of the sometimes disparate biblical texts that are used in any given mass.[48]

Tropes to the introit are among the earliest as well as the longest lived tropes connected with the proper of the mass. There is one reference to them that places them in the ninth century: Ekkehard IV of St Gall, writing in his *Casus Sancti Galli* around the middle of the eleventh century, mentions the monk Tuotilo (d. 915), a friend of Notker, as a composer of tropes including a number of tropes to the introit and other chants of the proper (Ekkehard IV, 1980, p. 104), including the immensely popular *Hodie cantandus*, but also *Omnium virtutum gemmis*, *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus*, *Omnipotens genitor fons et origo* and *Gaudete et cantate*.[49] The earliest sources with tropes, dating from around 900, transmit a number of them, albeit without music (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85); Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843), and the earliest sources with music, coming from both the East Frankish and West Frankish areas and clustered around the second and third quarters of the tenth century, transmit a relatively large repertory (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1609; St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 381 and 484; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *fonds latin* 1240; London, British Library, Additional MS 19768). If one is to take seriously the marginal entries in Paris 1240 the implication is that the Abbey of St Martial, where the manuscript was copied between 923 and 926, already possessed *libelli* with tropes that were being expanded in this manuscript.[50] Although arguments *ex silentio* are particularly difficult to evaluate, it may be worth noting that the prohibitions of the Council of Meaux (*c.*848) (see Silagi, 1985) describe sequences and Gloria tropes, and perhaps alleluia prosulas, but

---

47 One can see this in the *Tableaux* sections of *Corpus Troporum I* and *III* or in Planchart (1977, II, *passim*; 1994, 1, pp. 8–92).

48 This is the case in a few trope collections that were carefully prepared and edited, such as the Winchester Troper, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, or the Gradual-Troper from Prüm, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, latin 9448. Many of the Aquitanian and St Gall trope collections, in contrast, are vast anthologies.

49 See Rüsch (1953) for a discussion of the evidence for Tuotilo's authorship.

50 The manuscript has a number of introit tropes where the first verse is given as an incipit and only the subsequent ones are given in full, since apparently the first verse was available elsewhere to those who were to sing the tropes.

not introit tropes, so it may well be that proper tropes arose in the second half of the ninth century, perhaps even in imitation of the Gloria tropes. Such a date for the beginnings of the repertory would not contradict what little we know about some of the early trope composers, who include not only Tuotilo but Notker and Hucbald of Saint Amand.[51] But it may well be that a small repertory of introit tropes, or rather of trope verses,[52] existed already during the first half of the ninth century.

This is suggested by the fact that a very small number of trope verses fixed only to some extent in what Vlhová-Wörner aptly calls 'constellations' (2004, pp. 55ff.) can be found in the earliest manuscripts from virtually every region of Europe. Typical of this situation among the introit tropes are the basic group of verses associated with *Ecce adest de quo prophetae caecinerunt* for the introit of the third mass on Christmas Day (see Jonsson, 1975, pp. 82–83, 144, 175; wider collations appear in Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 138–41 and 1994, 1, pp. 50–51). But it is notable that for the most part even tropes that can be dated to the second half of the ninth century like those ascribed to Tuotilo or thought to be by Notker seldom cross the stylistic boundary posed by the banks of the Rhine, although many from both sides are found in Italian sources or in the manuscripts of an area of transition between east and west that coincides roughly with the ancient kingdom of Lotharingia. The evolution of the trope repertory in the different regions has not been systematically studied in part because the surviving sources make such a study possible only in a few cases: St. Gall and its circle, Aquitaine and Benevento (from *c.*1050 onwards), and perhaps Anglo-Saxon England from *c.*950 to the conquest (if one assumes Holschneider's position (1968, pp. 24–26) that the repertory of what he calls Bo[a] goes back to the middle of the tenth century). This has been done systematically only for St. Gall (Rankin, Chapter 15, this volume; Arlt and Rankin, 1996, I, pp. 105–64), but references to the evolution in Aquitaine are given by James Grier (2006, pp. 11–17, 45–49) and, for the introit tropes, could be teased with some effort from the notes of Günther Weiss's edition (1970). The century and a half of evolution available to us in the Beneventan sources has also been mapped to some extent (Planchart, 1990 and 1994, 1, pp. xii–xxiii).

The repertory of introit tropes expanded quite rapidly between the end of the ninth century and the middle of the eleventh. Afterwards it stagnated and contracted equally rapidly during the early part of the twelfth century. Tropes to the introit psalm and the doxology had largely disappeared by the end of the eleventh century, but introductory tropes, and to a much smaller extent interpolatory verses attached to the antiphon, survived. The decline of proper tropes may be due in part to the antagonism towards tropes evidenced by the Cluniacs and the Cistercians, who were immensely influential during the central Middle Ages and whose views affected those of the emerging mendicant orders, the Franciscans and the Dominicans, whose liturgical books are usually entirely devoid of tropes (cf. Fassler, 1992; Maître, 1993; Hiley, 1990). By the thirteenth century a very small repertory of introit tropes, mostly introductions to the introit, survived in a few centres, and in some instances these survived until the sixteenth century. With very few exceptions, sources of proper tropes from the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have yet to be studied (see Gros i Pujol, 1987; Haug, 1995; Kruckenberg, 2003; Vlhová-Wörner,

---

51 On Notker as a possible author of tropes (or at least trope texts), see von den Steinen (1948, I, p. 495); on Hucbald, see Weakland (1957) and Smits van Waesberghe (1970).

52 The editors of *Corpus Troporum* use the term 'trope elements' for what I call trope verses.

2004; Karp, 2007). From the sources that have been studied it appears that proper tropes in the regions east of the Rhine, where the repertory had contracted early and become stable, survived longer and in a larger number than tropes in the western parts of Europe.

A small repertory of pieces closely related to the introit tropes, many of which began as introit tropes, developed in the tenth and eleventh centuries, mostly in France and England, but also in Italy. English manuscripts label them *Versus ante officium*, in north French manuscripts they are *Tropi ad processionem*, while south French and Italian manuscripts give them no special label, although their function can be determined in Italian manuscripts by the absence of a chant cue and in south French manuscripts by the presence of a 'redundant' introit cue.[53] The function of these pieces apparently was not as introductions to the introit but as introductions to the entire mass (see Planchart, 1977, I, pp. 234–40). In this they are related to the famous prologue to the Gradual *Gregorius praesul*, which is as old as the oldest tropes if not older, and provided an obvious model (see Stäblein, 1968). A complete catalogue of pieces used as *versus ante officium* has not been compiled, and the nature of some of these texts has been generally misunderstood by the editors of Volumes I and III of the *Corpus Troporum*, rendering the repertory, as a repertory, virtually invisible. It includes works such as *Hodie candidati sacerdotum* or *Laudibus alternis pueros*, which were apparently conceived as *versus ante officium* from the beginning (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 32, 35),[54] works originally conceived as introit tropes, such as Tuotilo's *Hodie cantandus est* (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 33–35; Jonsson, 1975, p. 107), pieces whose original function remains uncertain, such as *Quem creditis [cernitis] ascendisse* (Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 35–36; Björkvall *et al*., 1982, p. 173) and the famous Easter Dialogue, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, which began apparently as a separate ceremony before the mass, and evolved into the matins *visitatio sepulchri* in the north and in Germany, into an introit trope or a *versus ante officium* in Aquitaine and a *versus ante officium* in Italy.[55]

Tropes to the Gradual and the Alleluia

The repertory of tropes to the gradual is minuscule, consisting of three introductions to the Easter gradual *Haec dies*, namely *Cantibus altissonis* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *nouv. ac. lat.* 1871, fol. 15r) (or *altithronis*), *Haec est dies* (Cividale, Museo Archeologico, 56, fol. 128v; 58, fol. 131v; 79, fol. 67r; Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek, MS 4o theol. 25, fol. 115r) and *Praeclara adest dies* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 887, fol. 20r; 909, fol. 24r (no music)). It is not surprising that they are part of the most solemn feast of the entire liturgical year or that given their rarity they are given an incorrect rubric in some of the sources.[56] The last two were edited by Blume (1906, nos 430–31),[57] but only the third was edited in *Corpus Troporum*, mislabelled as a prosula to the alleluia (Marcusson, 1976,

53 On these redundant cues, see Planchart (2007, p. 350).

54 Jonsson (1975) incorrectly conflates these with *Tibi Christo regi* (p. 106) and *Eia mater Sion* (p. 131).

55 The literature on the *Quem quaeritis* is immense and virtually all of it is wrong in terms of the early history and transmission of the piece, but see Drumbl (1981), Bjork (1980c, pp. 46–49) and Planchart (1994, 1, pp. 58–59).

56 In Paris 887 *Praeclara adest dies* is labelled *Ad sequentiam*.

57 Concerning *Haec est dies*, see also Planchart (1995, p. 355).

no. 28). All three are true tropes – that is, introductions to the gradual with their own text and melody, and the last was also used in Autun at the end of the tenth century as an introit trope (Björkvall *et al*., 1982, p. 163). Two of them are restricted to Aquitanian sources outside St. Martial (significantly the one copy in a St Martial manuscript, *Praeclara adest dies* in Paris 909, has no music) from the late tenth to the third quarter of the eleventh century. But *Haec est dies* has a very curious distribution: it survives in an eleventh-century Gradual from Fritzlar, and in three fourteenth-century Graduals from Cividale dal Friuli, which indicates that we are probably missing a number of intermediate sources. Equally remarkable is that its extremely unusual function is the same in the two groups of sources, so that it remained constant over a number of centuries.[58]

There is also a small repertory of actual tropes, not prosulas, to the alleluia, which has remained essentially invisible to scholarship, even though one or two of these have been published, albeit as prosulas. The reason for this is that virtually all these tropes are early and are restricted to East Frankish manuscripts notated in adiastematic neumes. Further, many of them are examples of what John Johnstone has called 'paraphrase tropes' (1984, pp. 144–46) where the trope essentially consists of quotation of the chant text. As Johnstone (1984, pp. 148–51) shows, these are among the oldest tropes to have survived. Paraphrase tropes are concentrated in two repertories, the alleluia and the offertory, with only a few to the introit or the communion (see Johnstone, 1984, pp. 150–54).[59] Typical of these are the tropes found in St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 484, p. 237:[60]

Trope: Alleluia. Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis.
Chant: Alleluia. Dies sanctifi …
Trope: Venite gentes et adorate dominum.
Chant: Venite gentes …
Trope: Quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram.
Chant: Quia ho …

The trope and the chant have the same text, but the chant is entered as cues, not complete, and the neumation of the trope and the chant are drastically different, so there can be no doubt that these are two different melodies, and this is apparently one trait that, in the eyes of medieval cantors and scribes, made a trope a trope.[61]

58 This is seldom the case with 'peripheral' trope repertories.

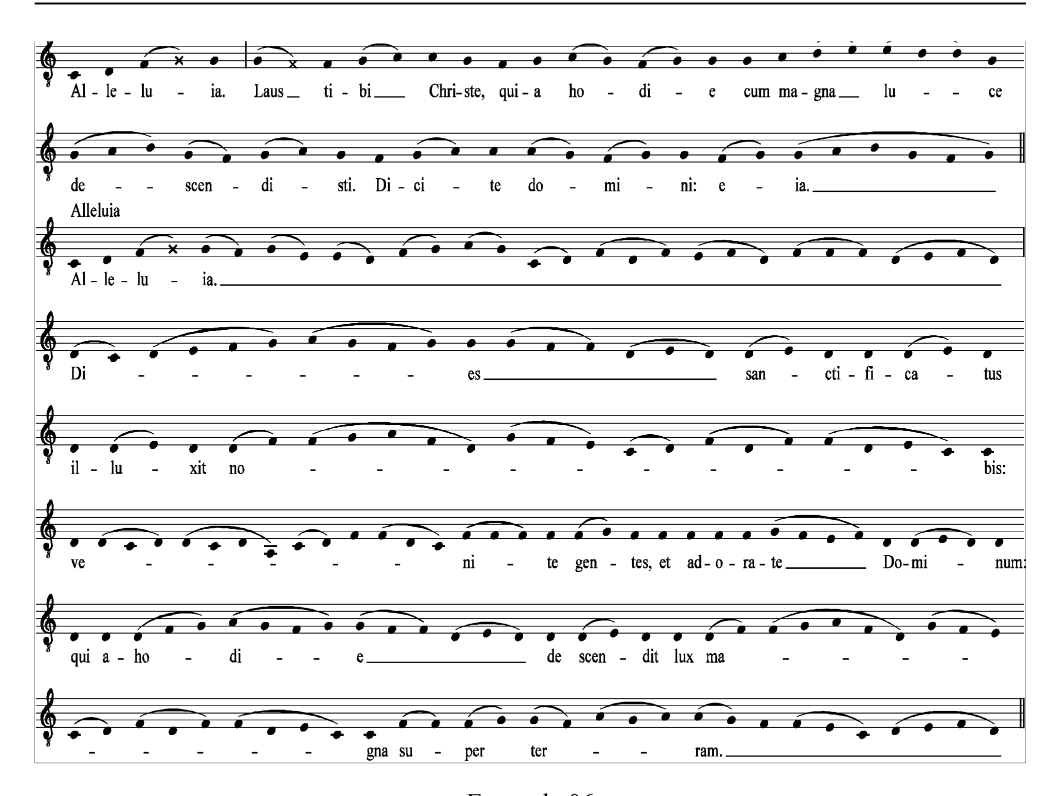
59 At the time Johnstone was writing, tropes to the alleluia were though to be nonexistent, so his discussion does not include them.

60 Other sources are Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska (olim Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), MS theol. IV° 11, fol. 3r; London, British Library, Additional MS 19768, fol. 27v (no music); Monza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C 13/76, fol. 18v; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14083, fol. 63v; clm 14322, fol. 6r; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Selden Supra 27, fol. 63v. In St Gall 484 and Krakow, similar tropes appear for the alleluias *Video caelos* (St. Stephen) and *Vidimus stellam* (Epiphany). Significantly the scribe of St Gall 484 left all of these out of the later copy St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381 and they disappear from the liturgy of the abbey. They have been essentially invisible to all trope scholarship, but are correctly identified as tropes in Arlt and Rankin (1996, I, p. 212), but are not discussed otherwise.

61 See Planchart (1977, I, pp. 248–50) for an example that confirms this view.

Not all tropes to the alleluia are paraphrase tropes. A few tropes with a text not based in the alleluia verse exist as well, and some of these are among the oldest surviving tropes. They have been published as prosulas in Volume II of *Corpus Troporum*. The entire repertory is limited to East Frankish and north Italian manuscripts. What remains to be done is to analyse carefully the neumation of all these texts, paraphrase as well as new texts, to determine if they are set to the melodic substance of the chant, in which case they are prosulas, or if they are set to a demonstrably different tune, in which case they are tropes. In a few instances, such as that of *Laus tibi Christe*, the text reads like that of numerous tropes that invite the singer or singers to start the chant. All sources are German or Italian, and virtually all adiastematic, but the neumation of the trope cannot be assimilated to the *iubilus* of the alleluia, and in the one source known to me that gives the melody in transcribable form (Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 65, fols 155r and 230r) one can determine indeed that the trope has its own independent melody.[62] It is interesting to note that this is one of the tropes that appear in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 90, copied around 900, so that small though the repertory of tropes to the alleluia is its roots apparently are in the late ninth century. The one transcribable version of this trope appears as Example 06.

62 The double copy in Piacenza, in the Gradual and in the Troper, and the fact that the sign 'V' precedes *Laus tibi Christe* in the Gradual are clear indications that the scribe of Piacenza 65 no longer understood the function of this piece. For a complete list of sources, some of which date back to *c*.900, see Marcusson (1976, no. 18).



Example 06
Trope *Laus tibi Christe* and *Alleluia* V. *Dies sanctificatus*
(Piacenza, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 65, fol. 155r)

Tropes to the Sequentia

If tropes to the alleluia are an exclusively East Frankish and north Italian repertory, tropes to the *sequentia* are exclusively an Aquitanian repertory. They consist of short introductions intended to precede the singing of the *sequentia*, although in some manuscripts the chant cue is not the *alleluia* of the *sequentia* but the start of the prose.[63] The entire repertory consists of 16 pieces, five of which show small text changes in order to adapt them to more than one liturgical occasion (for example *Salvator mundi te resurgente/ascendente*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118, fols 45v, 59r). The repertory has been subjected to a study by Paul Evans (1968), and this remains the basic source. The texts have been published in Analecta Hymnica and in *Corpus Troporum* among the 'tropes to the alleluia' (Blume, 1906, pp. 266–77; Marcusson, 1976, *passim*).[64] The sources range in time from the early tenth

63 This is the case, for example, in some tropes to the *sequentia* copied in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118. See Doyle (2000, I, p. 317).

64 In both collections prosulae, tropes to the alleluia and tropes to the *sequentia* are mixed indiscriminately (although generally the rubrics are noted correctly). In Analecta Hymnica the partial texts of *sequentiae* are also included in the edition as 'tropes'.

century to the third quarter of the eleventh century, and are distributed more or less evenly throughout Aquitaine.

Tropes to the Offertory

Tropes to the offertory, particularly introductions of the offertory respond, are also among the earliest tropes, probably going back to the middle of the ninth century, and within this repertory, as Johnstone (1984, pp. 146–51) has noted, there are a good number of tropes that combine the invitation to sing the offertory chant with a paraphrase of the text of that chant. Tropes that introduce each of the offertory verses also belong in this early layer, particularly in the case of paraphrase tropes. But the diffusion and transmission of the offertory tropes differ in many ways from those of the introit tropes. The early paraphrase tropes, although found primarily in East Frankish and north Italian sources, found their way to West Frankish and Aquitanian manuscripts as well, but by the early eleventh century that had all but disappeared. The very early introduction to *Terra tremuit*, the Easter offertory, *Ab increpatione* [*indignatione*] *et ira*, remained in use not only throughout Europe but also as long as offertory tropes were sung. From the late tenth century on, however, offertory tropes, even more than introit tropes, become regional repertories, and by the beginning of the twelfth century they have largely disappeared from the liturgy, although in a few places one or two offertory tropes were still copied as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Except for a few northern centres, the offertory trope was not cultivated in Italy. In fact, south of Rome only one offertory trope, *Ab increpatione et ira*, was ever used (Planchart, 1985 and 1994, 1, pp. 77–79). Apart from Johnstone's 1984 study, offertory tropes as a repertory have not been studied in detail. Musical editions of pieces in the Aquitanian repertory have been compiled by Evans (1960, pp. 129–262) and Doyle (2000, II), and the entire Nonantola repertory has been edited by Borders (1996).

Tropes to the Communion

Tropes to the communion, as a repertory, are less plentiful than introit or even offertory tropes. They followed a pattern very similar to that of the introit tropes, consisting of introductions to the communion antiphon and interpolatory verses, but in the case of the communion tropes interpolatory verses were considerably less frequent than simple introductions. Tropes to the psalm and the doxology of the communion are extremely rare, since the communion psalmody was already being phased out in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The variations in the combination of verses found in introit tropes as they were transmitted from one region to another are less frequent in communion tropes, although not entirely unknown. The development of the different repertories of communion tropes appears to follow the pattern of the offertory tropes; a few very old tropes, notably *Laus, honor, virtus deo nostro* for the Easter communion *Pascha nostrum*, appear in sources from almost all regions, but the majority of the surviving tropes had only a regional dissemination. As in the case of the offertory tropes, communion tropes apparently were less favoured in Italy than in Germany or France, and the trope collections from southern Italy transmit not a single communion trope.

Text editions of the communion tropes have been published in the Volumes I, III and IX of *Corpus Troporum* and in Analecta Hymnica 49, and music editions appear in the different

studies concerned either with individual manuscripts or with regional repertories (Evans 1960; Planchart, 1977; Borders, 1996; Doyle, 2000, II), but no study of the communion tropes as a repertory has even been undertaken. Their ultimate fate is very similar to that of the offertory tropes. By the middle of the twelfth century they had been largely abandoned, although isolated examples continued to be copied in liturgical books until the sixteenth century.

Tropes to the Fraction Antiphon

Tropers and Graduals throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries retained a number of examples of one of the chants of the old Gallican liturgy, the fraction antiphon, a large-scale antiphon without a verse, which was sung at different places in the liturgy depending on the local tradition, but always in very close proximity to the communion. The fraction antiphon may have been a Gallican chant, but in the Gregorian tradition it became a pan-European chant, found in sources from every region. One or two of the 14 fraction antiphons that survive in the Gregorian manuscripts continued to be sung into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly the Easter antiphon *Venite populi*.[65] In Aquitaine one of these antiphons was provided with an introductory trope. Specifically the Christmas antiphon *Emitte spiritum tuum* is preceded by the trope *Haec festa praecelsa* in two sources from Aurillac (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 887, fol. 11v, and *nouv. acq. lat.* 1871, fol. 18v). This is a particularly interesting case because in all other Aquitanian sources *Haec festa praecelsa* is part of a trope to the Agnus Dei (see Iversen, 1980, nos 4, 16, 27 and 36a, particularly no. 27) but the rubric in Paris 887, 'Ad ant[iphonam]', is unequivocal, and in Paris 1871 the entire antiphons follows the trope.

Kyrie Tropes

Apart from the Kyrie prosulas and Latin Kyries discussed above, there is a small repertory of true Kyrie tropes, which can be divided into two traditions, an East Frankish or German tradition and a West Frankish or French tradition (which in this case also includes Anglo-Saxon England). The distinction between Kyrie tropes and prosulas and between the two traditions has been pointed out most clearly by David Bjork (Chapter 17, this volume). True tropes are introductions to the entire Kyrie (with or without prosulas or verses), to each set of three invocations or to each invocation, but in all cases the text *and the melody* of the trope are different from the text and the melody of the Kyrie invocation that follows the trope. One of the Winchester tropers has a particularly telling example of this, a Kyrie trope that was intended to consist of three introductions, one for each set of three invocations. But the scribe had only one actual trope at hand as well as a set of Kyrie prosulas for that Kyrie, which in this case was meant to be sung melismatically except for the tropes. To produce 'tropes' for the second and third set of invocations he then copied prosulas 3 (Kyrie) as an introduction to the three *Christe eleison* invocations, and prosula 6 (Christe) as an introduction of the last three Kyrie invocations. His criterion for a 'trope' was that the melody had to be different from that of the invocations that *followed* it. That the 'trope' melody was the same as that of the invocation that *preceded* it was, in this case, not a concern (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS

65 The only study of these pieces that has been published is Huglo (1955).

Bodley 775, fol. 62r).[66] The West Frankish tradition of Kyrie tropes is thus: Trope – KKK XXX KKK, or else Trope – KKK, Trope – XXX, Trope – KKK, with the invocations being either melismatic or provided with verses. A few Kyries have tropes preceding the first and second set of invocations but not the third. The East Frankish tradition consists of a melismatic first invocation and then a trope introducing each of the remaining eight invocations. The Italian sources, by and large, transmit Kyries with verses but without tropes, except for a few Kyrie tropes from the East Frankish tradition.

Editions of a few West Frankish Kyries are available in the studies of Bjork (Chapter 17, pp. 428ff., this volume) and Doyle (2000, II, pp. 24–25, 58–59, 80–81). The East Frankish tradition has not been studied in detail, but one example in north Italian sources appears in Borders (1996, I, no. 2).

While Kyrie verses and Latin Kyries remained in the liturgy in various parts of Europe and particularly in England until the sixteenth century, Kyrie tropes, except for a few of the East Frankish pieces, had disappeared by the end of the eleventh century.

Tropes to the Gloria

Tropes to the *Gloria in excelsis* are among the 'new fictions' condemned by the Council of Meaux probably around 848 (Silagi, 1985, p. vii). Accordingly they belong to the earliest layer of tropes for which we have references, and not surprisingly the fragmentary sources dating from *c*.900 transmit a few of them (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14843, fol. 97v, *Laus tua deus*; Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC, fol. 134v, *Laudat in excelsis*, 135v, *Laus tua deus*, 136r, *Ut possimus consequi*). And as is the case of a few very early introit tropes, one of the early Gloria tropes has a known author: *Quem vere pia laus* is now regarded as the work of Hucbald of St. Amand (*c*.850–930) (Weakland, 1956, 1959; Planchart, 1977, II, pp. 309–10).

A promised volume on the Gloria tropes from the editors of *Corpus Troporum* has yet to appear, but Gloria tropes have been the object of three extended studies by Rönnau (1967b), Leach (1986) and Falconer (1989), and the music for the entire repertory of south Italian and Novalesan Gloria tropes has been edited (Boe, 1990a; Borders, 1996, I). The Aquitanian, north French and English repertories have not been edited *in toto*, but several transcriptions have been published (Evans, 1960, pp. 254–60; Doyle, 2000, *passim*; Planchart, n.d.; see also Leach, 1986 and Falconer, 1989).

Rönnau (1967b, 246–49) felt that the origins of the Gloria tropes probably lay in independent verses that at one point or another coalesced into actual constellations, although a number of verses remained as 'wandering verses' in that they became associated with different tropes, not only in different traditions but even within a single tradition, as is the case with verses such as *Caelestium terrestrium et infernorum rex*.[67] But Falconer (1984) and other scholars view the early tradition as starting with a few 'complete tropings', such as *Laus tua deus* or

66 See the discussion in Planchart (1977, I, p. 249) and a transcription (with the organum from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473, 135r) (Planchart, 1977, I, pp. 310–13).

67 Cf. Rönnau (1967, pp. 246–48), with a list of such wandering verses within the Aquitanian tradition on p. 247.

Pax sempiterna, which were expanded and in some instances 'mined' for verses by later trope composers.

A glance at such tropes as *Pax sempiterna* or *O gloria sanctorum* would suggest that one of the purposes of adding tropes to the Gloria was to create a 'proper' liturgical connection for this chant. And that is no doubt the effect of a number of Gloria tropes, but these are not in the majority and in the case of a trope such as *Laus tua deus*, despite its relatively early connection with Easter (and Christmas), the text of the verses is liturgically neutral. A few tropes appear to derive their substance from the text of the Gloria itself, where the verbs in each trope verse are the same verbs in the phrase of the Gloria introduced by each verse.[68]

The pattern of which phrases of the Gloria are preceded by a trope is not at all consistent throughout the different repertories, but most of the time the series of phrases from *laudamus te* to *gratias agimus tibi* are the most commonly troped, as are the phrases from *quoniam* to *cum sancto*, and from early on a good number of tropes ended with an extended verse, either one of the variants of *Regnum tuum solidum* with the large melisma and often a prosula, or doxological verses borrowed from the hymn repertory as is the case of *Te trina deitas et una* (in its many variations), which is the final stanza of the hymn *Sanctorum meritis*, thought by some to have been written by Hrabanus Maurus (see Szövérffy, 1964, I, pp. 220–23).

The evolution of the Gloria trope repertory between the end of the ninth and the end of the eleventh century parallels in some respect that of the introit tropes. In the East Frankish region many Gloria tropes originated as texting of the melismatic additions to the Gloria in the manner of prosulas, to the point that, as noted above, all the Gloria tropes whose origins can be traced to St Gall belong to this type (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 197). The Eastern repertory crystallized early and remained quite stable until the end of the twelfth century. In contrast in the West Frankish repertory Gloria tropes in the manner of prosulas are very rare, and the repertory underwent rapid expansion in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Often each trope retained a core of 'stable' verses which were then augmented in different redactions by a number of verses either borrowed from another trope or so apparently unstable that they may be called 'wandering verses' (Rönnau, 1967b, p. 247), even though in a number of cases it is possible to gather what their original locus was, most of the time in one or another of the earliest Gloria tropes. This situation was prevalent in Aquitaine, where multiple expansions of a number of tropes can be found, sometimes in a single manuscript, including an astonishing 'quadruple trope' where phrases of the Gloria are preceded by up to four tropes each (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1119, fols 113v–119v; see Iversen, 1998), but different expansions of Gloria tropes appear in different regions of France and Italy, so to some extent these can be treated as regional versions.[69] A fuller account of this must wait for the publication of the edition of the Gloria trope text in the *Corpus Troporum* series.

Each of the Gloria tropes was by and large associated with a single Gloria melody. The majority of the early ones were associated with Gloria A (Bosse, 1955, no. 39), to the point that in all of its earliest sources Gloria A is always found associated with a set of trope verses (most frequently *Laus tua deus*). But in the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries a number

68 This is the case with the trope *Quem patris ad dextram*, verses 1–5. See Planchart (1977, II, p. 306).

69 This can be observed in the critical apparatus in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 89–170) and in Planchart (1977, II, pp. 264–316).

of tropes became associated with different Gloria melodies, again depending on the region where they were used.[70] These shifts in association have not yet been studied in detail.

The use of Gloria tropes fell off rapidly during the twelfth century and had largely disappeared by the thirteenth. Curiously enough, a late and anomalous trope (in terms of which phrases were troped) arose at the beginning of the twelfth century, the trope *Spiritus et alme*, a Marian text associated with Gloria IX (Bosse, 1955, no. 23) used for the Lady Mass on Saturdays and other Marian feasts.[71] This trope remained in use for Marian masses until the reforms of the Council of Trent, and as a result it appears not only in plainsong but in numerous polyphonic settings until the first half of the sixteenth century (see Schmid, 1988).

A small subrepertory of Gloria tropes found in tenth- and eleventh-century sources are the introductions used to call on the bishop to intone the Gloria. They were either copied separately or preceding one or two Glorias, precisely those used during the most solemn feasts of the year, usually Christmas or Easter. In a few sources they are called *Ad rogandum episcopum* (for example Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, *latin* 1118, fol. 19v). They have been studied in detail by Thomas Kelly (Chapter 19, this volume), who provides a complete guide to the early sources.

Tropes to the Sanctus

The earliest sources for tropes to the Sanctus date from the second quarter of the tenth century, which suggests that the repertory itself is slightly younger than the repertory of tropes to the introit and the Gloria. From the point of view of the texts the surviving repertory of tropes to the Sanctus prior to 1100, with a substantial number of tropes in sources from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, has been the subject of an exemplary study by Gunilla Iversen (1990a), who also provides a fairly comprehensive introduction to the structure of the Sanctus tropes, the themes favoured by the poets who wrote them, and a brief précis of the evolution of the genre.

Tropes to the proper chants begin with introductions to the chants, and as a rule each trope verse is an introduction to the official text that follows it. With the Kyrie tropes this is also the case, and except for in southern Italy, Kyrie verses precede the Greek invocation. Introductions to the Gloria are relatively rare, particularly since the Gloria is intoned by the bishop or the priest and not by the cantors, but the verses of the Gloria tropes also, by and large, lead to the phrase of the Gloria that follows them. In contrast to this, Sanctus trope verses, particularly the most frequent of them, which trope the first three statements of the word 'Sanctus', qualify the word that precedes the trope, most often with a Trinitarian exegesis. Possibly for this reason there are virtually no tropes to the Sanctus that begin with a trope line. There are only two exceptions to this in the enormous repertory edited by Iversen, the trope *Sanctus deus adorandus* (1990a, p. 183, no. 145), and the trope *Sanctus deus omnipotens pater* (1990a, p. 184, no. 146/1), and it is instructive to note that in both cases the trope writers imitate the traditional form, starting their trope with the word 'Sanctus'. In fact while *Sanctus deus*

---

70 A summary of the associations in a large number of sources is given in the tables in Rönnau (1967b, pp. 20–52). See also Boe (1990a, 2).

71 Its earliest source appears to be Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1386 (U 158), from c.1100. See Hesbert (1954, p. 63 and plates lxiv–lxv).

adorandus is a unicum (Apt, Basilique de Sainte Anne, MS 17, p. 99) and therefore shows no variation, *Sanctus deus omnipotens pater* was misunderstood in all copies of it outside Aquitaine, where scribes assumed that the three invocations that are part of the extended introduction to the start of the actual Sanctus were in fact a combination of official chant and trope.[72]

As Iversen notes, the contrast in the evolution of the repertory between the East Frankish and the West Frankish (and Italian) regions, which we have mentioned in connection with other repertories, is also evident in the tropes to the Sanctus. The earlier forms of the tropes, with a trope following each of the Sanctus invocations, and sometimes a trope after 'deus sabaoth' or after the first Osanna, crystallizes early in the East Frankish region and remains relatively constant, while in the West, particularly from the late eleventh century on, a large number of additional tropes and in particular prosulas to the Osanna begin to appear (Iversen, 1990a, p. 35).

The prosulas to the Osanna, which Iversen, given the scope of her work, treats together with the tropes, have been discussed above. But it is useful here to recall that, beginning with the twelfth century, a number of true proses, that is new text and new music, often in parallel versicles, begin to appear as additions to the final Osanna. A substantial number of them appear in Iversen's edition, but since she deals only with the texts (despite an increased and useful attempt at reporting on the melodies) it is not always clear which of these additions are prosulas and which are essentially new compositions attached to the end of the Sanctus.

Tropes to the Sanctus continued to be used well into the fifteenth century. The repertory of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries includes not just some of the older texts but newly composed texts (and their melodies) as well as the adaptation of other texts to function as tropes to the Sanctus, such as the fourteenth-century eucharistic hymn *Ave verum corpus natum* (Thannabaur, 1962, pp. 165–66, no. 116; Szöverffy, 1964, II, pp. 298–99), and a number of these late troped Sanctus were set to polyphony, particularly in northern Italy in the early fifteenth century. The extent of the repertory of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tropes to the Sanctus, both in plainsong and in polyphony, has simply not been mapped out.

Tropes to the Agnus Dei

The tropes to the Agnus Dei present a number of unique problems caused by variations in the performance of the Agnus Dei in the ninth and tenth centuries and by a certain fluidity in the border between trope and official text in the early traditions (see Crocker, Chapter 1, p. 14, this volume; Atkinson, Chapter16, this volume). According to the *Liber pontificalis*, the Agnus Dei was introduced in the Roman mass during the pontificate of Sergius I (687–701) (Duchesne, 1886–92, I, p. 376; see also Hiley, 1993b, pp. 165–66), but no tropes to it are found in any source earlier than the second quarter of the tenth century, nor are mentions of tropes to be found in the writing of ninth-century authors.[73] Even though Charles Atkinson (Chapter 16, p. 397, this volume) makes a good case for the threefold Agnus Dei being essentially the

72 Cf. Iversen (1990a, pp. 184–85, nos 146/1–2) and Planchart (1977, pp. 318–19) dealing also with the melodic consequences of the confusion.

73 A convenient summary of ninth-century references to the Agnus Dei appears in Iversen (1980, pp. 206–9).

norm from the ninth century on, the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts that transmit the Agnus Dei with its tropes present a wide variation, from one to six invocations depending on regional traditions (cf. Iversen, 1980, pp. 219–24).

Between the ninth and the eleventh century the Agnus Dei invocations take three forms:

1. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
2. Trope text – miserere nobis.
3. Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi – trope text – miserere nobis.

The most common versions found in the tenth century consist of a first invocation following the pattern of no. 1 above, followed by one to five (most often three) invocations following the pattern of no. 2. This pattern continues in the eleventh century, but it is increasingly replaced by three invocations following the pattern of no. 3. Starting in the second half of the eleventh century in a number of centres Agnus Dei that consist of three invocations following the pattern of no. 3 above begin to replace the final *miserere nobis* with *dona nobis pacem*. This pattern becomes virtually universal from the twelfth century on, although occasionally a late source will give an Agnus Dei where the tropes follow the pattern of no. 2.

In addition to this a number of Agnus Dei in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts begin with an introductory trope. Some of these introductions were 'wandering' in that they introduced several different constellations of verses, others were largely restricted to one such constellation but found occasionally with others, and finally some introductions appear always connected with the same constellation of verses (cf. Iversen, 1980, pp. 241–52, 271–74). These introductions, more than any other part of the tropes to the Agnus Dei, serve to tie the troped Agnus to a specific liturgical occasion. Further, among them we find some of the very few tropes that served as tropes to both the ordinary and the proper chants. For example, the introduction *Haec festa praecelsa*, an introduction to the Agnus in a number of Aquitanian tropers, serves also in one instance as a trope to the communion and in another as a trope to the fraction antiphon (Iversen, 1980, pp. 52–53).

As with the introit tropes, verses on the Agnus Dei tropes appear in numerous recombinations in the different sources. These are often regional variants and, as noted in a number of other cases, the East Frankish tradition is by and large more stable than those in the West and in Italy.

An edition of Agnus Dei trope texts from the earliest ones up to *c.*1000 has been published by Gunilla Iversen (1980) from a substantial base of 79 manuscripts, which includes virtually all the important tenth- and eleventh-century sources together with a series of invaluable essays on some aspects of this repertory.[74] A promised edition of the melodies by Charles Atkinson has not yet appeared. This is not surprising because the problems faced by such an undertaking go well beyond those posed by the alleluia melodies, for example, and it took more than two decades for the edition of the alleluias to go from the first catalogue to the publication of the second and final volume of the edition (Schlager, 1965, 1968, 1987).

Unlike the edition of the tropes to the Sanctus, the edition of the tropes to the Agnus does not include a good number of sources copied after 1100, but it does include a number of

74 This manuscript base is slightly smaller than the one she used for the later volume on the tropes to the Sanctus, but nonetheless a fundamentally complete picture of the early repertory emerges from her study.

additions made in the thirteenth century to eleventh-century manuscripts from St. Gall, and this gives the reader a glimpse into the nature of the later repertory of tropes to the Agnus Dei, which includes, as in the case of the tropes to the Sanctus, texts structured in the form of rhythmic stanzas with rhyme, influenced by the style of hymn and sequence poetry (see Iversen, 1980, pp. 297–302).

Tropes to the Ite missa est

The versicle *Ite missa est* (or *Benedicamus domino* during the penitential season) that ends the celebration of the mass received little scholarly attention for most of the century that followed the restoration of plainsong at the end of the nineteenth century. Typical of this situation is that even David Hiley's comprehensive *Western Plainchant* (1993b), barely devotes a few lines to it. The reasons for this are not far to seek, for in the early chant manuscripts with notation the *Ite missa est* is rarely notated. It begins appearing in the late tenth century and no tropes for it survive in sources earlier then the last decade of the tenth century. As Huglo (1982, pp. 117–18) notes, the *Ite missa est* at first had but a single melodic formula, which it shared with the *Benedicamus domino* that ends the hours of the office, which might go back to the ninth century. The tradition of the mass and the office begin to diverge in the tenth century and the tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts transmit a number of different melodies, but a good number of them are melismas taken from responsorial chants of the mass and the office, and by the fourteenth century a practice had risen to sing the *Ite missa est* to the melody of the first Kyrie invocation sung at that mass. Still by the end of the Middle Ages the melodic repertory of the *Ite missa est* had grown to several hundred melodies.[75]

Studies of the *Ite missa est* repertory and its tropes are relatively recent. Still there are two studies of local repertories (Hospenthal, 1990; Ferenczi, 2003) and now a comprehensive edition of the melodies (Eifrig and Pfisterer, 2006). In terms of the texts the edition in Analecta Hymnica 47 presents in this case a remarkably comprehensive picture of the early repertory, leaving out mostly late sources.[76] The typical structure of the tropes, if one assumes that the official text consists of *Ite missa est* (or *Benedicamus domino*) and the response *Deo gratias*, is:

Ite – Trope – missa est. Deo – trope – gratias.

Again, as in the case of the Kyries, it remains in some instances an open question whether we are dealing here with prosulas, true tropes or with works that were composed like some of the Latin Kyries, the extended text and the music together. This is because in a number of instances the earliest sources for a given melody have it with the 'trope' text, and it could well be that later copies of the melody without the trope could be simply the result of pruning the extra text. The earliest surviving example of a trope to the *Ite missa est* is both a true trope and an exception unique in the entire repertory: it consists of introductory tropes to each of the two sentences of the official text (see Blume and Bannister, 2005, p. 409; Doyle, 2000, II, p. 34; Eifrig and Pfisterer, 2006, no. 401a).

---

75 Eifrig and Pfisterer (2006, p. xxii) note that in a repertory of nearly 192 melodies 85 of them are contrafacta.

76 Blume and Bannister (1905) edit 25 texts from 22 manuscripts; Eifrig and Pfisterer (2006) edit 60 texts from 57 manuscripts.

In terms of repertory the regional differences that can be observed in other trope repertories apply even more drastically to the tropes to the *Ite missa est*. They were apparently not used at all in England or northern France, a very small number, for example the tropes *Laudantes deum* and *Pabulo refecti*, are found in French, German and Italian sources, while the majority is confined to a single region and many are *unica*. The use of tropes to the *Ite missa est* disappears in France after the eleventh century, and in Italy after the twelfth. In Germany and in Eastern Europe, however, their use continued until the sixteenth century and the reforms of the Council of Trent.

All this being said, there is a small repertory of French and English fourteenth-century works that bears a distant relationship to the tropes for the *Ite missa est*: it consists of three motets with texts that are clearly replacements for the *Deo gratias* response to the *Ite missa est*, specifically the anonymous *Post missarum sollemnia – Post missae modulamina* in the Ivrea manuscript (Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115, fols 7v–8r),[77] as well as *Ara post libamina – Nunc surgunt* and an incomplete *Post missarum sollemnia* in the Old Hall Manuscript (London, British Library, Additional MS 57950, fols 111v–112v; see Bent and Hughes, 1973, nos 146–47). The *cantus firmi* of the first two motets have not been identified (the *cantus firmus* for the last one is lost), but they could well be *Ite missa est* melodies. But what is important in this case is that the texts refer to their function at the end of the mass and end with the words *Deo gratias*. There are a few thirteenth- and fourteenth-century motets that use an *Ite missa est* melody for their tenor, but their texts are secular, even though one of them is copied as the *Ite missa est* of the so-called Mass of Tournai (see Schrade, 1974, pp. 129–31). The proximate context of these pieces is the tradition of the so-called isorhythmic motet and that of the early polyphonic settings of the ordinary of the mass in France, which often included the *Ite missa est* as well.

Tropes to the Benedicamus domino

As noted above, the beginnings of the *Benedicamus domino* that closes the hours of the office is very similar to that of the *Ite missa est*. The growth of independent new melodies, both actually new and excerpted from office responsories in the tenth and eleventh centuries, is dramatic and has, in this case, been particularly well documented in the case of the untroped melodies.[78] The growth of the tropes to the *Benedicamus domino*, particularly in the eleventh century and beyond, however, was enormous, and to this day there is no study comparable to those of the *Corpus Troporum* or even Eifrig and Pfisterer's study of the *Ite missa est* to provide us with an outline of the repertory as a whole.

There appear to be two interrelated reasons for this. As the *Benedicamus domino* came at the end of the liturgy of each office, and in the case of Vespers at the end of the 'working day', there were fewer constraints on its length, and in particular the singing of the versicle at the end of Vespers seems to have called for a celebratory tone for it. In addition (or perhaps because of this), it became a prime locus for the use of polyphony, which ranged from simple

77 It is listed in the index of the lost Trémoïlle manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, n.a.fr. 23190. See Harrison (1974, no. 6) and Stäblein-Harder (1962, no. 73).

78 The best introduction to the repertory and the scholarship on it remains Robertson (1988), but see also Barclay (1977, I, pp. 53–93) and Huglo (1982, pp. 150–54).

cantus planus binatim to elaborate two and three part organa. The tropes ranged in style from short interpolations between the words 'Benedicamus' and 'domino', as well as between 'Deo' and 'gratias', to what amounted to elaborate versus and conductus settings, in one, two or three voices, and even tenor motets where the text of one or another of the voices ended with the words 'Benedicamus domino' or else 'Deo gratias'.

No reliable guide exists for this immense repertory, and in particular the monophonic tropes have not been reliably inventoried or studied in detail. The polyphonic repertory can be teased out laboriously from the indices in the relevant volumes of *RISM* (Reaney, 1966; von Fischer and Lütolf, 1972), and in the case of the motets one needs to go through the editions themselves, because the indices provide incipits, and most of the time the words 'Benedicamus domino' and 'Deo gratias' serve as the explicits of the texts.

Still, a number of studies look at parts of this repertory as tropes (see, for example, Göllner, 2003) or as part of a study of polyphony or of a specific office (see Marshall, 1964, pp. 133–39; Fuller, 1969, 1971; Arlt, 1970, I, pp. 79–81, 160–206; Huglo, 1982, pp. 117–22, 134–35). But what we are dealing with in the case of most of the late *Benedicamus domino* tropes is no longer quite a trope in the classical sense but substitute pieces.

Tropes to the Lessons, the Prayers, and the Credo

All of these categories except for the tropes to the first lesson in the mass consist of very small and generally late repertories that have received little study. The name most often used for these tropes was *farsa*, and sometime the farsing consisted not of newly composed material but of a cento of phrases from pre-existing chants.[79] Tropes to the first lesson of the mass, the Epistle or the Prophecy, were the most plentiful and one of them, *Laudes deo dicam per saecula*, was used throughout much of Europe.[80] Farsed first lessons are the earliest of all of the repertories considered in this section, but none of them can be dated earlier than the twelfth century. They include some of the extremely rare vernacular tropes added to the Latin liturgy (see Hiley, 1993b, p. 237). As a rule farsed lessons were limited to a few of the most important feasts of the year, usually during the Christmas season. Farsed Gospels, in contrast to farsed first lessons, are extremely rare and found only in a few late German sources.[81] The Nicene Creed from the mass as well as the Apostles' Creed from compline also received farses. Among the prayers the *Pater noster* was also provided with tropes in a few festal occasions (Stäblein, 1977). Festal offices from Santiago de Compostela, Sens and Beauvais containing farsed lessons as well as some of the other kinds of tropes mentioned in this section have been published in modern editions (Villetard, 1907; Wagner, 1931; Arlt, 1970, II); an equally extensive set of offices from Laon has not been published.

79 See the example of a farsed Creed with a table of sources for the farses in Hiley (1993b, pp. 234–36).

80 See the collation in Blume (1906, pp. 171–72).

81 See the list in Stäblein (1949–86a) and Wagner (1921, p. 513).

Tropes to the Marian Antiphons

Tropes to the Marian antiphons are a relatively late phenomenon; most examples come from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Marian antiphons were not only used at the end of Compline, but also as magnificat antiphons at the so-called 'vespers of the blessed virgin' (cf. Lille, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 599, fol. 124r–126r), and on many of these occasions the *Salve regina* and the *Ave regina caelorum* were provided with tropes. In the case of the *Salve regina* the tropes usually introduce the phrases *O clemens*, *O pia* and *O dulcis*, and in the *Ave regina* the tropes introduce the phrase *Vale, valde decora*. The practice appears to be restricted to north-eastern France, the Low Countries and England. Troped Marian antiphons on the continent were restricted to plainsong, but in England a large number of extraordinary polyphonic settings of the troped *Salve regina* survive from the second half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, particularly in the Eton Choirbook (see Harrison, 1956–61). Ironically the most famous troped *Ave regina* is a continental work, the setting composed probably in 1464 by Guillaume Du Fay and provided the composer with a unique set of tropes praying for his own salvation. Although the work, as a troped antiphon, is unique in the context of continental polyphony, its roots in the troped Marian antiphons in north French liturgy and quite possibly in examples of English polyphony that could have been known to Du Fay are quite clear.

The Twilight of Troping

The highwater mark of the composition and use of tropes was the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh. Beginning with the twelfth century tropes began to fall into disuse. Although for a time tropes were used equally extensively in monastic and secular churches, it appears that the impetus for the growth of the repertory was primarily monastic, and by the late eleventh century it was clear that some of the most important monastic movements, the Cluniac and the Cistercian, and among the cathedral and collegiate churches the Augustinians, were antagonistic to the practice. As their influence spread, tropes were used less and less. In addition, the important mendicant orders founded in the thirteenth century – Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites – also eschewed the use of tropes in their liturgies, which were intended to be as simple as possible.

By the middle of the thirteenth century tropes to the offertory and communion had entirely fallen from use with only a few exceptions. A small repertory of introit tropes remained in use in some churches until the fifteenth century. Prosulas to the alleluia also disappeared during the twelfth century, and those to the offertory verses disappeared with the verses themselves by the end of the twelfth century. Gloria tropes, with the exception of the late *Spiritus et alme*, disappeared at about the same time, while a small repertory of Sanctus and Agnus tropes, including some composed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, survived into the fifteenth century. Kyrie verses and Latin Kyries survived in England and on parts of the continent until the sixteenth century.

A study of the survival and transformation of the trope repertories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has never been undertaken systematically. The publication of a number of studies and editions of late trope collections, the so-called *troparia tardiva*, provides the basis to begin such a study, and some of the few survivals that we have sometimes prove intriguing.

In Cambrai, for example, one of the oldest Christmas tropes, *Hodie cantandus est*, used as an introduction to the Christmas mass as a whole, continued to be sung to the end of the fifteenth century, but it disappears from the diocesan missal published in 1507.[82] In a mid-thirteenth-century German Gradual, probably from the diocese of Constance, we encounter, at the end of the Kyriale (which includes a few Agnus Dei and *Ite missa est* tropes), two introit tropes: the first is the popular *Hodie cantandus* for Christmas, but the second consists of the first two stanzas of the sequence *Ecce dies triumphalis* used as an introit trope for the dedication of the church (Yale University, Irving S. Lowe Music Library, MS Music Deposit 64, fol. 10v),[83] which is in itself a symptom that new introit tropes are not being composed.[84] Late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources for proper tropes come largely from the East Frankish region and Eastern Europe (cf. Haug, 1995; Camillot-Oswald, 1997; Vlhová-Wörner, 2004), as well as from the region of the Pyrenees (Gros i Pujol, 1993). Ironically, the regions where tropes were cultivated most intensely in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the abbey of St Gall, the monasteries of Aquitaine and the region of north-eastern France, abandoned these repertories apparently early on.[85]

The most intriguing of these very late sources, however, is the *Graduale Herbipolense*, published in 1583,[86] long after the close of the Council of Trent, which transmits not only a large number of sequences (see Karp, 2002), but even more astonishingly a number of proper tropes, including not only introit but also offertory and communion tropes (see Karp, 2007, pp. 80–81). The tropes in this print do represent a tradition from Würzburg that has been documented as surviving in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources (see Schier, 1991; Karp, 2007, p. 81), so they are indeed part of what was still a living tradition, sufficiently strong locally to run counter to the pronouncements of the Council of Trent,[87] and to merit inclusion in a printed diocesan work. But these were exceptions. Already by the middle of the fifteenth century, and increasingly until the end of the *ancient régime* 'embellishing the liturgy', relied not upon textual additions or elucidations of the basic liturgical text, but rather on the clothing of that text in increasingly splendid forms of polyphonic music.

---

82 *Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesiae Cameracensis* (Paris: Simon Vostre, 1507).

83 This is the earliest known source for the trope; for later sources, see Haug (1995, p. 218). On the sequence, see Fassler (1993, pp. 334–38).

84 Haug (1995, p. 218) gives two further sources for *Ecce dies triumphalis* as a trope, both from the fourteenth century, which indicate that the adaptation of the sequence stanza had a tradition of its own.

85 The presence of tropes in Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 547, copied in 1507 in connection with the anniversary of Notker's canonization, do not represent a living repertory but rather a memorial to a bygone era. See Labhardt (1959–63).

86 *Graduale Herbipolense iussu ...* (Frankfurt am Main: Johannes Wolf, 1583). The only copy known to me is in the Musiksammlung of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, with the shelf number S.A.25.Aa.11.

87 The Decrees of the Council allowed for exceptions where a church could show a continuous liturgical tradition of more than two hundred years.

References

Andrieu, Michel (1961–74), *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols, Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense.

Anglès, Higini (1941), *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos, 1. Polifonía religiosa*, Monumentos de la Música Española 1, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.

Arlt, Wulf (1970), *Ein Festoffizium de Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols, Cologne: Arno Volk.

Arlt, Wulf and Rankin, Susan (eds) (1996), *Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen Codices 484 & 381*, 3 vols, Winterthur: Amadeus.

Atkinson, Charles (1985), 'Music as "Mistress of the Words": *Laudes deo ore pio*', in Gabriel Silagi (ed.), *Liturgische Tropen. Referate zweier Colloquien des* Corpus Troporum *in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36, Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, pp. 67–82.

Atkinson, Charles (1993), 'Text, Music, and the Persistence of Memory in *Dulcis est cantica*', in Gunilla Björkvall and Wulf Arlt (eds), *Recherches Nouvelles sur les Tropes Liturgiques*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell, pp. 95–117.

Barclay, Barbara (1977), 'The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped "Benedicamus Domino" Settings', 2 vols, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles.

Bent, Margaret and Hughes, Andrew (1973), *The Old Hall Manuscript*, 3 vols, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 46, Rome: American Institute of Musicology.

Bjork, David (1980a), 'Early Repertories of the Kyrie eleison', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, **53–54**, pp. 9–43.

Bjork, David (1980b), 'Early Settings of the Kyrie eleison and the Problem of Genre Definition', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, **3**, pp. 40–48.

Bjork, David (1980c), 'On the Dissemination of Quem quaeritis and the Visitatio sepulchri and the Chronology of their Early Sources', *Comparative Drama*, **14**.

Bjork, David (2003), *The Aquitanian Kyrie Repertory of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, ed. Richard Crocker, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Björkvall, Gunilla (1990), 'Offertory Prosulas for Advent in Italian and Aquitanian Manuscripts', in László Dobszay (ed.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 377–400.

Björkvall, Gunilla (1992), 'The Continuity of a Genre: Offertory Prosulas in Cambrai B.M. 172 (167) from the Twelfth Century', *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 359–70.

Björkvall, Gunilla and Haug, Andreas (1992), 'Primus init Stephanus: Eine Sankt Galler Prudentius-Vertonung aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, **49**, pp. 57–78.

Björkvall, Gunilla and Steiner, Ruth (1982), 'Some Prosulas for Offertory Antiphons', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, **5**, pp. 12–35.

Björkvall, Gunilla, Iversen, Gunilla and Jonsson, Ritva (eds) (1982), *Corpus Troporum III: Tropes du propre de la messe 2: Cycle de Pâques*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Blume, Clemens (1906), *Tropi Graduales. Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter II*, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 49, Leipzig: Reisland (reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint, 1961).

Blume, Clemens and Bannister, Henry (1905), *Tropi Graduales ad Ordinarium Missae*, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi 47, Leipzig: Reisland.

Boe, John (1982), 'Gloria A and the Roman Easter Vigil Ordinary', *Musica Disciplina*, **36**, pp. 5–37.

Boe, John (1989), *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, Part 1: *Kyrie eleison*, 2 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 19, 20–21, Madison, WI: A-R Editions.

Boe, John (1990a), *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, Part 2: *Gloria in excelsis*, 2 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 22, 23–24, Madison, WI: A-R Editions.

Boe, John (1990b), 'Italian and Roman Verses for Kyrie leyson in the Mss Cologny-Genève, Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 74 and Vaticanus latinus 5319', in Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (eds), *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 345–56.

Boe, John (1996), *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, Part 3: *Preface Chants and Sanctus*, 2 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 25, 26, Madison, WI: A-R Editions.

Bonastre, Francesc (1982), *Estudis sobre la verbeta (La verbeta a Catalunya durant els segles XI-XVI)*, Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona.

Borders, James (1996), *Early Medieval Chants from Nonantola, Part I, Ordinary Chants and Tropes, Part II, Proper Chants and Tropes, Part III, Processional Chants*, 3 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance 30–32, Madison: A-R Editions.

Bosse, Detlev (1955), *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum 'Gloria in excelsis deo'*, Forschungbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 2, Regensburg: Bosse.

Bower, Calvin (2002), 'From Alleluia to Sequence: Some Definitions of Relations', in Sean Gallagher *et al*. (eds), *Western Plainchant in the First Millenium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, pp. 351–98.

Caglio, Ernesto Teodoro Moneta (1957), 'I responsori 'cum infantibus' nella liturgia ambrosiana', *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni prefetto dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan: Giuffre, pp. 481–574.

Camillot-Oswald, Rafaella (1997), *Die liturgischen Musikhandschriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Patriarchat Aquileia. I: Einleitung. Handschriftenbeschreibung*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 2, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Colette, Marie Noël (1993), 'Jubilus et trope dans le Gloria in excelsis Deo', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (eds), *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 183–89.

Crocker, Richard (n.d.), 'Gloria', in Laura Macy (ed.), *Grove Music on Line*, http://www.grovemusic.com

Crocker, Richard (n.d.), 'Kyrie,' in Laura Macy (ed.), *Grove Music on Line*, http://www.grovemusic.com

Crocker, Richard (1958), 'The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **11**, pp. 149–64.

Crocker, Richard (1977), *The Early Medieval Sequence*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Doyle, Alicia Mee (2000), 'The Repertory of Tropes in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale *fonds latin* 1118: A Comparative Study of Tenth-Century Aquitanian Concordances and Transmission', 2 vols, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Santa Barbara.

Drumbl, Johannes (1981), *Quem quaeritis: Teatro sacro dell'alto medioevo*, Rome: Bulzoni.

Duchesne, Louis (1886–92), *Le Liber Pontificalis* (2nd edn), 2 vols, Paris: E. Thorin [I], A. Fontemoing [II]; new edition: 3rd vol. added by Cyrille Vogel, Paris: E. Boccard, 1955–57 (reprinted Rome: Bibliothèque des Ècoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1981).

Eifrig, William and Pfisterer, Andreas (2006), *Melodien zum Ite missa est und ihre Tropen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 19, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Ekkehard IV (1980), *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. Hans F. Hefele, Ausgewälte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 10, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Evans, Paul (1960), *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Evans, Paul (1968), 'The Tropi ad sequentiam', in Harold Powers (ed.), *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 73–82.

Falconer, Keith (1984), 'Early Versions of the Gloria Trope *Pax sempiterna Christus*', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, **7**, pp. 18–27.

Falconer, Keith (1989), 'Some Early Tropes to the Gloria', Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University.

Fassler, Margot (1992), 'The Disappearance of the Proper Tropes and the Rise of the New Sequence: New Evidence from Chartres', in Lazlo Dobszay *et al*. (eds), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 319–35.

Fassler, Margot (1993), *Gothic Song, Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ferenczi, Ilona (2003), 'Das Fragment aus Csíksomlyó als Reformationsdenkmal: Ungarische Präfationen und tropisierte Ite missa est-Sätze', *Benjamin Rajeczky and Polish Musicology. Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, **44**, pp. 47–62.

Froger, Jacques (ed.) (1974), *Le Codex 123 de la Bibliothèque Angelica de Rome (XIe siècle): Graduel et Tropaire de Bologne*, Paléographie Musicale 18, Bern: Herbert Lang.

Fuller, Sarah (1969), 'Aquitanian Polyphony of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', 3 vols, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.

Fuller, Sarah (1971), 'Hidden Polyphony – A Reappraisal', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **24**, pp. 169–92.

Göllner, Marie-Louise (2003), 'Migrant Tropes in the Late Middle Ages', *Essays on Music and Poetry in the Late Middle Ages*, Münchner Veröffentlichungen zur Musikgeschichte 61, Tutzing: Schneider, pp. 49–62.

Gregorii papae registrum epistolarum, 2 vols, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae 1–2, ed. Paul Ewald and Ludwig Hartman, Berlin: Weidmann, 1887–89 (reprinted Munich: MGH, 1978).

Grier, James (2006), *The World of a Medieval Monk: Adémar de Chabannes in Eleventh-century Aquitaine*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gros i Pujol, Miguel (1987), 'Els més antics testimonis de l'us dels tropes i de les proses a Catalunya', *Revista Catalana de teología*, **12**, pp. 117–23.

Gros i Pujol, Miguel (1993), 'Les tropes d'introït du graduel de Saint-Félix de Gérone, Gérone, Bib. Sem., Ms. 4', in Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall (eds), *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 219–37.

Hankeln, Roman (1999), *Die Offertoriumsprosuln der aquitanischen Handschriften: Voruntersuchungen zur Edition des aquitanischen Offertoriumscorpus und seiner Erweiterungen*, 2 vols, Regensburger Studien zur Musikgeschichte 2, Tutzing: Schneider.

Hanssens, Johann Michael (ed.) (1948–50), *Amalarii Episcopi Opera Liturgica Omnia*, 3 vols, Studi e Testi 138-40, Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Harrison, Frank Ll. (1965–61), *The Eton Choir Book*, 3 vols, Musica Brittanica 10–12, London: Stainer & Bell.

Harrison, Frank (1974), *Motets of French Provenance*, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 5, Monaco: Les Remparts.

Haug, Andreas (1995), *Troparia Tardiva: Repertorium später Tropenquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, Subsidia 1, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Hesbert, René-Jean (1935), *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels: Vroomans, (reprinted Herder: Rome, 1963).

Hesbert, René-Jean (1954), *Les Manuscrits musicaux de Jumièges*, Monumenta Musicae Sacrae 2, Macon: Protat Frères.

Hesbert, René-Jean (1963–79), *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols, Rome: Herder.

Hiley, David (1986), 'Ordinary of the Mass Chants in English, North French, and Sicilian Manuscripts', *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society*, **9**, pp. 1–28.

Hiley, David (1990), ‘Cluny, Sequences and Tropes’, in Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (eds), *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi Sull’Alto Medioevo, pp. 125–38.

Hiley, David (1992), ‘The Sequentiary of Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 47’, in Agostino Ziino (ed.), *La sequenza medievale*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, pp. 105–18.

Hiley, David (1993a), ‘The Sequence Melodies Sung at Cluny and Elsewhere’, in Peter Cahn and Ann Katrin Heimer (eds), *De Musica et Cantu. Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, pp. 130–55.

Hiley, David (1993b), *Western Plainchant: A Handbook*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hofman-Brandt, Helma (1971), *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums*, 2 vols, Ph.D. dissertation, Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg.

Holman, Hans-Jorgen (1961), ‘The Responsoria Prolixa of the Codex Worcester F 160’, Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University.

Holschneider, Andreas (1968), *Die Organa von Winchester*, Hildesheim: Olms.

Hospenthal, Cristina (1990), ‘Beobachtungen zu den *Ite missa est* im Tropenbestand der Handschriften aus dem Kloster Rheinau’, *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, n. s. **10**, pp. 11–18.

Hughes, David (1972), ‘Music for St. Stephen at Laon’, in Lawrence Berman (ed.), *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View. A Medley of Problems and Solutions Compiled in Honor of A. Tillman Merritt by Sundry Hands*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Department of Music, pp. 137–59.

Huglo, Michel (1937), *Le Codex VI 34 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent (XI–XIIe siècle). Graduel de Bénévent avec Prosaire et Tropaire*, Paléographie Musicale 15, Tournai: Desclée (reprinted Bern: Herbert Lang, 1971).

Huglo, Michel (1955), ‘Antifone antiche per la “fractio panis”’, *Ambrosius. Rivista di pastorale ambrosiana*, **31**, pp. 85–95.

Huglo, Michel (1982), ‘Les débuts de la polyphonie à Paris: les premiers *organa* parisiens’, *Forum Musicologicum*, **3**, pp. 93–164.

Husmann, Heinrich (1959), ‘Sinn und Wesen der Tropen. Veranschaulicht and den Introitustropen des Weinachtsfestes’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, **16**, pp. 135–47.

Iversen, Gunilla (1980), *Corpus Troporum IV. Tropes de l’Agnus Dei*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell.

Iversen, Gunilla (1990a), *Corpus Troporum VII. Tropes de l’ordinaire de la messe: Tropes du Sanctus*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell.

Iversen, Gunilla (1990b), ‘Osanna Dulcis est cantica: On a Group of Compositions Added to the Osanna in excelsis’, in Lazlo Dobszay (ed.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 275–96.

Iversen, Gunilla (1998), ‘Incipiunt glorie cum laudes: Conclusions from a Radical Redaction – Gloria Melody A and its Collection of Alternating Trope Verses in the MS Paris B.N. lat. 1119’, in László Dobszay and Józef Ufjalussy (eds), *Cantus Planus: Papers read at the Seventh Meeting*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 305–28.

Johnstone, John (1984), ‘The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmission, and Function’, Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University.

Jonsson, Ritva [=Ritva Maria Jacobsson] (1975), *Corpus Troporum I. Tropes du propre de la messe : Cycle de Noël*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell.

Karp, Theodore (2002), ‘Some Notkerian Sequences’, in Sean Gallagher *et al*. (eds), *Western Plainchant in the First Millenium: Studies in the Medieval Liturgy and its Music*, Aldershot and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, pp. 399–401.

Karp, Theodore (2007), ‘The Twilight of Troping’, in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 79–94.

Kelly, Thomas F. (1973), ‘Responsory Tropes’, Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University.

Kelly, Thomas F. (1974), ‘Melodic Elaborations in Responsory Melismas’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **27**, pp. 461–74.

Kelly, Thomas F. (1988), 'Neuma Triplex,' *Acta Musicologica*, **40**, pp. 1–40.

Kruckenberg, Lori (2003), 'Some Observations on a Troparium Tardivum: The Proper Tropes in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 417', *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, **53**, pp. 151–82.

Kruckenberg, Lori (2006), 'Neumatizing the Sequence: Special Performances of Sequences in the Central Middle Ages', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **59**, pp. 243–317.

Labhardt, Franz Joachim (1959–63), *Das Sequentiar Cod. 546 der Stifsbibliothek von St. Gallen und seine Quellen*, 2 vols, Bern: Haupt.

Leach, Mark Alan (1986), 'The Gloria in excelsis Deo tropes of the Breme-Novalesa community and the repertory in north and central Italy', 2 vols, Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Locanto, Massimiliano (1997), 'Il prosulario di VE 107', *Subsidia Musica Veneta*, **12**, pp. 23–40.

Maître, Claire (1993), 'À propos de quelques tropes dans un manuscrit Cistercien', in Gunilla Björkvall and Wulf Arlt (eds), *Recherches Nouvelles sur les Tropes Liturgiques*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell, pp. 343–59.

Marcusson, Olof (1976), *Corpus Troporum II. Prosules de la messe 1: Tropes de l'alleluia*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Marcusson, Olof (1979), 'Comment a-t-on chanté les prosules? Observations sur la technique des tropes de l'alleluia', *Revue de Musicologie*, **65**, pp. 119–59.

Marshall, Judith (1964), 'Hidden Polyphony in a Manuscript from St. Martial de Limoges', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **15**, 131–44.

Mielnicki, Margareta (1954), *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Forschungbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 1, Regensburg: Bosse.

Möller, Hartmut (1990), 'Die Prosula "Psalle modulamina" (Mü 9543) und ihre musikhistorische Bedeutung', in Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (eds), *La Tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 279–96.

Nardini, Luisa (1995), 'Le prosule del Proprium Missae nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Benevento', Thesis of Laurea, Naples, Università Federico II.

Nardini, Luisa (1997), 'Una prosula per san Nicola in un codice della Biblioteca Capitolare di Benevento', *Nicholaus: Studi Historici*, **8**, pp. 181–88.

Odelman, Eva (1978), 'Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes? Observations sur les rubriques des tropes des xe et xie siècles', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, **18**, pp. 15–36.

Odelman, Eva (1986), *Corpus Troporum VI. Prosules de la messe 2: Les Prosules Limousines de Wolfenbüttel*, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (n.d.), 'Trope', in Laura Macy (ed.), *Grove Music on Line*, http://www.grovemusic.com

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1977), *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1982), 'About Tropes', *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*, n. s. **2**, pp. 125–38.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1985), 'Italian Tropes', *Mosaic*, **18**, pp. 11–31.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1990), 'The Interaction Between Montecassino and Benevento', in Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò (eds), *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici*, Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, pp. 385–407.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1993), 'Old Wine in New Bottles', in Peter Cahn and Ann Katrin Heimer (eds), *De Musica et Cantu. Studien zur Geschichte der Kirchenmusik und der Oper. Helmut Hucke zum 60. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, pp. 41–64.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1994), *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus I: Tropes of the Proper of the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250*, 2 vols, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, 16, 17–18, Madison, WI: A-R Editions.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (1995), 'Notes on the Tropes in Manuscripts of the Rite of Aquileia', in Graeme M. Boone (ed.), *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, Isham Library Papers 4, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (2004), 'The Opening Chant at Easter in the Latin West', in Teresa Gialdroni (ed.), *'Et facciam dolçi canti.' Studi in onore di Agostino Ziino in occasione del suo 65° compleanno*, Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, pp. 61–96.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique (2007), 'Notker in Aquitaine', in Terence Bailey and Alma Santosuosso (eds), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honor of Bryan Gillingham*, Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 312–66.

Ratcliff, Edward Craddock (ed.) (1971), *Expositio antiquae liturgiae gallicanae*, Henry Bradshaw Society Publications 98, London: Henry Bradshaw Society.

Reaney, Gilbert (1966), *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music 11th–Early 14th Century*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B IV-1, Munich: G. Henle.

Robertson, Anne Walters (1988), '*Benedicamus Domino*: The Unwritten Tradition', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **41**, pp. 1–62.

Rönnau, Klaus (1967a), 'Regnum tuum solidum', in Martin Rhunke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Rönnau, Klaus (1967b), *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires der St. Martial-Handschriften*, Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel.

Rönnau, Klaus (1984), 'Assonanz und Prosula. Zu den Offertorien-Proseln des Hs. Rom, Biblioteca Angelica 123', in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling and Sigrid Weismann (eds), *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bayreuth 1981*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 279–83.

Rüsch, Ernst Gerhard (1953), *Tuotilo Mönch und Künstler*, St Gall: Fehr.

Schier, Volker (1991), 'Propriumstropen in der Würburger Domliturgie', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, **76**, pp. 3–43.

Schlager, Karl Heinz (1965), *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien aus Handschriften des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts, ausgenomen das ambrosianische, alt-römische und alt-spanische Repertoire*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 2, Munich: Walter Ricke.

Schlager, Karl Heinz (1968), *Alleluia-Melodien I, bis 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 7, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Schlager, Karl Heinz (1987), *Alleluia-Melodien II, ab 1100*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 8, Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Schmid, Bernhold (ed.) (1988), *Die Gloria-Tropus Spiritus et alme bis zum Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Tutzing: Schneider.

Schrade, Leo (1974), *The* Roman de Fauvel, *The Works of Philippe de Vitry, French Cycles of the* Ordinarium missae, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century 1, Monaco: Les Remparts.

Silagi, Gabriel (1985), 'Vorwort', in Gabriel Silagi (ed.), *Liturgische Tropen. Referate zweier Colloquien des* Corpus Troporum *in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36, Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft.

Skendrei, Janka (1990), 'Tropenbestand der ungarischen Handschriften', in László Dobszay (ed.), *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, pp. 297–325.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph (1957), 'Over het onstaan van Sequens en Prosula en beider oorspronkelijke uitvoeringswijze', in Joseph Smits van Waeberghe (ed.), *Feestafleveering ter gelegenheid van de zestige verjaardag van Prof. Dr. K. Ph. Bernet Kempers* [= *Orgaan KNTV* 12], Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandsche Toonkunstenaars/Vereeniging, pp. 51–57.

Smits van Waesberghe, Joseph (1970), 'Neue Kompositionen von Johannes von Metz (um 975), Hucbalds von St. Amand und Siegbert von Gembloux?', in Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach (eds), *Speculum Musicae Artis, Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, Munich: Fink, pp. 285–303.

Stäblein, Bruno (1949-86a), 'Evangelium', in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols, Kassel: Bärenreiter, III, pp. 1618–29.

Stäblein, Bruno (1949–86b), 'Graduale (Gesang)', in Friedrich Blume (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 17 vols, Kassel: Bärenreiter, V.

Stäblein, Bruno (1963), *Organicae Voces: Festschrift Joseph Smits van Waesberghe*, Amsterdam: Instituut voor Middeleeuwse Muziekwetenschap, pp. 157–67.

Stäblein, Bruno (1964), 'Das Wesen des Tropus, Ein Beitrag zum Problem Alt und Neu in der Kirchenmusik', *Kirchenmusik in ökumenischer Schau: 2. Internationaler Kongress für Kirchenmusik in Bern, 22. bis 29. September 1962, Kongressbericht*, Bern: Haupt.

Stäblein, Bruno (1968), '"Gregorius praesul" der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale', in Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm (eds), *Musik und Verlag, Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 537–61.

Stäblein, Bruno (1977), 'Pater noster-Tropen', in Franz A. Stein (ed.), *Sacerdos et cantus Gregoriani magister: Festschrift Ferdinand Haberl zum 70. Geburtstag*, Regensburg: Bosse, pp. 247–78.

Stäblein-Harder, Hanna (1962), *Fourteenth-Century Mass Music in France*, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 29, Rome: American Institute of Musicology.

Steiner, Ruth (1969), 'The Prosulae of the MS Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. 1118', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **22**, pp. 367–93.

Steiner, Ruth (1973a), 'Melismatic Tropes in the Responsories for Matins', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **26**, pp. 36–46.

Steiner, Ruth (1973b), 'Some Melismas for Office Responsories', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, **26**, pp. 108–31.

Szövérffy, Josef (1964), *Die Annalen der lateinischen Hymnendichtung*, 2 vols, Berlin: Schmidt.

Thannabaur, Peter Josef (1962), *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts*, Erlanger Arbeiten zur Musikwissenschaft 1, Munich: W. Ricke.

Thannabaur, Peter Josef (1967), 'Anmerkungen zur Verbreitung und Struktur der Hosanna-Tropen im deutschprachligen Raum und den Östländern', in Martin Rhunke (ed.), *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag*, Kassel: Bärenreiter, pp. 250–59.

van de Borren, Charles (1932), *Polyphonia Sacra*, Burnham: Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society (reprinted University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1963).

Vecchi, Giuseppe (ed.) (1955), *Troparium Sequentiarium Nonantulanum. Cod. Casanat. 1741*, Monumenta Lyrica Medii Aevi Italica. Series Latina I, Pars Prior, Modena: Accademia Delle Scienze e delle Arti.

Villetard, Henri (1907), *Office de Pierre de Corbeil (Office de la circoncision) improprement appelé 'Office des fous,' Texte et chant pub. d'apres le manuscrit de Sens (xiiie siècle)*, Bibliothèque Musicologique 4, Paris: A Picard.

Vlhová-Wörner, Hana (2004), *Tropi Proprii Missae*, Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi 1, Prague: Bärenreiter Praha.

von den Steinen, Wolfram (1948), *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, 2 vols, Bern: Francke.

von Fischer, Kurt and Lütolf, Max (1972), *Handschriften mit Mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B IV-3–4, Munich: G. Henle.

Wagner, Peter (1921), *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, III: *Gregorianische Formenlehre*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel (reprinted Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970).

Wagner, Peter (1931), *Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela aus dem sog. Codex Calixtinus*, Collectanea Friburgensia, Neue Folge 20, Freiburg: Universitaets Buchhandlung.

Weakland, Rembert (1957), ‘The Compositions of Hucbald’, *Études Grégoriennes*, **2**, pp. 37–50.
Weakland, Rembert (1956), ‘Hucbald as Musician and Theorist’, *The Musical Quarterly*, **42**, pp. 66–84.
Weakland, Rembert (1958), ‘The Beginnings of Troping’, *The Musical Quarterly*, **44**, pp. 477–88.
Weakland, Rembert (1959), ‘The Compositions of Hucbald’, *Études Grégoriennes*, **3**, pp. 155–62.
Weiss, Günther (1964), ‘“Tropierte Instroitustropen” im Repertoire der südfranzösischen Handschriften’, *Die Musikforschung*, **17**, pp. 266–69.
Weiss, Günther (1970), *Introitus-Tropen I. Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropare de 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 3, Kassel: Bärenreiter.
Wright, Craig (2001), *The Maze and the Warrior*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Part I
Tropes in General


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[1]

THE TROPING HYPOTHESIS

By RICHARD L. CROCKER

The most valuable thing Jacques Handschin taught us was to mistrust our own systems. By instinct he dug out the exceptions, the anomalies, the cases that just did not fit. By instinct he provided each explanation with its antinomy, each potential system with an antidote. Recalcitrant fragments were what irritated his mind into activity; small wonder his thought came out as a disjunct series of footnotes. Provocative, even if provoking, to read, his writings pose questions that may not always have answers but often have important consequences.

Because of his mistrust of system, Handschin's tussle with the definition of trope is all the more fascinating. In his article *Trope, Sequence, and Conductus*,[1] he was unusually concerned with being systematic; the first two pages embody a kind of categorical definition quite unlike him. Yet his whole being must have reacted against the idea that a trope was a single, clearly definable thing, as is evident from his efforts in the rest of the article to adjust the original definition to the documentary facts.

The same tension between systematic theory and recalcitrant fact is present in three previous discussions of troping — Léon Gautier's *Histoire de la Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age* (1886), the introduction to Walter Howard Frere's *Winchester Troper* (1894), and the introduction to the 47th volume of *Analecta hymnica*, edited by Clemens Blume and Henry Bannister in 1905. To straighten out the complexities of definition embodied in these studies would require far more space than is available here, and would, furthermore, be futile because of the whole approach to defining a trope that these authors have taken.

Actually a trope, in the medieval understanding, can be easily defined. Indeed, there is no need to make up a new definition, for Bishop

Durand wrote a perfectly good one in the 13th century:[2] "A trope is a kind of versicle that is sung on important feasts (for example, Christmas) immediately before the Introit, as if a prelude, and then a continuation of that Introit. Tropes include three [parts of the Introit], namely antiphon, verse, and *Gloria Patri.*" This definition was dismissed out of hand by Blume, with the implication that Durand had not the foggiest idea of what he was talking about. It seems to me, however, that the good bishop was right and that everyone else has been wrong—wrong in trying to include under "trope" all sorts of things that do not belong there. The problems of definition in Gautier, Frere, Blume, and Handschin are merely those that would be encountered in trying to define under one heading oranges, elephants, and, say, meteoric dust.

Hence, the well-known definition ("a trope is an interpolation into an official, liturgical chant") has always been extensively qualified, for almost every element of it raises questions when tested against specific cases. The most immediate questions are these: does an introduction or epilogue count as an interpolation? is the interpolation a musical one, or a textual one, or both? And most important (but usually ignored), what really constitutes an official chant, or a liturgical one, and does this involve text, or melody, or both?

These and other difficulties encountered by Gautier, Frere, Blume, and Handschin seem due in the last analysis to a desire for a single, clear explanation—which I call the "troping hypothesis"—for the confusing wealth of musical forms introduced in the 9th and 10th centuries. If only there were one ruling idea to govern the medieval scene! If only that curious, little-known phenomenon, the trope, could be seen as the ruling idea of a process whereby all medieval music was necessarily and intimately tied to pre-existing materials, concerned primarily with their development or ornamentation, within the limits of respected authority imposed by a presumably all-powerful church whose grip on music was already evident in liturgy or the modal system! If all that were true, then how clear and orderly the medieval picture would be. But if the trope was to become the ruling idea, its image would have to be changed, expanded, generalized. This, I think, was the reasoning behind the inclusive definition of the trope—and the source of the difficulties.

[2]Quoted by Blume in *Analecta hymnica* 47: *Tropi graduales. Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter, I. Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 7-8.

Clarity was purchased at a price, for the troping hypothesis led easily to an evaluation: tropes seemed by nature artistically inferior to their subject. Whether or not this evaluation was made, tropes were generally supposed to be lacking in originality, since they were the products of what was considered to be a rigidly controlled environment. As a result, medieval music of the 9th to 11th centuries came to be viewed not as individual works of art, consciously created, but rather as an "outgrowth of the chant," subject to laws of vegetative morphology rather than to those of original artistic creation. The troping hypothesis also produced a distorted picture of medieval polyphony by undue emphasis upon the use of a cantus firmus, or rather, upon the fact that a cantus firmus is used while neglecting the differences in the *way* it is used; but that is another story.

There has been a strong trend since the war to revise the troping hypothesis in certain respects. Ewald Jammers has insisted on an important distinction between Gregorian chant and medieval chant. Gregorian chant here refers to the Propers of Mass and Office as found in 9th-century sources, while medieval chant begins with the new forms and styles of monophonic sacred music of the 9th century or later.[3] This distinction, which opens the door to a more realistic appreciation of tropes, must be retained in any serious discussion of the problem. Bruno Stäblein, dealing indefatigably with all kinds of tropes in a wisely pragmatic manner, has often taken exception to the troping hypothesis in specific cases, as will be noted later.[4]

On the other hand, there is still a strong tendency for the troping hypothesis to direct research towards isolated examples that demonstrate the hypothesis. Exceptional items that happen to have multiple liturgical and paraliturgical connections are studied in detail, while more representative items or repertories are ignored. A striking example is the almost complete neglect of hymn melodies[5] and votive antiphons, two extensive categories of musical composition in the 9th to 12th centuries that may be stylistically more important than tropes. But hymns and antiphons have few tropic connections, and for this

[3] *Das mittelalterliche Choral: Art und Herkunft*, Mainz, 1954.

[4] See especially *Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen. Tropus, Sequenz und andere Formen*, in *International Musicological Society. Report of the Eighth Congress, New York 1961*. ed. Jan LaRue, Kassel, I (1961), 12-29.

[5] Except, of course, Stäblein's volume of melodies, *Hymnen; die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes. Monumenta monodica medii aevi*, Vol. I, Kassel, 1956.

reason, I think, have been passed over by historians of music in favor of instances of text-underlay to pre-existing melismas, which better fit the trope image.

It would be highly desirable to abandon the whole troping hypothesis—which is, after all, only a hypothesis, not a fact, and therefore has no claim on our credulity beyond its ability to organize known facts or suggest the discovery of new, significant ones. It seems to me that the troping hypothesis is on the one hand invalidated by the real, basic differences that exist between the several things called trope; and on the other, contradicted by the fact that the great bulk of medieval musical composition, within and without the realm of tropes, shows more or less the same degrees of originality generally prevailing in Western music.

One of the most important steps towards reconstruction is to become familiar with the manuscript sources—sources that the originators of the troping hypothesis knew intimately. Here again, a desire for clear definition and classification has tended to obliterate the individuality of the various sources. The separation of 9th-10th century manuscripts into firm categories of graduals on the one hand and tropers on the other is too summary.[6] The best we can do is to retain a long-standing distinction between manuscripts whose repertories are relatively stable and manuscripts where contents vary greatly from one source to the next.

The relatively stable repertories are the Gregorian Mass Propers and the Office antiphons and responsories; in fact, the only workable definition of "Gregorian Mass Proper" seems to be one based upon the repertory held in common by the earliest manuscripts. These include, beside the six manuscripts edited by Dom Hesbert in his *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* (Brussels, 1935) such manuscripts as St. Gall 359, Laon 239, and Chartres 47.[7] Presence of an item in a significant number of these sources seems to be a necessary—though not a sufficient—condition for its being "Gregorian."

The manuscripts with the unstable repertories, usually known as "tropers," are not so much later than those just mentioned. The earliest tropers are 10th-11th centuries rather than 9th-10th; but the tropers often present a very different appearance, being extremely varied in

[6] The separation has most recently been proposed by Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen und Sequenzenhandschriften. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, B V[1], 1964, p. 9 (=TS).

[7] *Paléographie musicale*, Series 2, Vol. 2, 1924; Series 1, Vol. 10, 1909; Vol. 11, 1912.

their make-up. Dating of the troper manuscripts has always been subject to strong differences of opinion, now more than ever.[8] The following summary is designed to reflect a consensus, with full awareness that exception can and will be taken.

I Verona, Capit. MS XC (85): c. 900?
  H. Spanke, *Deutsche und französische Dichtung des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1943, p. 33
 Munich, Staatsbibl. Cod. lat. 14843: c. 900? Toul (for the proses)
  Husmann TS p. 78; Von den Steinen, *Die Anfänge der Sequenzendichtung*, in *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Kirchengeschichte*, XL (1946), 256-63
 Paris, B.N. MS lat. 17436, fol. 24, 29-30: c. 900?
  J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*, Brussels, 1935, p. xx. Facs. fol. 30, W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington, 1958, pl. 8. J. Handschin, in *New Oxford History of Music*, II, 153
 Autun, Bibl. Mun. MS 28 S, fol. 64: c. 900?
  Facs. B. Stäblein, *Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVIII (1961), Abb. 1, pp. 7-8
 Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, MS 1609: 10th cent.
  Husmann TS p. 20; R. Weakland, *The Beginnings of Troping*, in *The Musical Quarterly*, XLIV (1958), 477-88
II Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1240: c. 935; St. Martial de Limoges.
  Husmann TS p. 137
 London, B.M. MS add. 19768: 10th cent., second half; Mainz.
  Husmann TS p. 152
III St. Gall, Stiftsbibl. MSS 484, 381: c. 1000; St. Gall.
  Husmann TS p. 47, 42
 Paris, B.N. MS lat. 9448: c. 1000; Prüm
 Oxford, Bodl. lib. MS 775: c. 1000; Winchester.
  Husmann TS p. 158
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 473: c. 1000; Winchester.
  Husmann TS p. 150
 Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 1169: 996-1024; Autun.
  Husmann TS p. 110
 Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1084: 10th cent., second half, with many later additions; Aquitainian.
  Husmann TS p. 120
 Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1118: 987-996; Aquitainian.
  Husmann TS p. 128

The more important early sources for tropes can be divided into three groups (even if more accurately located on a continuum). The first group, probably the earliest, are small collections of a dozen or so

[8] Husmann, TS, includes many attempts to revise customary datings.

items (sometimes less) included in much larger manuscripts of often non-musical nature. These small collections may be as early as 900, in any case seem to reflect an early 10th-century stage (*pace*, Professor Husmann). A second group, consisting of two items, presents somewhat larger, more systematic collections reflecting a mid-10th-century stage. Finally, from the end of the 10th century come very large, standardized anthologies in ever-increasing numbers, of which only the first few are listed here. It should be noted that the provenance of those listed — St. Gall (484, 381), Prüm (9448), Winchester (775/473), Autun (1169), and Limoges (1084, 1118) — represent the periphery of what we now imagine to be the primary locus of trope development, the triangle between the Seine and the Rhine.

Instead of beginning with a definition, it is far better to examine singly some of the important kinds of medieval chant usually included in the notion of trope, stressing what is peculiar to each kind. Introit tropes, recently described in an excellent article by Paul Evans,[9] are of two basic types — those with text and those without. Those without text are the less important, being merely short melismas usually tacked on to ends of phrases of the Introit antiphon. These appendix-melismas are much smaller and much less frequent than tropes with words. In accord with Evans, I see no developmental connection between the two types; in fact, it is not clear to me that the melismatic tropes as a class preceded those with text.

Introit tropes with text are much larger and overwhelmingly more frequent. They consist of phrases of text set to usually neumatic melodies, placed either before the Introit as a whole, or before each of the phrases of an Introit antiphon. In both cases such tropes serve as introductions. They are usually rubricked in the plural, *tropi*. And in fact, Introit tropes occur as sets, several phrases of text and music being provided as a set of tropes for a given Introit, as in Example 1.[10]

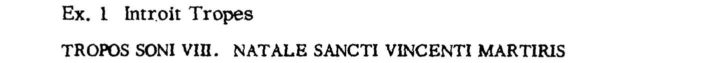
It is important to be clear about the over-all relationship between a set of tropes and its Introit. The tropes are newly composed, in music

[9] *Some Reflections on the Origin of the Trope*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XIV (1961), 119-30.

[10] Transcribed from Paris B.N. MSS lat. 1084, fol. 61, and 1118, fol. 33v. This and following examples are presented only as working transcriptions. See *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. 49, p. 154, for text and concordances, some of which include a trope for the psalm verse.

Ex. 1 Introit Tropes

TROPOS SONI VIII. NATALE SANCTI VINCENTI MARTIRIS



as well as words. There is no question of texting or text-underlay to a pre-existent tune. It has been observed that trope melodies sometimes resemble their Introit antiphons, but in my experience this is by no means so frequent as sometimes claimed; rather, I find that tropes resemble each other (and other types of medieval chant) far more than they resemble their antiphon. But even when there is such a resemblance to a Gregorian original, still the trope is a new composition, deliberately referring to the Gregorian antiphon perhaps, but certainly not "growing" out of it (in the impersonal, organic way proposed by the troping hypothesis).

The set of tropes in Example 1 is in hexameters, a frequent form for Introit tropes, as can be seen in the tropes printed in *Analecta hymnica* Vol. 49.[11] The significance of the hexameter trope for us here is that the hexameter verse, unrelated in form to the text of the Gregorian antiphon, is superimposed as a totally foreign element on it. Often these hexameters come in sets of three, regardless of how many phrases the Introit antiphon itself may have. (Example 1 is a set of three pairs, a larger but not infrequent type.) Furthermore, even though the scheme of the hexameter is not reflected in the trope melody or its rhythm (as far as can be seen), still the hexameter lines, recurring in alternation with the lines of the prose text of the antiphon, gain a certain stylistic ascendancy over them by being the more organized element.

In bulk and form, the tropes tend to overrun the Gregorian original, swallowing it up into their own substance. Now it might seem that this was a particularly ungrateful thing for the tropes to do, if they were in essence parasites of the Introit, depending upon it for their structural and stylistic existence. But precisely that, it seems to me, is what is not clearly established. Taken in company with a Gregorian antiphon, a single set of tropes may indeed seem closely wedded to it: tropes seem "proper" in the proper context. But beyond that context the language of the tropes appears to consist of acclamatory texts of a quite general nature, set to generalized phrases of melody, in a style not to be explained as mere parasitical outgrowth.

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to seeing tropes as autonomous works of art is their seeming structural dependence upon another work, in

[11] That collection is misleading, of course, because Blume included only those tropes (or worse still, those parts of tropes) that had some kind of poetic form. Since he was editing a *hymn* series, he omitted texts in prose, that is, not in verse, as a matter of principle. Hence his collection of Introit tropes includes a higher portion of hexameters than is found in manuscript sources.

this case, on a Gregorian Introit. How could three interpolations into a pre-existing piece be a "piece"? Without trying to answer this difficult question, it might be suggested that the whole matter of what constitutes a "piece" of Western music might bear further reflection. Aside from that, however, some sets of tropes (such as the one in Example 1) actually show a relatively clear, closed musical form when considered by themselves, apart from their Introit.

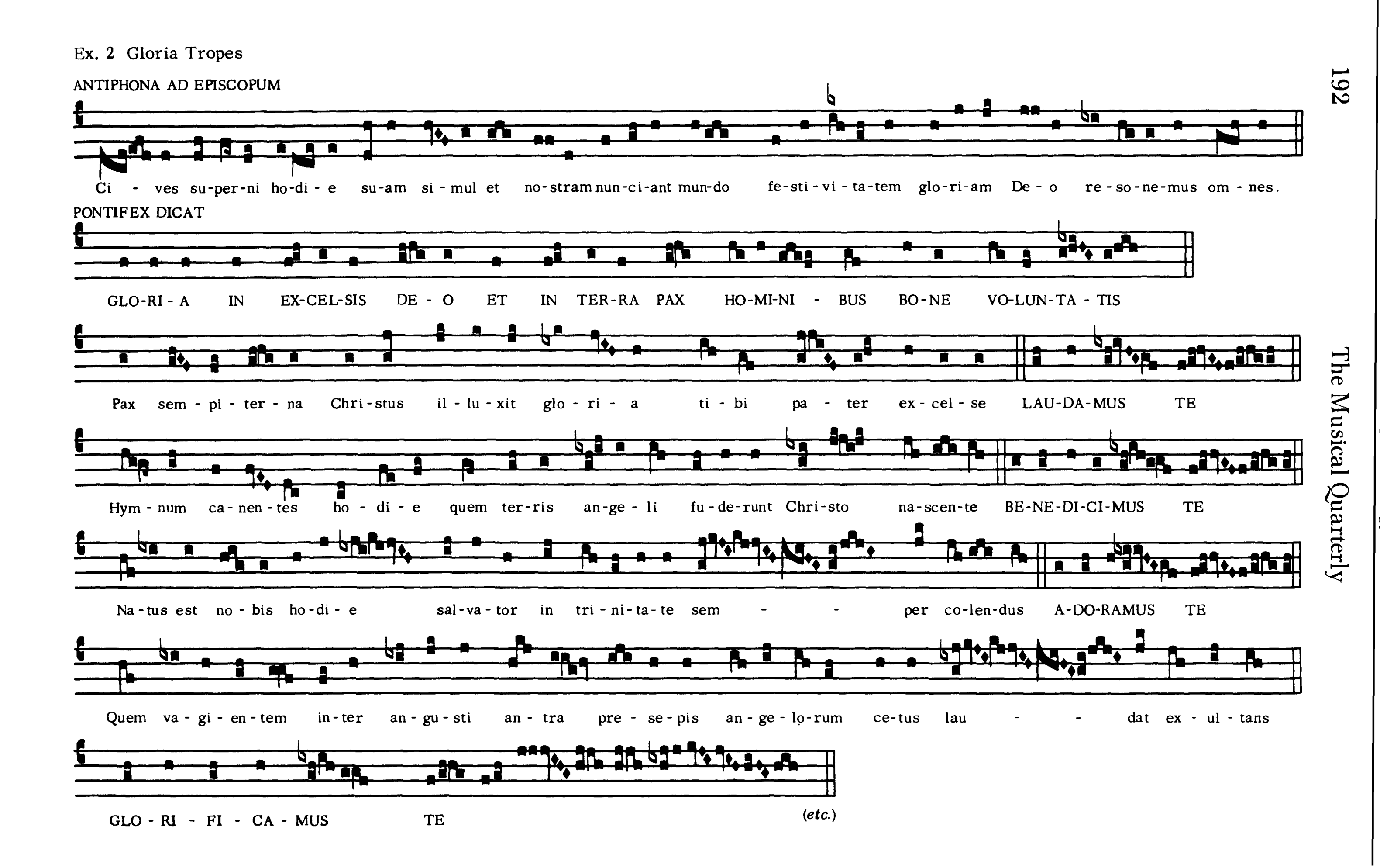
Of everything called "trope" in medieval MSS, Introit tropes are so called most consistently, as Blume long ago observed. Of all types, Introit tropes (along with less frequent but exactly analogous types provided for Offertory and Communion) best represent what tropes really were. In them the difference between Gregorian, "official" chant and Carolingian addition is most clear. And in them the meaning of trope as rhetorical ornament—the meaning I take to be the real one—is most plainly evident.[12]

Introit tropes are rivalled in quantity in the earlier sources by tropes to the *Gloria in excelsis*. While Gloria tropes are very similar to Introit tropes, they are often called *laudes* rather than *tropi*, another indication that the Middle Ages tended to keep apart what we have tried to put together.

Like Introit tropes, Gloria tropes come in two forms, with text and without. The latter are short appendix melismas, once again, sometimes believed to be very ancient. But that is sheer hypothesis. Far more prevalent, and important, are the tropes with text, inserted phrase by phrase into the text of the Gloria, as in Example 2.[13] The first line in Example 2 is an introductory trope used for different sets of interior tropes. Like Introit tropes, these for the Gloria are basically neumatic in style; some sets are hexameter in form. This particular set has small melismas in the tropes as well as at the ends of some of the phrases of the original text (which can happen in Introit tropes too). The most interesting feature of these melismas is the way they create a musical

[12] Attempts, especially by Handschin (*Trope, Sequence, and Conductus*, p. 128), to make "trope" a strictly musical term are not convincing; such attempts are merely another expression of the contradictions inherent in the troping hypothesis.

[13] Transcribed from Paris B.N. MS lat. n.a. 1235, fol. 185; there beginning on G, with B♭ first appearing over *voluntatis*, as also at fol. 192, 197. But the version on fol. 188v begins on F, which seems easier here. Cf. Stäblein, *Gloria in excelsis*, in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, V, 307. See *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. 47, p. 220, for concordances and first half of text. This set of tropes, found in most of the MSS in groups II and III of those listed on p. 187, goes on to the end of the Gloria, including a fine *Regnum*-trope.


192 The Musical Quarterly
Ex. 2 Gloria Tropes
ANTIPHONA AD EPISCOPUM
Ci - ves su-per-ni ho-di - e su-am si - mul et no-stram nun-ci-ant mun-do fe-sti-vi-ta-tem glo-ri-am De - o re-so-ne-mus om - nes.
PONTIFEX DICAT
GLO-RI - A IN EX-CEL-SIS DE - O ET IN TER-RA PAX HO-MI-NI - BUS BO-NE VO-LUN-TA - TIS
Pax sem - pi - ter - na Chri-stus il - lu - xit glo - ri - a ti - bi pa - ter ex - cel - se LAU-DA-MUS TE
Hym - num ca - nen - tes ho - di - e quem ter-ris an-ge - li fu-de-runt Chri-sto na-scen-te BE-NE-DI-CI-MUS TE
Na-tus est no - bis ho-di - e sal-va - tor in tri - ni-ta-te sem - - per co-len-dus A-DO-RAMUS TE
Quem va - gi - en-tem in-ter an - gu - sti an - tra pre - se-pis an - ge - lo-rum ce-tus lau - - dat ex - ul - tans
GLO - RI - FI - CA - MUS TE
(etc.)

form among the tropes as a set, parallel to but independent of the form of the Gloria melody.

While these Gloria tropes are very interesting in themselves, even more interesting is the relationship to the original. The text of the original begins with the hymn the angels sang ("Glory be to God on high. . ."), still towards 800 reserved to the bishop and only gradually released to his representative, the priest. The rest of the text is a series of acclamations ("We praise thee, we bless thee. . ."). The whole text has a status in the liturgy quite different from that of the Roman Propers, and indeed was once used in parts of Gaul as an opening hymn at morning prayer.

None of the melodies preserved for the Gloria is Gregorian in any strictly historical or documentary sense. None of them enjoys documentary evidence for being older than the 9th century. One in particular has been alleged to be older than that, but the evidence is very tricky;[14] in any case, this Gloria melody is a simple one. All the ornate, neumatic melodies are certainly 9th-century or later, some of them being demonstrably much later.

As a matter of fact, Gloria melodies make their first appearance in the MSS in connection with their tropes, or *laudes*. This means that while we can speak of Gloria tropes being interpolations into a pre-existent *text*, we have no assurance that we can categorically describe Gloria tropes as interpolations into a pre-existent *melody*. As far as the sources tell, someone in the 9th century could have sat down with the Gloria text and set it to music adding tropes as he went.

Where several different sets of tropes are written for the same Gloria melody (or cued in a MS to the same Gloria melody), then of course we would assume that only one of them could have come into existence along with that melody. The other sets would then have to be described as "composed to a pre-existing melody." But in such cases—characteristic of a wide range of what has been called troping—the thing being troped may only have pre-existed for a few years; it may still be modern music. This is not at all the situation implied by the troping hypothesis, which pictures tropes as accretions to official, liturgical chants of hoary antiquity.

Similar to Gloria tropes are the Sanctus tropes, although less frequent in earlier sources. Like the Gloria text, the Sanctus text is clearly

[14] Gloria XV of the *Liber Usualis*, Tournai, 1959. See Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, Bloomington, 1958, pp. 82, 409.

defined, and in fact occupies a more ancient and more solid position in the liturgy than the Gloria text. But also as with the Gloria, the status of the melodies is a different matter. None of them is Gregorian in the very strict sense of appearing in one of the early Gregorian Mass books; none of them is an "official" chant. In a brilliant article on the Byzantine Sanctus,[15] Kenneth Levy has shown that it may be possible to discern in various sources (including tropers) the outlines of an old acclamatory inflection for the Sanctus text that might represent a 7th- or 8th-century congregational melody. But as it appears in 10th-century Sanctus tropes, this melodic outline seems to me to have more the nature of a reminiscence, within a sophisticated art-form, of an older congregational acclamation, rather than its real persistence. (Sanctus melodies of the 10th century are, of course, written for the choir, not for the congregation.) In other words, the melody of a Sanctus may resemble the melody of its tropes not because the tropes imitate a pre-existing melody, but because both trope and Sanctus melody are products of the very same musical style, composed at more or less the same time.

Problems of distinguishing trope from original become increasingly difficult with the Agnus Dei, and here the problem extends to the text itself. Agnus Dei, it should be pointed out, was still in the process of being added to the Mass in the 9th century. The Agnus Dei text occurs in versions both with and without tropes. Tropes to the Agnus Dei are often cued only to *miserere*, indicating the replacement of most of what we call the official text by the trope.[16]

Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis!
Omnipotens, pie te precamur assidue, miserere nobis!
Qui cuncta creasti, nobis semper ad auge, miserere nobis!
Redemptor Christe, exoramus te supplices, miserere nobis!

What, then, is the official, original, liturgical text? But the question should be, *was* there such a text, at least for Agnus Dei? Or was there at first only a wealth of texts, whose boiled-down common denominator, fit in the 9th century only as an expedient for ferias or penitential season, has become our official text?

Such questions come to a climax in *Kyrie eleison*, musically the

[15] *The Byzantine Sanctus and its Modal Tradition in East and West*, in *Annales musicologiques*, VI (1958/1963), 7-67.

[16] Paris B.N. MS lat. 1118, fol. 25v; cf. *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. 47, p. 384.

richest of these acclamations, and the hardest to handle. The whole liturgical history of the Kyrie is exceedingly intricate, no safe subject for anyone but a full-time liturgist. I shall only call attention to one relevant detail. In a letter most famous for its discussion of the Alleluia, Gregory the Great says:[17]

> But we have not, nor do not, say *Kyrie eleison* as the Greeks do. For with the Greeks, all sing together, but with us the clergy sing, the people respond. And *Christe eleison* is said just as many times, which is certainly not done by the Greeks. In daily Masses, moreover, we do not say the other things usually said, but only *Kyrie eleison* and *Christe eleison*, in order that we may concern ourselves with these supplications at greater length.

This formulation can hardly be taken (as it sometimes is) as a description of what we now call the nine-fold Kyrie. Gregory mentions only that *Christe* is said as many times as *Kyrie*, which certainly does *not* describe the nine-fold Kyrie. Then, there is the intriguing reference to those "other things usually said." We should notice that, whatever they were, the saying of them was normal; it was their omission that elicited Gregory's explanatory comment. We should notice too, that elsewhere in the liturgy the acclamation *Kyrie eleison* normally appears in connection with "other things"—in the litanies, for example. One does not, in the earlier liturgies, normally stand up and say "Kyrie eleison" without accompanying it by some more prolix expression. Thus when Amalarius of Metz (around 830) illustrates the Kyrie with these words,[18]

> Kyrie eleison, Domine pater, miserere;
> Christe eleison, miserere, qui nos redemisti sanguine tuo;
> et iterum Kyrie eleison, Domine Spiritus Sancte, miserere,

we automatically look for the "other things" among Kyrie tropes, and not finding them there, assume they are a lost ancient proto-trope. Perhaps so; but I take Amalarius's *verba* to represent the normal form of Kyrie as he knew it, that is, a Greek acclamation combined with more prolix Latin ones.

For what is it that is being troped, in the case of *Kyrie eleison*?

[17] Latin text in Egon Wellesz, *Gregory the Great's Letter on the Alleluia*, in *Annales musicologiques*, II (1954), 14-15.

[18] Quoted in Stäblein, *Kyrie*, MGG, VII, col. 1942.

Only a liturgical position (after the Introit), to be filled by an acclamation ending *eleison.* From the Carolingian point of view, this acclamation had only recently been fixed by convention in a nine-fold form. On simple feasts the acclamation names merely *Kyrie,* "Lord," then specifies *Christe,* "Saviour." On more elaborate feasts these simple titles are replaced by longer acclamatory descriptions, such as those cited by Amalarius, and then found in elaborate Kyries of the 9th through 15th centuries. One of the earliest preserved Kyries, *Tibi Christe supplices,* is also one of the most elaborate.[19]

Kyries are almost entirely absent from the earliest sources. When eventually they do appear, it is often in two forms — once with the full acclamation (neumes being entered over the individual syllables), then again with only the two words *Kyrie eleison* separated by a melismatic notation of the same melody. According to the troping hypothesis, this melismatic melody would be much older than the text, which would have been added as a type of trope. Recent research first corrects the terminology:[20] text-underlay is not troping, and was not usually called troping in the early Middle Ages. Second, it is now suggested that melisma and text came into being simultaneously. This seems to me entirely justified. After all, this is what the sources themselves tell us, the melismatic notation appearing not earlier than the syllabic. If anything, the syllabic form might be a shade earlier, depending on how certain sources are dated. Here, as always, it is the troping hypothesis that asserts something contrary to the sources, and must bear the burden of proof.

There are many points to be made on the difficult subject of the Kyrie, points that I can only summarize. First, even if some of the melismas existed before their texts, it would be by only a few years. It has several times been pointed out that Kyrie melodies have little if anything in common with Gregorian melodies, being instead modern chant of the 9th century or later. Second, in the early sources melismatic Kyries come in two sizes, large and small. The small ones, with only a few notes between *Kyrie* and *eleison,* are often without any other text. The larger ones, on the other hand, always seem to have syllabic versions with the long Latin acclamations. The reasons for the double notation — melismatic and syllabic — are admittedly not clear,

[19] A transcription *ibid.,* 1941. As *Te Christe rex,* Kyrie ad lib. VI, *Liber Usualis.* Concordances and an over-edited text in *Analecta hymnica,* Vol. 47, pp. 45-48.

[20] Stäblein, *Die Unterlegung. . .,* p. 17, also note 44.

but do not, I think, present an insurmountable obstacle. Third, the type of Kyrie text claimed by the troping hypothesis to be the prototype, for example

Kyrie Deus sempiterne vita vivens in te *eleison*

turns up in later sources rather than earlier ones, while the earlier ones have this type:

Tibi Christe supplices exoramus cunctipotens ut nostri digneris eleison!
(Kyrie---eleison!)

Finally, one of the most important early Kyries, *Cunctipotens genitor*, is of course in hexameters, hence is not a very convincing example of text-underlay to an ancient, official melisma.

In summary, then, tropes to Introit, as well as analogous tropes to Offertory and Communion, are new compositions added to old, official ones—although in terms of bulk and form one might think it was the old, official compositions that had been added to the tropes. Tropes to Gloria and Sanctus are new compositions added to old texts; but we have to add that the *melodies* for these old texts were not old, being more or less the same age as the tropes. In the case of Agnus Dei and Kyrie it becomes progressively more difficult to separate "official" text, "original" melody, and "trope" from each other. What is now usually called a Kyrie trope (but what I would prefer to call simply a Kyrie) seems to me to be an integral, autonomous artistic creation.

These kinds of pieces make up the bulk of what are usually regarded as tropes of the 9th and 10th century. None of these types involves text-underlay to a pre-existent melisma in any important way. Still, text-underlay, or texting, did occur throughout the 9th and 10th centuries, in forms now to be described.

The famous melisma mentioned by Amalarius of Metz[21] as borrowed from the Roman singers was sung in the north in the Christmas responsory *Descendit de caelis*, and provided in 10th-century sources with abundant *Fabrice* textings. Here we know the melody to be not merely pre-existent, but Roman rather than Frankish in origin. This, however, is a special case, not to be taken as typical of a wide range

[21] Handschin, *Trope, Sequence, and Conductus*, pp. 142-45.

of phenomena. More typical (but still not numerous) are the textings supplied for Alleluias, or just as frequently for melismas occurring at the end of the second or third verse of Offertories.[22] Alleluia and Offertory textings tend to be grouped apart from tropes in the MSS.

Texting of the Offertory verse melismas presents interesting problems of chronology. As preserved in the sources, these textings presuppose at least a minimum repertory by 900. The Offertory verses themselves, however, may not be much older than that. Indeed, Dr. Apel has placed their composition towards the end of the 9th century.[23] This dating, based on an oblique piece of evidence in Aurelian of Réomé, may well be subject to discussion; but in any case it is probable that these Offertory verses, with their concluding melismas, come either at or after the end of the development that produced the Gregorian Propers. As with Gloria and Sanctus tropes, it is modern, not ancient, music that is being worked over. If Dr. Apel's dating were right, the earliest textings would have been made almost before the ink was dry on the originals, which for their part would scarcely qualify as either "official" or "Gregorian."

Alleluia textings boast one of the earliest dated instances (817-834) of all medieval chant, the famous *Psalle modulamina*, a text-underlay for the Alleluia *Christus resurgens*.[24] Here the new text is added under the Alleluia, the jubilus, and the whole verse, incorporating the original text with very little change. Sometimes, however, early Alleluia textings provide text only for the Alleluia and jubilus, and for the repeat after the verse, but not for the verse itself. In either case, there is no question as to the prior existence of the melody. Surely the Alleluia textings are the castle impregnable of the troping hypothesis! Yet even here there are cracks in the wall. Alleluia textings are not so frequent, after all, nor do they multiply at a very fast rate,[25] nor can so very many be pushed back to the 9th century, in spite of *Psalle modulamina*. The Alleluias involved have a way of being those presumably later within

[22] The largest early collections in Paris B.N. MS lat. 1240, fol. 43v-46, 79v-80. Examples in Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 433-36.

[23] *The Central Problem of Gregorian Chant*, in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, IX (1956), 126.

[24] J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Zur ursprünglichen Vortragsweise der Prosulen, Sequenzen und Organa*, in *IGM Kongress Bericht*, Cologne, 1958, p. 252 and facs. Facs. also in MGG, *Notation*.

[25] In comparison, say, to proses; but cf. Stäblein, *Die Unterlegung. . .*, p. 21.

Gregorian development (for example, *Christus resurgens*), if not actually neo-Gregorian Frankish Alleluias of the 9th or even 10th century.[26] I have the distinct impression that here, too, we are dealing with an on-going current of musical activity. In any case, Alleluia textings themselves involve no musical composition, therefore offer no valid measure of the new composition going on around them. We cannot, I think, take Alleluia texting as the font and origin of medieval chant.[27]

While it is sometimes admitted that most if not all the Kyries, say, that we now have are new compositions (rather than textings of old melismas), still it is argued that Kyries as a type are tropes in origin, therefore as a type heir to all that the troping hypothesis asserts about lack of originality. I think this view entails a real confusion between where a thing came from and what it actually is. This confusion, it seems to me, is especially prevalent in discussions of the prose or sequence, usually classed as a trope on the grounds of its putative origin.[28]

It is now clear from recent research[29] that there was a thing called a *sequentia* before there was a *prosa*, and that this *sequentia* (for which it is convenient to retain the Latin form of the term) was a melisma to replace the repeat of the Alleluia after the verse—or actually to be interpolated into the Alleluia as its expansion. Such a *sequentia* can be seen in Example 3b, after its Alleluia, *Beatus vir*, in 3a.[30] As it stands in Paris B.N. MS lat. 1118, the *sequentia* is incomplete, ending on A. It must be completed (as in early MSS the verse itself must be completed) by supplying the end of the jubilus,

[26] The 20-odd Alleluia textings in Paris B.N. MS lat. 1118 are a revealing collection in this respect.

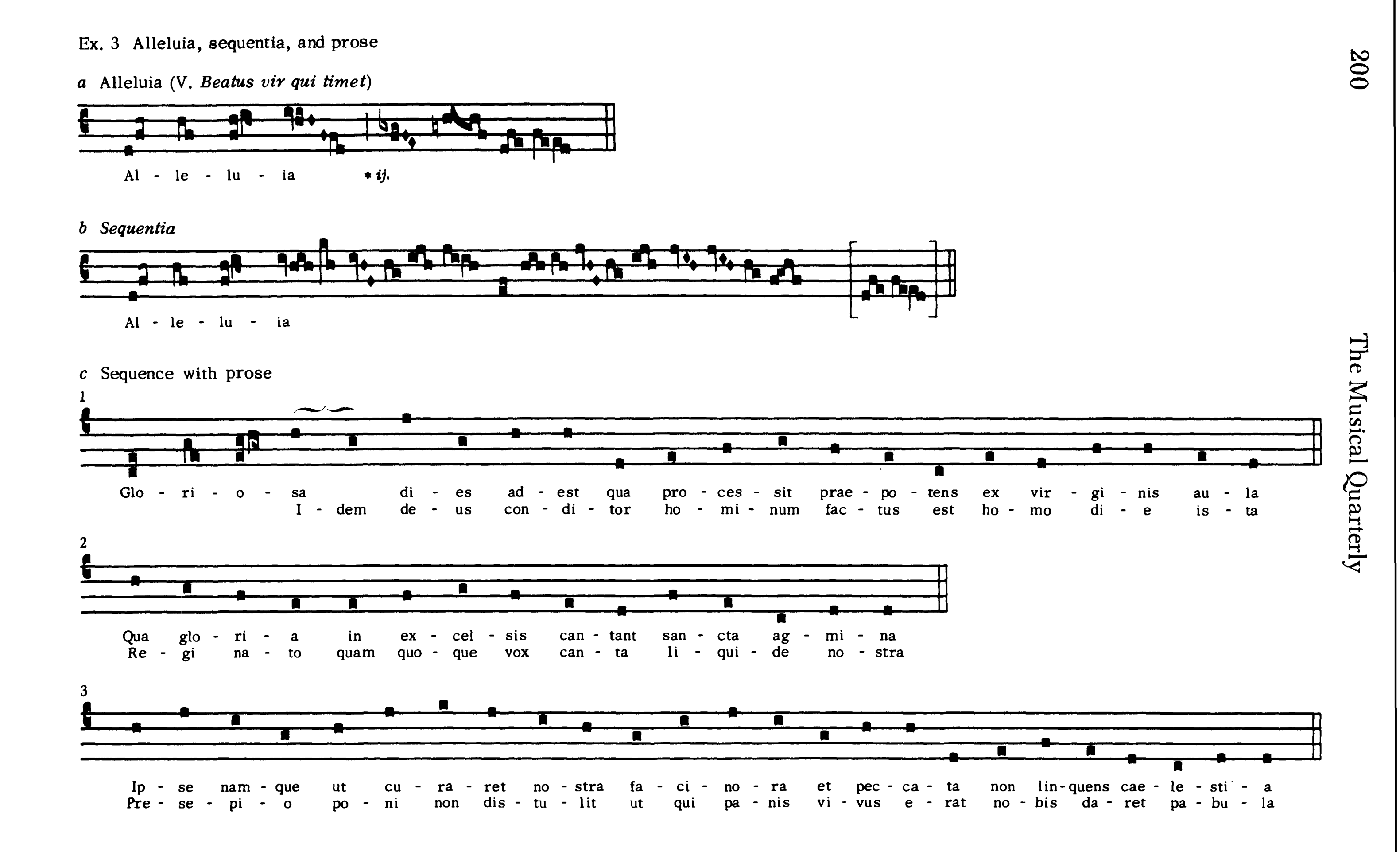
[27] Stäblein, *Die Unterlegung. . .*, p. 21, calls the Alleluia a "Tummelplatz."

[28] For example, by Handschin, *Trope, Sequence, and Conductus*, p. 128; not, however, by Stäblein, *Die Unterlegung. . .*, p. 12, note 1.

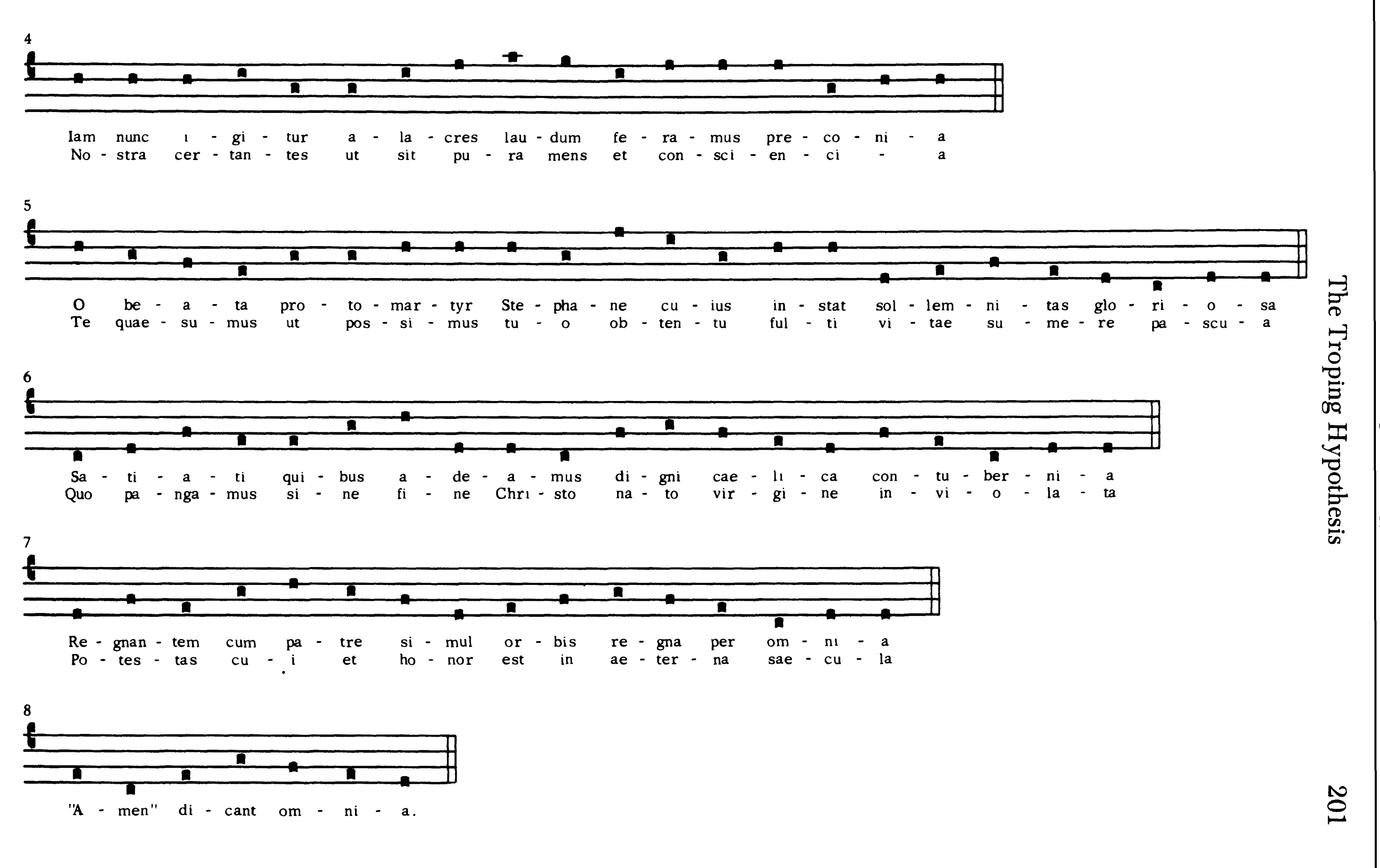
[29] Summarized by Stäblein in *Sequenz*, MGG, XII, 530-31.

[30] The *sequentia*, transcribed here from Paris B.N. MS lat. 1118, fol. 133v, is found also in Paris B.N. MS lat. 1084, fol. 214 with variants and an ending. *Gloriosa dies* is transcribed from Paris B.N. MSS lat. 1240 and 1118. For concordances see *Analecta hymnica*, Vol. 53, p. 351.

This *sequentia* (Ex. 3b) would seem to be the one referred to in the 9th-century Gradual Blandinensis, where it says "Alleluia Beatus vir cum sequentia"; cf. Stäblein, *Zur Frühgeschichte der Sequenz*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVIII (1961), 4-5, who thinks it might mean *Gloriosa dies*, given in Ex. 3c.



Ex. 3 Alleluia, sequentia, and prose


4
Iam nunc i - gi - tur a - la - cres lau - dum fe - ra - mus pre - co - ni - a
No - stra cer - tan - tes ut sit pu - ra mens et con - sci - en - ci - a
5
O be - a - ta pro - to - mar - tyr Ste - pha - ne cu - ius in - stat sol - lem - ni - tas glo - ri - o - sa
Te quae - su - mus ut pos - si - mus tu - o ob - ten - tu ful - ti vi - tae su - me - re pa - scu - a
6
Sa - ti - a - ti qui - bus a - de - a - mus di - gni cae - li - ca con - tu - ber - ni - a
Quo pa - nga - mus si - ne fi - ne Chri - sto na - to vir - gi - ne in - vi - o - la - ta
7
Re - gnan - tem cum pa - tre si - mul or - bis re - gna per om - ni - a
Po - tes - tas cu - i et ho - nor est in ae - ter - na sae - cu - la
8
"A - men" di - cant om - ni - a.

which drops neatly into place to end on the final F. Thus the *sequentia* is a real interpolation into the Alleluia, replacing a shorter jubilus, in effect, with a longer one.

Such a *sequentia*, corresponding to what is described under that name by Amalarius around 830, may be assumed to be what the sequence was before it was equipped with a prose. You can, if you want to, call such a *sequentia* a trope—a melismatic trope comparable to the short appendix-melismas we saw in Introit and Gloria tropes. But this is the only phase of the development of the sequence to which the term "trope" can be legitimately applied. It is the melisma that is the trope; at least, we would be driven to that confusing conclusion if we tried to apply a consistent definition of troping.

But discussion of terms will get us nowhere; only by looking at the things can we understand how they are related. Comparing the *sequentia* in Example 3b with the sequence-with-prose *Gloriosa dies* in Example 3c (a famous 9th-century piece), it is immediately apparent how great a difference separates the two. The old *sequentia* is of quite a different size—indeed, a different order of magnitude—than the sequence-with-prose, and quite different as well in musical construction. They are simply not the same kind of music, and no amount of emphasis on a trope origin can overcome this immense difference. A good-sized sequence-with-prose, such as is frequent in the decades after 850, can be 300-600 notes long, when sung with all the double versicles. In cases where the sequence is related to a known Alleluia (and this is less than half the time in the part of the repertory known to be of 9th-century origin) the relationship typically involves 5-10 notes at the beginning and occasionally the same number at the end, but not anywhere in between. To describe the relationship between such a sequence and its Alleluia as an example of the troping process, whereby the composer's activity is allegedly limited to servile embroidery of traditional materials, rigidly circumscribed by liturgical rule and devoid of artistic originality—is this really a fruitful kind of description? Does it really illuminate the artistic process responsible for the other 590 notes that the composer got from somewhere else—or perhaps even made up all by himself?

It may actually be possible to trace the musical development that led from the short, rhapsodic, old *sequentia* to the long, highly structured newer sequence-with-prose. If we succeed in doing so, it will only be to show a spectacular (but not unparalleled) case of stylistic growth, all the more requiring a kind of musical understanding that the trop-

ing hypothesis cannot provide. In any event, we only obscure the development from old *sequentia* to new sequence by saying that since the first is a trope, so is the second. We are accustomed to make a fundamental distinction between a Beethoven symphony and an early 18th-century opera overture, in spite of the fact that they are called by the same name (*sinfonia*) and that one came from the other. The sheer size (if nothing else) of the larger prevents us from confusing the two. Just so, it seems to me, there should be no question of confusing a full-size sequence with a *sequentia*. As in the case of the sinfonia, we might be misled at first by the terminology into identifying the two types, large and small; but the mistake is evident as soon as we gain a first-hand knowledge of how the pieces themselves actually go.

For if we say that all music built on any element of the past, no matter how slight, is a trope, then indeed most medieval music becomes tropes; but so does most other music too. We already have trouble distinguishing "tropic" from "non-tropic" motets in the 13th century; if we broaden the definition of trope we have to include cantus-firmus technique, and parody too. What about new arias composed to be inserted in old recitative? Or new recitative for an old opéra-comique? Is any work that quotes another work a trope? Is the *Lyric Suite* a trope of *Tristan*?

I have stated the case as forcefully as I know how, which probably means I overstated it; if so, the overstatement should be taken as, in all modesty, corrective in intent. It is true, of course, that all these forms have connections with the past. What has happened with the tropes is that their connection with the past has been emphasized all out of proportion, thus obscuring completely the ways in which tropes are different from their past, the ways they are different from each other. As in other times, composers of the 9th and 10th centuries worked in a stylistic continuum, writing music about music to a greater or lesser degree. We need to determine for each age, each composer, each piece, the measure of significant difference from its past, if we are to grasp the composer's intent, and his achievement.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[2]

Some Observations on the Interrelationships between Trope Repertories

David Hiley

CT I is, among many other valuable things, a remarkable catalogue. As such it can be used in comparisons of the repertories of different manuscripts, and it is a relatively simple matter to count concordances between manuscripts, compare the order in which trope elements appear, using the clearly presented data in CT I.

In the past, several scholars have shed light on the affiliations of various groups of manuscripts[1], but a soundly based survey of all available important sources has not been attempted. The present paper is a modest step in that direction. It attempts a comparison of all the sources covered by CT I. It is based therefore upon only the first part of the liturgical year, and is only the first of a series of such comparisons. But it seems valuable to open the debate about the merits and shortcomings of the method employed, and the results obtained, rather than walk at some later date down blind alleys which could have been avoided by careful preliminary discussion.

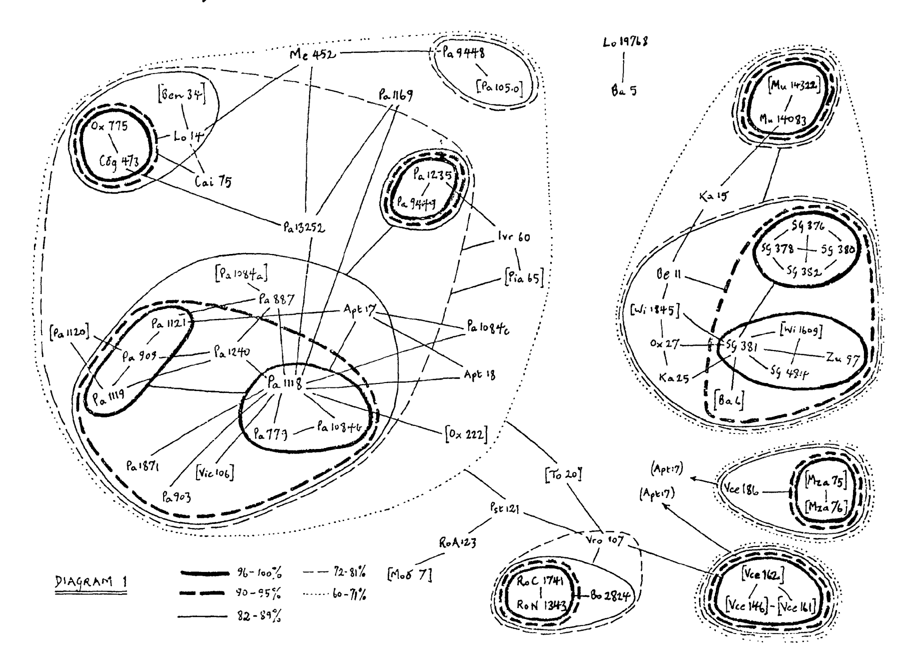
The method employed is quite simple. Concordances between all the sources were counted, taking the trope element as the basic unit. The counting was done speedily and painlessly by computer, after each element had been numbered.[2]

The computer then calculated the number of concordances between any two manuscripts as a percentage of the total number of elements in the *smaller* of the two collections being compared. For example, Apt 17 has 183 elements and Apt 18 has 119. There are 73 concordances between them. The percentage similarity is calculated from the number of elements in the smaller of the two collections, that is Apt 18 – obviously the maximum number of concordances, 100%, must be 119, not 183! So the percentage similarity is 73/119 × 100 = 61.*

Of the 67 sources covered in CT I, 9 are omitted from the statistical count of concordances:
Cai 78 has only 1 element
Nvr has only 2 elements
Pa 1137 has only 3 elements

* Unfortunately, it is impossible to print all the statistical tables here. Copies of them may be obtained from Corpus Troporum at the following address: Inst. för klassiska språk, Stockholms Universitet, S-10691 Stockholm, Sweden, or from the author, Royal Holloway College, Egham, England TW20 OPY.

30 *David Hiley*



RoN 1343 has only one difference from RoC 1741: the omission from RoN 1343 of element Nat III intr 84

Vro 90 has only one element

Vce 146 and Vce 161 are identical to Vce 162, except that the latter has element Nat II intr 10, not in the other 2 sources. Only Vce 162 is therefore surveyed.

SG 380 and SG 382 have collections which are contained completely within that of SG 376 (which is very slightly larger). SG 380 and SG 382 are therefore omitted.

SG 378 has only one element, Epiph com 2, not in SG 376, while it lacks 9 elements present in SG 376. So SG 378 is omitted.

In order to facilitate appreciation of the rather large quantity of figures produced by the comparison, I have translated the results into a diagram. The diagram is constructed in a fashion similar to that used in *Le Graduel Romain, IV: 1 Le Texte Neumatique* (Solesmes, 1962).

One begins with those sources which have the highest percentage similarity, in the range 96–100% (the ranges are chosen empirically, and it is open to any student to use others; I have here found it convenient to use steadily broadening bands: 5, 6, 8, 10, 12). Sources linked by this degree of similarity are joined by a line, and a circle is joined round them. Thus Pa 1119 is 99% similar to Pa 909; Pa 909 is also 96% similar to Pa 1121. So all these three manuscripts come within the first circle (drawn with a thick continuous

line); but no line links Pa 1119 and Pa 1121, because they are only 91% similar: they are linked only indirectly, through Pa 909.

The same process is repeated for each lower band of percentages in turn. If *one* source is more or less equally closely related to several within a *group* of sources, then it is usally wise to take *one* connecting line to the edge of the circle. If connecting lines were provided for all the sources within the circle, the diagram would become hopelessly confused. Sometimes two groups are joined in this way: thus the three sources of the group Pa 1119, Pa 909 and Pa 1121 are more or less equally closely related to all the sources in the group Pa 779, Pa 1118 and Pa 1084b: a line is therefore drawn from the edge of one circle to the edge of the other.

Sources which appear in the same circle are not all equally closely related, as already stated, and the dissimilarities are often quite striking. For example, the same thick broken line (indicating similarity of 90% or better) enclose Pa 903 and Pa 1121. But these two sources are actually only 73% similar. The connection is an indirect one, through Pa 1118.

Although to save time RoN 1343, Vce 146 and 161, Sg 378, 380 and 382 were omitted from the statistical count, their near identity with other sources means that they may be included in the diagram. On the other hand, some sources have rather few elements, and have therefore been enclosed in square brackets: these are the sources with fewer than 40 elements. The results for these sources are not necessarily unreliable as a guide to their affiliations. But some of the small collections are composed entirely of well-known items, and therefore register a high percentage similarity with a very large number of other sources. This is the case, for instance, with To 20, which is 90% similar to Apt 17, Pa 909, Pa 1118, Pa 1121 and Vro 107. Yet Vro 107 is very different from the four Aquitanian sources just listed: the nearest is Pa 1118, 48% similar. Therefore To 20 should not be allowed to bring Pa 1118 and Vro 107 within the same circle: it is enclosed within a square bracket and set apart, where it will not 'unite' Pa 1118 and Vro 107.

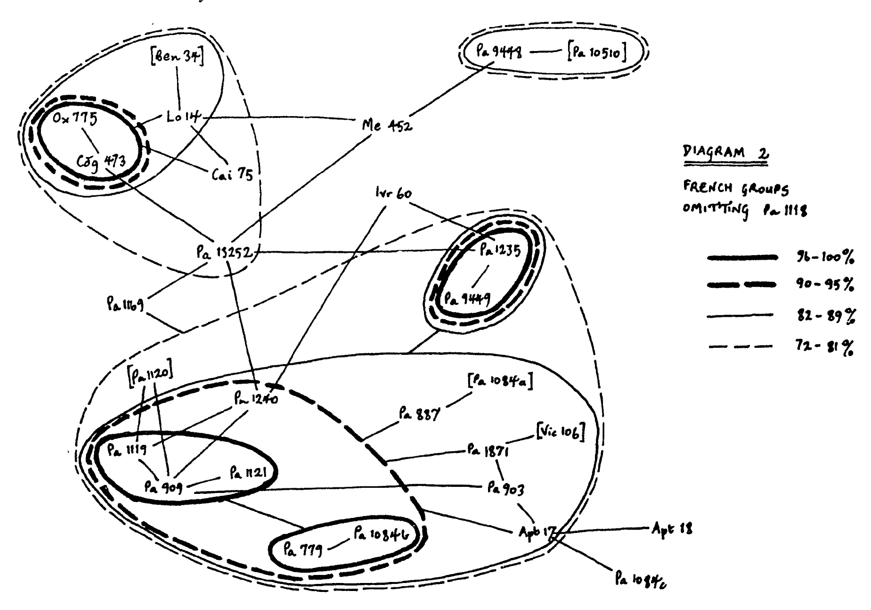
Taking each band of percentages in turn, we can see the following groupings:

96–100: Winchester; two Aquitanian groups; Nevers; St. Emmeram, Regensburg; two St.Gall groups; Monza; Vercelli; Nonantola.

90–95: the Aquitanian groups link up, and more Aquitanian sources join them; the St.Gall groups link up.

82–89: Lo 14 (and with it, surprisingly, the small collection in Ben 34)[3] join Winchester; the Prüm and Echternach sources are joined; more sources join the Aquitanian and St.Gall groups; Balerna joins Monza; the other Nonantola source joins the first two.

72–81: the Arras source joins the English group; the St.Magloire source



effects a 'grand union' between England and Aquitaine (through Pa 1118, be it noted).

60–71: through Me 452, the Prüm and Echternach sources join the North French and English group; St.Emmeram joins the main German and Swiss group; some Italian sources join the South French group.

After 60% the similarities are of less significance. We are approaching the point where only half the repertory of one source is found in another. Some indication of these rather tenuous relationships is nevertheless given on the diagram, which shows that in general the Italian repertories resemble French more than German sources. This bears out Planchart's statement that "from the point of view of their trope repertory, the independent Italian sources remain far closer to the Aquitanian and central French manuscripts than to those of the German orbit, but a mixture of both traditions, French and German, is present in all manuscripts."[4] I shall develop this theme in a moment.

The reliability of these groupings can be tested against the findings of some previous surveys. Günther Weiss made a musical comparison of some of the Aquitanian sources, according to their choice of melody for certain tropes.[5] He divided the sources into two main groups: I – Pa 1240, 1120, 1121, 909 and 1119; II – Pa 1118, 1084, 903, 779, 1871. Pa 887 and Apt 17 stood somewhat apart from these. This agrees quite well with our diagram. Pa 1240 stands equidistant between the two groups in our survey, but only

by virtue of its link with Pa 1118: otherwise it is more closely allied to Pa 1119, 909 and 1121.

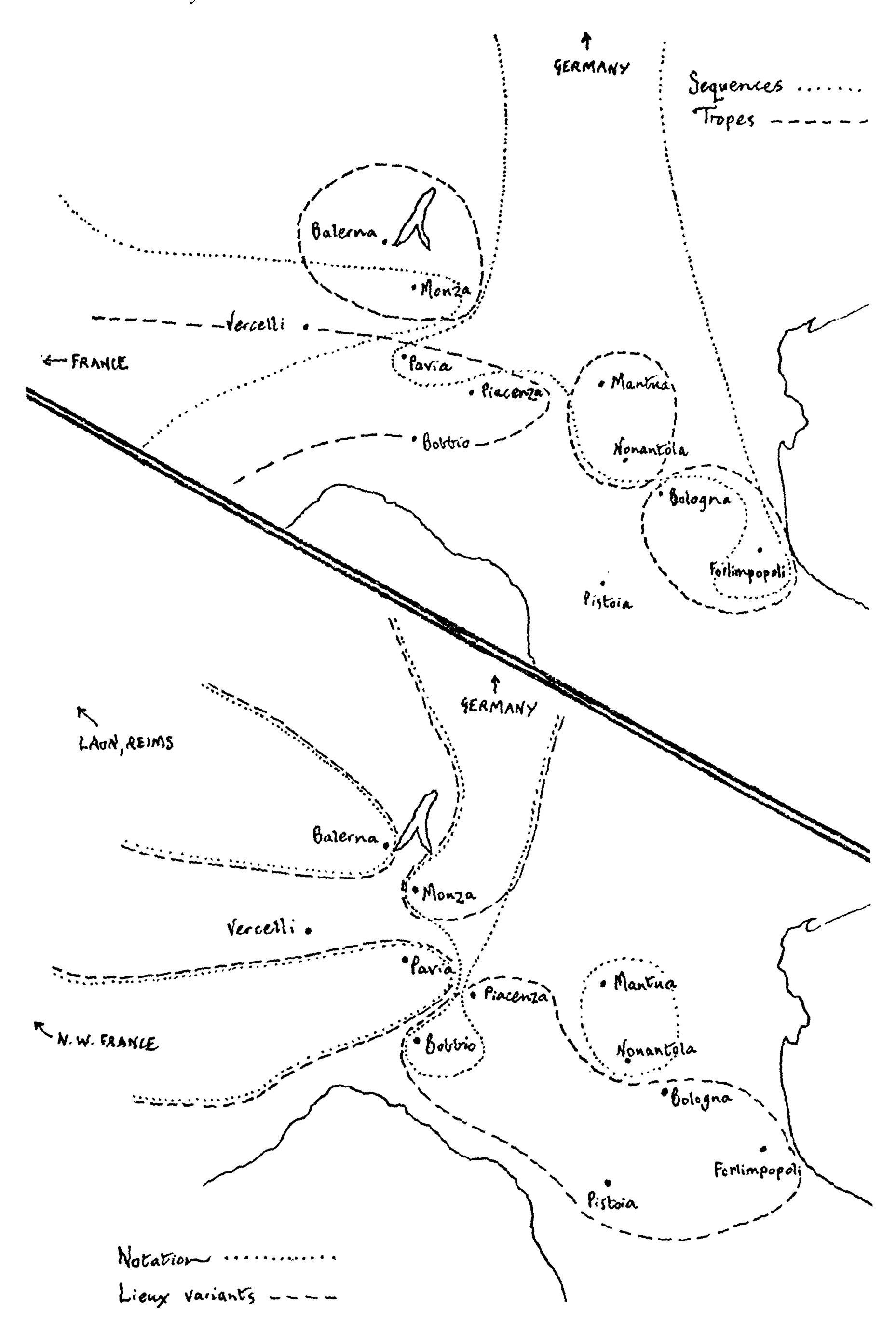
Different groupings are suggested by David Hughes[6], after a survey which took into account both concordances and the order in which the pieces were copied in different sources, and which subjected the data to a complicated arithmetical process designed to offset the effect of the most common tropes. Hughes' results give the following groups: I – Pa 909, 1119, 1120, 1121; II – Pa 779, 887, 1084b. Other sources stand at one or more removes from either of these main groups.

The discrepancy between Hughes' groups and those of our diagram needs investigation. In particular, the position of Pa 1118 and 1240 is at issue. Since the agreement between these sources and the others in order of tropes does not (at least as far as the Christmas cycle given in CT I is concerned) seem to provide a full explanation, it is perhaps permissible to ask whether the arithmetical process employed by Hughes is entirely appropriate. It appears to discriminate rather heavily against those sources (Pa 1240 and 1118) which are closely related by concordances to *all* other sources. The 'commonness' of their repertories is given no chance to express itself. Their unusual items do not link them strongly with any one other source, or group. Perhaps it is more a matter of how the figures are interpreted than the figures themselves.[7]

With 216 elements, Pa 1118 is the largest of the collections surveyed. It is the 'closest' relative of no less than 14 other sources: Apt 18, Ivr 60, Ox 222, Pa 1169, Pa 903, Pa 1084b, Pa 1240, Pa 13252, Pa 1871, Pia 65, Pst 121, To 20 and Vic 106. Such numerous affinities, and so large a collection, raise the suspicion that it is an amalgam of several separate traditions. Diagram 2 shows the grouping of the French sources when Pa 1118 is omitted.

The case of SG 381 is similar. With 204 elements it is the second largest source. It is significant that the most homogenous group of St.Gall sources, SG 376, 378, 380 and 382, is linked to some of the other Swiss sources *only* through SG 381. The most extreme example of this is their relationship with Zu 97. Zu 97 is 99% similar to SG 381, and SG 376 is 95% similar to SG 381; but SG 376 is only 69% similar to Zu 97. The diagram cannot, of course, tell us the direction in which the repertories may have travelled. Is SG 381 a conflation of the St.Gall and Zürich traditions? or are we to imagine two repertories derived from the large Swiss repertory contained in SG 381 (and SG 484)?[8]

The more one studies liturgical traditions, their derivation and dissemination, the more one realizes that they are the result of many diverse waves of influence, each wave leaving a residual deposit upon the shore, as it were, and often washing away something previously present.[9] The trope repertories may be seen as just such waves, arriving on shore after most other aspects of liturgical tradition had been laid down. The relationships between


GERMANY
Sequences ......
Tropes ------
Balerna
Monza
Vercelli
FRANCE
Pavia
Piacenza
Mantua
Bobbio
Nonantola
Bologna
Forlimpopoli
Pistoia
GERMANY
LAON, REIMS
Balerna
Monza
Vercelli
Pavia
Piacenza
Mantua
N.W. FRANCE
Bobbio
Nonantola
Bologna
Forlimpopoli
Pistoia
Notation ....
Lieux variants ----

sources according to their trope repertories often contradict the evidence of other aspects of liturgical tradition. Some obvious examples of this may be found in North Italian sources.

Two maps are given which enclose North Italian towns from which tropers survive in boundaries of various types. In the upper map, a dotted line shows that the surviving collections of sequences from Pavia, Mantua, Nonantola and Forlimpopoli are dominated by German compositions, whereas the collection from Monza is more French in character. As we have seen from Diagram 1, the affiliations of the trope repertories are rather different. Only the Pavia and Piacenza collections (Ivr 60 and Pia 65), and to some extent the Vercelli and Bobbio collections (Vce 162, etc. and To 20) can really be called French in inclination; but none are strongly German; rather they separate into self-contained groups.

The lower map shows how the sources are related by notation, and according to the melodic variants of their chants for the proper of mass, as shown in *Le Graduel Romain, IV: 1 Le Texte Neumatique.* Monza, for example, now allies itself with the Germanic tradition of St.Gall and other centres to the north.

Particular interest attaches to the Pavia and Balerna tropers (Ivr 60 and Vce 186) because of their connections with North West France and the Laon-Reims areas respectively (notation, melodic variants). We have no tropers from these two areas of France, except for the 13th-century manuscript Provins 12 (not used in CT I) from Chartres, on the edge of the North West French zone. Is it possible that the Italian books might fill these lacunae?

In the case of Ivr 60 there are some grounds for optimism. Its nearest relatives are Pa 1118 (62% similarity), Pa 1240 (62%) and Pa 1235 (61%). But it also scores 62% similarity with the Chartres troper just mentioned, Provins 12, so its affiliations are toward North West France and Aquitaine almost equally. A study of variants would determine whether Ivr 60 prefers 'northern' versions of the tropes it transmits, or Aquitanian ones. If northern, then one might speculate that here we have a trope repertory whose nucleus was imported from the same centre as its notation style and proper of mass chants.

Still, large parts of the Pavia collection are not North West French at all. As Planchart stated, Italian sources mix French, German and Italian pieces together. We have only to turn to the excellent edition of elements in CT I to see exactly how widely each element was known. The breakdown in Ivr 60 appears to be the following:

universal[10]: 9
all France, Italy: 13
North France, Italy: 4
Aquitaine, Italy: 9

Germany, Italy: 9
all France: 35
North France: 4
Aquitaine: 9
Germany: 4
Italy: 11
unica: 13

The Balerna trope repertory has nothing to tell us about the Laon-Reims area. I should define its repertory as follows:

universal: 7
all France, Italy: 10
Germany, Italy: 8
all France: 1
North France: 1
Germany: 15 (including one for a different intr.)
Italy: 3
Monza: 4
unicum: 1

Although overall it relates most closely (least distantly!) to Apt 17 (54%), it has prominent blocks of German tropes (particularly for St. John Evangelist, Holy Innocents). Eventually, therefore, the investigation here begun should provide information about each different feast in turn; and it will be necessary to inspect introit, offertory and communion tropes separately, to see if transmission patterns vary from one to the other.

As attempted above with the Pavia and Balerna tropers, it will be possible to give to the computer for analysis not simply a number denominating a particular trope but also a simple label indicating its likely provenance. The main diagram presented here is of assistance in establishing the geographical areas necessary for such labelling. Then, after locating a source on the diagram, we shall be able to deduce the likely reasons for its position by inspecting the geographical breakdown of its repertory. After that, variant readings in text and music must enter the discussion. Eventually, one arrives at a reasonably clear understanding of how the repertory in a particular source developed. And one more piece in the endlessly fascinating jigsaw-puzzle of the different repertories of liturgical material will have been fitted into place.

Notes

[1] See, for instance, A.E. Planchart: *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton, 1977), vol.I, pp.176–182. Planchart's was (before CT) the only work based on practically all surviving sources, although, for the purpose of this particular study, Planchart inspected them primarily in terms of their relationship with the Winchester repertory.

[2] The numbering of each element was accomplished simply by adding a number for the chant troped in front of the number of the element (already provided by CT). Thus Adv I intr is 1, Adv I off is 2, and so on to Epiph com which is 22. Thus the full number of element *Hora est psallite* (Epiph intr 1) is 20001; the full number of *Hodie natus est salvator* (Nat III intr 118) is 07118. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Lesley Morgan, of the Department of Statistics and Computer Science, Royal Holloway College, University of London, for advising me on method and devising the computer programme.

[3] Planchart, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.226, raises the possibility of a connection through the Normans, who conquered much of South Italy in the late 11th century. This seems to me unlikely. No Norman sources of proper tropes survive. Ordinary tropes likely to have been borrowed by South Italian musicians from the Normans only appear in the 13th-century Montecassino manuscript MC 546. The Beneventan trope repertory appears to have evolved before the Normans were properly established in South Italy: Robert Guiscard's magnificent foundations were made in 1062 and after. No sequences in the Beneventan repertory can be attributed to Norman influence. The relations between Norman and South Italian repertories are discussed in my thesis *The liturgical music of Norman Sicily: a study centred on manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20-4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid* (University of London, 1981), pp.300–1, 435–6.

[4] Planchart, *op.cit.*, vol.I, p.182.

[5] G. Weiss: "Zum Problem der Gruppierung südfranzösischer Tropare", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* 21 (1964), pp.163–171.

[6] D.G. Hughes: "Further notes on the grouping of the Aquitanian tropers", *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* 19 (1966), pp.3–12.

[7] Hughes was not, of course, able to publish the mass of statistics on which the conclusions were based. Until this is available, and until CT has covered the entire liturgical year, it is clearly inappropriate to press comparison of results much further.

[8] H.Husmann argues convincingly for the former: "Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des St.Galler Tropariums", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* 13 (1956), pp.25–41.

[9] Overlapping traditions are explored in my article "The Norman chant traditions: Normandy, Britain, Sicily", *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* 107 (1980–81), pp. 1–33, where six types of liturgical material (frequently presenting contradictory evidence) are discussed: post-Pentecost alleluia series, complete repertories of alleluia melodies, sequence repertories, ordinary of mass repertories, variants in proper chants of mass, variants in sequences. The article summarizes information presented with full statistical support in my thesis (cited above, n.3). In the thesis, the proper prayers of mass were also considered.

[10] As Planchart remarked (*op.cit.*, vol.I, pp.133–4), the number of tropes found all over Europe is very small. This presents a strong contrast with the repertory of sequence melodies: of the 150 or so known to c.1000, over a fifth were known in both St.Gall and the Aquitaine. (It is otherwise, of course, with the proses for these melodies.)



[3]

Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation : le trope méloforme d'introït

Michel HUGLO

QU'EST-CE qu'un trope ?

La réponse à la question posée en 1886 par le chartiste Léon Gautier diffère suivant que le trope est envisagé par des exégètes, des liturgistes ou des musicologues. Pour ces deux dernières catégories de spécialistes, le trope est une « amplification d'un chant liturgique au moyen d'additions ou de substitutions » [1] ou encore « développement musical ou littéraire ou encore musico-littéraire d'une pièce de chant ou d'une partie de pièce de chant qui figure dans le Graduel ou l'Antiphonaire » [2].

Où, quand et comment sont nés les tropes ? C'est là une question à laquelle il est difficile de répondre en quelques mots : le problème de l'origine des plus anciens tropes a été repris récemment par une équipe de jeunes philologues suédois réunis sous l'active direction de Madame Ritva Jonsson à l'Institut des langues classiques de Stockholm [3]. Dès le début de son entreprise, en 1969, Ritva Jonsson avait saisi avec une grande clairvoyance que le problème ne serait résolu que s'il était attaqué à la fois sur tous

1. J. CHAILLEY, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1960), p. 190.
2. M. HONEGGER, éd., *Dictionnaire de la Musique, Science de la Musique*, II (Paris, 1976), p. 1035, art. « Trope », § 6. Voir encore la définition proposée par J. HANDSCHIN dans *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, X (1927-28), 523.
3. M. HUGLO, « Corpus Troporum. Un projet de l'Université de Stockholm en voie de réalisation », *Scriptorium*, XXIX/1 (1975), 107-111 ; « Un exposé de Madame R. Jonsson sur le Corpus Troporum (IRHT, 19 septembre 1975) », *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, V (1975), 357-361. P. VER-

les fronts grâce à une collaboration entre spécialistes de la philologie, de la liturgie et de la musique médiévale, effectuant leurs recherches en étroite liaison. Aussi, en réponse à sa requête, ai-je entrepris l'étude d'une catégorie de tropes « musico-littéraires » qui posait à l'équipe des philologues suédois des problèmes d'édition très particuliers : les tropes méloformes d'introït, dont la série complète est transmise par les deux plus anciens tropaires-séquentiaires de St. Gall et dont quelques éléments épars sont conservés par les tropaires-séquentiaires allemands, ainsi que par plusieurs manuscrits aquitains.

Pour bien saisir les données d'un problème aussi particulier, il faut se reporter à la division des tropes proposée par Jacques Chailley et à celle qui a été donnée plus récemment par Olof Marcusson, au seuil de son édition des *Tropes de l'Alleluia* (1976).

Jacques Chailley [4] distingue six sortes de tropes « dont l'ordre d'apparition coïncide à peu près avec la filiation logique ». Cette classification s'applique indistinctement aussi bien aux pièces du Propre (Temporal et Sanctoral de l'année liturgique) qu'à celles de l'Ordinaire de la Messe ou *Kyriale*.

Ainsi, il faudrait distinguer : 1. Le *trope d'adaptation* qui consiste, comme le terme l'indique, à adapter des paroles (*prosa, prosula, verbeta*) sous une vocalise mélismatique préexistante. C'est le cas de la séquence-texte ou prose : « la prose est un trope » affirme Léon Gautier [5].

2. Le *trope de développement*, « amplification des mélodies liturgiques par des compositions musicales plus développées » : c'est précisément la catégorie de tropes que nous allons étudier plus loin.

3. Le *trope d'interpolation* qui insère entre les incises d'une pièce liturgique — plus particulièrement les antiennes d'introït et de communion — des sortes de gloses ou commentaires à mélodie propre : nous voudrions démontrer que, primitivement, ces tropes d'interpolation ont en fait été des tropes d'adaptation (§ 1) composés par adaptation d'un texte sous un trope de développement

---

BRAKEN, « Le Corpus Troporum de l'Université de Stockholm », *Revue bénédictine*, 86 (1976), 335-340. Je remercie Madame Jonsson de son assistance au cours de cette recherche et des nombreux renseignements qu'elle m'a libéralement prodigués. Suivant l'usage de la nouvelle collection du *Corpus Troporum* (= CT), je citerai ici les tropaires-prosaires d'après le système de sigles adoptés par les éditeurs.

4. J. CHAILLEY, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges*, p. 190 ss.

5. L. GAUTIER, *Œuvres poétiques d'Adam de St. Victor*[3] (Paris, 1894), p. 292.

(§ 2) ou mélisme greffé sur les demi-cadences de la mélodie liturgique.

4. Le *trope d'encadrement* : préludes ou postludes. Les plus fréquents sont les préludes ou tropes d'introduction, généralement versifiés qui introduisent les pièces de chant, comme le *prooemium* du kontakion byzantin [6]. Le plus célèbre est sans doute le trope de Noël *Hodie cantandus est*, attribué à Tuotilo, qui ouvre la plupart des tropaires germaniques.

5. Le *trope de complément* ou *versus*, genre très développé à St. Gall [7] par Ratpert, Hartmann et Waldramm, mais pratiqué aussi en Aquitaine.

6. Enfin, le *trope de substitution*, *rhythmus* ou *cantio* remplaçant une pièce, déjà tropée ou non, telle que le *Benedicamus Domino* en fin d'office.

La classification des tropes adoptée par Stockholm est plus concise : quoique différente dans les termes, elle peut se ramener à celle de Chailley, car elle considère la source qui a été à l'origine de la formation du trope, c'est-à-dire soit la mélodie grégorienne, soit le texte liturgique officiel. Ainsi, Ol. Marcusson suivant sur ce point Ingmar Milveden, le successeur de C. A. Moberg à Upsal, distingue les tropes « logogènes » c'est-à-dire ceux dans lesquels « le texte a joué un rôle prépondérant dès l'origine, la mélodie (ayant été) créée en même temps ou plus tard » [8] et les tropes « mélogènes », qui sont « ceux où la mélodie a été à l'origine du trope » et dans lesquels, par conséquent, « le texte a été composé après coup et apporté sur la mélodie déjà existante » [9].

---

6. Sur cette comparaison avec le répertoire byzantin, voir J. CHAILLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 194 et ss. Ajoutons que le *prooemium* de l'hymne acathiste a été connu en Occident dès le début du IXe siècle : cf. M. HUGLO, « L'ancienne version latine de l'Hymne acathiste », *Le Muséon*, LXIV/1-2 (1951), 27-61. Un des manuscrits du IXe siècle contenant le *prooemium* (Zürich, Zentralbibl. C 78 [Mohlb. 109]) vient précisément de St. Gall : *art. cit.*, p. 29.

7. Sur les *versus*, voir *Analecta hymnica* 50 ; *M G H*, *Poëtae aevi karolini* IV, II ; P. WINTERFELD, *Die Dichterschule St. Gallens und der Reichenau* (Darmstadt, 1969) [Mittellateinische Dichtung. Ausgewählte Beiträge zu ihrer Erforschung] ; P. STOTZ, *Ardua spes mundi. Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus Sankt-Gallen* (Bern, 1972) [Geist und Werk der Zeiten] ; Sr. M. B. BERENDES, *The Versus and its Use in the Medieval Roman Liturgy* (Ph. D. Musicology, Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1973).

8. Ol. MARCUSSON, *Corpus Troporum II : Prosules de la Messe*, 1. *Tropes de l'alleluia* (Stockholm, 1976), p. 7. — Voir l'art. « Trope » de Ingmar MILVEDEN dans *Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för nordisk medeltid*.

9. Ol. MARCUSSON, *op. cit.*, p. 8 : cette appellation recouvre celle de Chailley n. 1 (trope d'adaptation).

La troisième catégorie de tropes, suivant la terminologie suédoise, n'intéresse que les musicologues ! Il s'agit du trope « méloforme », mélisme ajouté aux demi-cadences d'une pièce de chant, — tel un jubilus sans paroles prolongeant celles-ci, — mais aussi à la cadence finale de la pièce, c'est-à-dire l'*Amen*. Ces tropes méloformes n'appartiennent pas au chant grégorien primitif, car si on les rencontre parfois dans quelques graduels d'Aquitaine, leur place habituelle est dans le tropaire-prosaire.

De ces remarques liminaires découle une conséquence pratique pour la conduite de notre recherche : l'étude qui suit a porté non sur l'ensemble des tropes méloformes qui couvrent les grandes fêtes liturgiques, mais seulement sur ceux du Temps pascal, en particulier ceux de Pâques et de la Pentecôte : les résultats obtenus peuvent être extrapolés par la suite à tout le reste du répertoire. En terminant, il ne restera plus qu'à déterminer, par voie de comparaison avec les autres formes mélismatiques contenues dans les tropaires-prosaires, la nature, la signification et l'usage de ces tropes méloformes et enfin à tenter de dater l'époque de leur apparition dans le répertoire.

Après avoir transcrit les texte de base du Graduel, les introïts de Pâques et de Pentecôte sur lesquels on a greffé les tropes méloformes, l'enquête débutera par l'analyse des deux plus anciens tropaires-prosaires, sangalliens qui contiennent le répertoire complet des tropes méloformes pour toute l'année liturgique ; elle se poursuivra ensuite par une revue des manuscrits aquitains dans lesquels la transmission des tropes méloformes s'est quelque peu estompée au point de n'en contenir que des vestiges : il faudra ensuite comparer ces deux branches de la tradition EST et OUEST pour examiner si les mélodies recueillies dans les manuscrits de l'Ouest peuvent « traduire » adéquatement les mélismes cadenciels notés *in campo aperto* dans les tropaires de l'Est.

Texte de l'introït de Pâques, découpé *per cola et commata*, avec numérotation alphabétique des incises, en vue des références ultérieures, et avec indication de la note finale de la cadence en notation alphabétique médiévale :

a.	RESURREX**I**	(D)	
b.	et adhuc tecum **sum**	(G)	
c.	allelui**a**	(E)	Même mélodie que sur *k*. alleluia.
d.	posuisti super **me**	(E)	E et non F comme dans l'Ed. Vaticane.

e.	manum tu**am**	(E)	E et non F comme dans l'**Ed.** Vaticane.
f.	allelu**ia**	(E)	E et non F comme dans l'Ed. Vaticane.
g.	mirabilis facta **est**	(C)	
h.	scientia tu**a**	(G)	
j.	allelu**ia**	(G)	
k.	allelu**ia**	(E)	Même mélodie que sur *c.* alleluia.

l. PSALM. (IVe ton) Domine probasti me et cognovisti me : *
m. tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurectionem me**am**
n. (E). V Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto. *
o. Sicut erat in principio... seculorum, Am**en**. (F).
p. AD REPETEN**D**UM Intellexisti cogitationes meas de longe : *
q. Semitam meam et funiculum meum investiga**sti**. (F).

Texte de l'introït de Pentecôte, suivant la même présentation :

a.	SPIRITUS **DOMINI**	(F)	
b.	reple**vit**	(c)	
c.	orbem terra**rum**	(c)	
d.	allelu**ia** :	(G)	Même mélodie que sur *k.* alleluia.
e.	et **hoc**	(c)	
f.	quod continet omni**a**	(c)	
g.	scienti**am**	(a)	
h.	habet vo**cis**	(a)	
j.	alleluia, allelu**ia**	(G)	
k.	allelu**ia**.	(G)	Même mélodie que sur *d.* alleluia.

l. PSALM. (VIIIe ton) Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus : *
m. et fugiant qui oderunt eum a facie ej**us** (G).
n. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto. *
o. Sicut erat in principio... seculorum, Am**en**. (G).
p. AD REPETENDUM Confirma hoc Deus quod operatus es in nobis : *
a templo sancto tuo quod est in Jerusa**lem** (G).

Le texte des introïts en question est attesté dès la fin du VIIIe siècle par l'unanimité des plus anciens graduels [10]. Le premier verset de la psalmodie d'introït est également attesté par ces mêmes témoins. Par contre, la doxologie finale, qui d'après les

10. R. J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* (Bruxelles, 1935), nos 80 & 106.

anciens *Ordines romani* [11] était entonnée dès que le célébrant avait atteint les marches de l'autel, n'est jamais transcrite dans les manuscrits liturgiques : elle est représentée par les voyelles des deux derniers mots (*E u o u a e* = *s*ec*u*l*o*r*u*m, *a*-m*e*n) sur lesquelles on a noté la « différence psalmodique » finale. C'est sur cet *Amen* que se greffe le long *neuma* qui, dans plusieurs graduels aquitains, a été noté après la psalmodie et non pas reporté dans le tropaire-prosaire : cette particularité n'est pas sans importance pour la question des origines du trope. Enfin, le *Versus ad repetendum*, après la doxologie, qui en principe doit être tiré du même Psaume que le verset de la psalmodie. Il est très rarement noté dans les graduels, car il a disparu de l'usage vers la fin du IXe siècle : cependant, à St. Gall il était encore en usage au XIe siècle, puisque il est noté intégralement dans le versiculaire du MS. 381 qui précède le tropaire : par ailleurs, son dernier mot dans l'introït de Pâques (... *investigasti*) sert de « support » à plusieurs tropes méloformes sangalliens.

***

I. Les tropes méloformes d'introït dans la tradition sangallienne (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 484 et 381)

Les deux tropaires-séquentiaires les plus anciens de la bibliothèque de St. Gall forment un groupe homogène qui contient le fonds primitif du répertoire tropé de la célèbre abbaye.

SG 484 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 484)

Tropaire-prosaire de petit format qui ne contient que les tropes du Propre et de l'Ordinaire de la Messe (*Incipiunt tro[pi] carminum in diversis festivitatibus missarum canende*, titre de la p. 4, en capitales rustiques) et les grandes séquences mélodiques (p. 258 et ss.), dont le titre souvent effacé a été ajouté par le jésuite Dechevrens en août 1896 (cf. note du bibliothécaire Fäh, à la page 1) ; le même auteur remarque (p. 257) que la notation de ces séquences sans texte est écrite de gauche à droite, mais que la progression des lignes se fait de bas en haut : cette singularité n'a pas reçu d'explication satisfaisante. Elle doit être considérée comme un archaïsme, puisque tous les autres séquentiaires du groupe Est notent ces *melodiae longissimae* en marge du texte de la séquence assonancée (comparaison des deux procédés d'après SG 484 et SG 381 dans *MGG*, IX, col. 1695).

---

11. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen-Age*, II (Louvain, 1948), p. 83 ss. (Ordo I), p. 159 (Ordo IV) *etc.*

Pour la datation de SG 484, on peut retenir l'opinion de B. BISCHOFF (dans *CT*, I, p. 49) qui propose la date de « 965 (?) », c'est-à-dire le troisième quart du xe siècle. De toute façon, SG 484 est antérieur à SG 381, ce qui ne veut pas dire que son témoignage est toujours préférable à celui de SG 381 (voir plus bas le trope VII).

Dans la partie tropaire, on trouve pour les introïts de toutes les fêtes de l'année, une ou plusieurs séries de tropes méloformes, mais pas toujours suivis d'un texte de trope d'interpolation : Noël (p. 5), l'Épiphanie (p. 62), Pâques (p. 104), Pentecôte (p. 13), St. Jean Baptiste (p. 142), St. Pierre (p. 151) *etc.* A la fin, le Kyriale (p. 208) avec quelques tropes méloformes pour le *Gloria in excelsis* (voir plus bas, p. 49). Ces tropes méloformes sont désignés par la lettre M dans la description d'H. HUSMANN (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 13 [1956], 35-38).

Le lecteur trouvera des exemples caractéristiques de tropes méloformes parmi les facsimilés de ce manuscrit énumérés, en particulier dans *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Abbild. 59, ou encore dans *Corpus Troporum I*, Cycle de Noël (Stockholm, 1975), pl. I-III (SG 484) et pl. IV-V (SG 381).

SG 381 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek 381)

Versiculaire-tropaire-prosaire qui donne pour les tropes la même série de textes et de mélodies que SG 484. Cependant, le contenu de ce manuscrit est amplifié de bien d'autres pièces : acclamations carolingiennes, épitre sur l'interprétation des lettres significatives de Romanus (cf. J. FROGER dans *Études grégoriennes*, V [1962], p. 24) ; le *Gloria* et le *Credo* en grec (cf. M. HUGLO, *Revue grégorienne*, XXIX [1950], p. 33 ; XXX [1951], p. 77, n. 1) ; les *versus* d'Hartmann, de Ratpert, de Waltramm et de Notker (p. 47) édités plusieurs fois (*An. Hymn.*, 50 [1907] ; M G H, *Poëtae aevi karolini* IV II ; P. STOTZ, « Ardua spes mundi », *Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus Sankt Gallen* [Bern, 1972], Geist und Werk der Zeiten, 32) ; les *versus ad introitum et ad communionem*, c'est-à-dire la psalmodie d'introït et de communion avec le *versus ad repetendum* (cf. E. CARDINE, *Études grégoriennes*, I [1954], pp. 47-52), enfin, des tableaux de comput (p. 167). Cf. A. CORDOLIANI, *Rev. hist. Égl. suisse*, 1954, p. 197 et H. HUSMANN, *Fs. H. Engel* (1964), p. 190. Les tropes commencent à la p. 195, avec le même titre que dans SG 484 : INCIPIUNT TROPI CARMINUM DIVERSIS FESTIVITATIBUS MISSARUM CANENDI. Donc, SG 381 qui donne la même série de tropes que SG 484 (cf. *CT*, I, pp. 226, 229 [avec une inversion], 231 en haut ; 231 en bas [avec un ordre différent] ; 236 [ordre différent et supplément], 241, 244 [ordre différent]) appartient au même groupe que lui, mais n'est pas nécéssairement son descendant direct. De toute façon, on ne saurait admettre que SG 484 descend de SG 381 (H. HUSMANN, « Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des St. Galler Tropariums », *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XIII [1956], p. 31 [stemma]) ou lui est postérieur (W. LIPPHARDT, *Osterfeiern*, I, p. 93 : « um 975 » comme

St. Gall 484, mais les textes de ce dernier sont édités après ceux de SG 381).

Éventuellement, il sera fait appel dans les tableaux de tropes qui suivent au témoignage de manuscrits de l'orbite sangallienne qui ont parfois conservé quelques tropes méloformes :

Wi 1609 (Wien, Österreichisches Nationalbibl. 1609)

Recueil composite de Freising (?) écrit peu après l'an 900 (d'après B. BISCHOFF dans *CT*, 1, p. 50). Le contenu a été analysé par H. HUSMANN (*R I S M*, B V [1] [1964], pp. 20-22), mais surtout par R. WEAKLAND, « The Beginnings of Troping », *Musical Quarterly*, 44 (1958), 477-488, avec deux facsimilés (art. omis par Husmann dans la bibliographie du ms.). Les tropes d'introduction et les tropes méloformes d'introït ou du *Gloria in excelsis* (f. 4^r-8^v) sont répertoriés par Weakland (pp. 481-483) en comparaison avec SG 484. Les tropes de Pâques sont cités sous les n°s 10-14 de l'inventaire. Les tropes méloformes sont indiqués sous la mention *Melodic troping*. L'auteur donne dans le texte des exemples de tropes méloformes pour l'introït *Puer* (p. 483), *De ventre* (p. 485), *Etenim* (p. 486) et *Gloria in excelsis* (p. 487). Notation allemande très voisine de celle de St. Gall (voir les facsimilés dans l'*art. cit.* entre les pp. 482-483).

Lo 19768 (Londres, Br. Mus. Add. 19768)

Tropaire-séquentiaire de Mayence, seconde moitié du xe siècle, notation proche de la sangallienne (cf. CT, 1 p. 47 ; CT 2, p. 12). D'après Br. STÄBLEIN, ce tropaire contient quelques tropes méloformes : « zahlreiche textlose an den Zäsuren der Introitus-Gesänge eingelassene zwischenspiele die z.Z. auch textiert auftreten » (*M G G*, XIII, col. 802).

Be 11 (Berlin, Staatsbibl. Th. lat. Qu. 11)

Tropaire-séquentiaire, daté par les litanies de 1024-1027, destiné à l'église de Minden (cf. CT 1, p. 46 ; CT 2, p. 12). Notation neumatique sangallienne (facsimilés : *Paléo. music.*, III, pl. 109 ; J. WOLF, *Hdb. der Notationskunde* [1913], p. 104 ; P. WAGNER, *Neumenkunde*[2], pp. 210-211 ; A. CHROUST, *Monum. palaeographica*, II/22, Tafel 1).

Tableaux comparatifs des tropes méloformes dans la tradition de l'EST (SG 484, SG 381, Be 11, Lo 19768)

Comme les tropes méloformes des mss. allemands sont tombés en désuétude au cours du XIe siècle, leurs mélodies n'ont pu parvenir jusqu'à nous, puisque les scriptorium de Suisse et d'Allemagne n'ont adopté la notation diastématique qu'à une époque relativement récente. Cependant, l'absence de diastématie ne signi-

fie pas qu'on doive renoncer à étudier les relations de ces mélodies avec les textes qui, parfois, les accompagnent, ni qu'il faille abandonner l'espoir de retrouver la traduction mélodique de ces mélismes dans une autre branche de la tradition (voir plus loin, p. 25, sur la concordance Est-Ouest).

Pour tenter de saisir les rapports de ces « tropes sans paroles » (L. Gautier) avec la « verbalisation » (*Textierung*) éventuelle, il faut dresser un tableau pour chaque trope du *Resurrexi* d'après SG. 484 et SG 381 (le signe = indiquera que le second concorde exactement avec le premier) ; les tropes méloformes seront représentés par une ligne de pointillés comme dans l'édition citée de W. Lipphardt.

Cette ligne aboutit à la colonne N dans laquelle sont totalisés, à gauche, le nombre de notes du trope méloforme considéré et, à droite, le nombre de syllabes de l'élément correspondant. En principe, le nombre de notes devrait — comme dans le cas des séquences sangalliennes (voir plus loin, p. 46), — correspondre au nombre de syllabes de l'élément : on verra que tel n'est pas toujours et partout le résultat escompté et il faudra rechercher la cause de ces divergences.

A propos du comptage des notes, il faut faire une remarque préalable au sujet des neumes d'ornement : le pressus *minor* compte pour deux notes, le pressus *major* pour trois ; le salicus est également compté pour trois notes, puisque son deuxième élément composant, l'oriscus, se retrouve isolément sur la syllabe correspondante ; le pes stratus également se décompte en trois éléments ; la dentelure du quilisma est comptée par une seule note, car l'effet vocal particulier à l'exécution du neume quilismatique ascendant est compté pour une note simple au cours de la « verbalisation » de l'élément.

Remarquons enfin, à propos des questions de notation neumatique, que le lemme-titre pris dans l'introït liturgique pour introduire l'élément noté puis le trope méloforme ne comporte pas de notation : cette absence est signalée par l'indication « sine notis », en abrégé *s. n.*

La colonne suivante a été réservée à la concordance éventuelle des manuscrits de St. Gall, avec Be 11, Lo 19768, Wi 1609 et parfois certains autres. Enfin, une dernière colonne « Remarques » donne les numéros d'appel aux notes et commentaires qui suivent chaque tableau.

I

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.	Concordance	Remarque
p. 104) IN RESURRECTIONE DNI.	p. 244)				
Exurge rector gentium nec moriturus amplius	=			[ ]	12
a. Resurrexi... all[eluia] (s.n.)	=				13
A quo nunquam licet incarnatus	=		8	Be 11, Wi 1609	
c. alleluia - - - - - - - - - - - - -	=	11			14
p. 105)					
d. Posuisti alleluia (s. n.)	=				
Quia jussu tuo ad tempus	=		9	Be 11, Wi 1609	15
f. alleluia - - - - - - - - - - - - -	=	14			
h. Scientia alleluia (s. n.)	=				
Quo humilitate mea superbiam diaboli	=		24	Be 11, Wi 1609	16
k. alleluia - - - - - - - - - - - - -	=	24			
m. Dne probasti... meam (s. n.)	=				
Qui de morte turpissima			23	Be 11, Wi 1609	17
o. Amen - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	=	23			
q. Investigasti (s. n.)	=				
Qui me ad mortem idcirco	=		20	Wi 1609	
q. Investigasti - - - - - - - - - - -	=	21			

12. Trope d'introduction versifié (*An. Hymn.*, 49, p. 29, nº 15). L'analyse de la suite du texte est inexacte : en effet, les auteurs donnent l'élément *Principe inferni* du tableau II comme étant la suite d'*Exurge rector gentium.*

13. L'incipit de l'incise du texte liturgique qui va être tropé immédiatement après n'est jamais noté : cette remarque est valable pour tous les éléments qui vont suivre.

14. Plus exactement treize notes, mais il faut décompter les deux notes de la clivis *fa-mi* de la cadence de la mélodie liturgique : cependant, les deux premières syllabes de l'élément *A quo*... sont bel et bien adaptées sur cette clivis, puisqu'on retrouve le mouvement mélodique descendant indiqué au moyen de la virga (sur *A*) suivie du tractulus (sur *quo*) ; de même, les deux dernières syllabes de l'élément ... (*re*)*cessi* sont adaptées sur la clivis finale du trope méloforme. On se retrouve donc sur la même demi-cadence *fa-mi* comme si il n'y avait pas eu d'interpolation méloforme de sorte que la suite de l'introït [*d.*] *posuisti super me* peut immédiatement être enchaînée.

15. Ici, grosse divergence entre le nombre de syllabes de l'élément *Quia jussu tuo* (9 syllabes) et le nombre de notes (14) : mais cet élément a peut-être été déplacé : il aura été emprunté au trope II et adapté par synérèse sur une mélodie longue.

16. Le punctum de la cinquième syllabe de l'élément *Quod humili*-ta-*te* correspond au terme le plus grave du climacus du trope méloforme ; les trois notes du torculus qui suit sont distribuées sur les trois syllabes suivantes -*te me-a* ; les cinq premières notes du torculus resupinus flexus sont réparties sur les syllabes *su-per-bi-am di-a*[*boli*] etc.

17. Le mouvement des deux neumes initiaux porrectus (/ \ /) et podatus (\ /) est exactement reproduit dans la distribution des virga (aigu) et punctum (grave) sur les syllabes *Qui de mor-te tur-*.

LE TROPE MÉLOFORME D'INTROÏT **15**

II

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.	Concordance	Remarques
p. 106) Hodie processit leo fortis...	p. 245) =			SG 382 Be 11, Ox 27, Zü 97.	18
Resurrexi (s. n.) Principe inferni	=		16	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	19
a. Resurrexi - - - - - - - - -	=	15			
p. 107) Alleluia (s. n.) A quo nunquam	=		15	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	20
c. Alleluia - - - - - - - - -	=	16			
Super me (s. n.) Quem tu solus	=		17	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	
d. Super me - - - - - - - - -	=	17			
Alleluia (s. n.) Quia jussu tuo			12	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	21
f. Alleluia - - - - - - - - -	=	12 (13)			
(s. n.) Est. Cui nulla sapientia	=		15		22
g. Est - - - - - - - - - -	=	15			
All(eluia) (s. n.) Quod tali victoria	=		16	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	
p. 108) k. Alleluia - - - - - - - -	=	16			23
PS. Domine probasti... meam Qui me de morte turpi - - - - - - - -	=		21	SG 382, Be 11, Zü 97	
m. meam - - - - - - - - - -	=	22			24
	o. Amen - - - - -	22			

18. La concordance du trope d'introduction, en prose, et celle des éléments suivants est due à R. Jonsson et G. Björkvall, d'après CT 3 (en préparation).

19. Les tropes méloformes du Tableau II sont, à quelques variantes près, les mêmes que ceux du tableau VIII qui, lui, ne comporte aucun texte. La première note du trope méloforme se retrouve identique sur la première syllabe de l'élément *Prin(cipe)* : le mouvement du torculus qui suit (\ / \) est exactement reproduit dans l'étagement des trois virgas au-dessus de *(Prin)cipe in(ferni)* etc.

20. Le trope méloforme de l'alleluia se termine par un salicus ascendant de trois notes dont la note centrale est un oriscus : dans la décomposition des notes du neume et dans leur distribution sur les trois syllabes finales *par-ve-rim*, l'avant dernière note est effectivement un oriscus.

21. Le podatus initial du trope méloforme n'est pas scindé en deux notes au cours de la distribution des neumes sur le texte, mais subsiste dans son intégrité sur la première syllabe *qui-(a)*.

22. Ici, contrairement au cas de l'élément précédent, le podatus initial est scindé en deux sur les deux premières syllabes du texte *Cu-i*.

23. Le troisième groupe de neumes est un pes stratus (voir remarque 24) : le dernier groupe du trope méloforme, un pressus major exactement décomposé en virga + oriscus à l'unisson, surplombant un punctum : les trois notes de ce neume sont distribuées sur les syllabes *stra- vis- ti*.

24. Ici encore, le podatus d'intonation est conservé dans son intégrité : il est appliqué à la syllabe *Qui*, ce qui montre bien que les neumes ne sont pas toujours décomposés à raison d'une note par syllabe de texte.

Le troisième groupe du trope méloforme est formé par un quilisma, neume

III

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.		Remarques
p. 108 mil.) ALIT(er) RESURREXI (s. n.) Per fractis sed prius ...	p. 246) =		18		25
a. Resurrexi – – – – –	= (s. n.)	18			
c. Alleluia (s. n.) Sedens a dextris virtutis ...	=		19		
p. 109) c. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	19			26
f. alleluia (s. n.) Cum morte subire cita ...	d. Posuisti. alleluia =		20		27
f. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	20			
h. Tua (s. n.) Quando filium crucifigi...			19		
h. Tua – – – – – – – – –	=	19			
o. Amen (s. n.) Quem angelis est veneranda...			17		
p. 110) Amen	=		17		

ascendant de trois notes dont la note centrale — léger *glissando* ou rapide port de voix, figuré dans la notation par une vrille (*vinnola* cf. GS III 319 b) — se retrouve telle quelle sur la syllabe centrale du mot *as-sumptum*, alors que dans d'autres cas analogues de décomposition des formules la note quilismatique centrale disparaît complètement (cf. E. Cardine, « Sémiologie grégorienne », *Études grég.*, XI [1970], p. 127). Enfin, la note finale est un pes stratus, neume d'ornement composé d'un pes avec une oriscus soudé à son extrémité supérieure. Ce neume, déjà rencontré plus haut (voir remarque 23) est en quelque sorte la signature des compositions gallicanes et romano-franques (cf. M. Huglo, *Römisch-fränkische Liturgie* : *Geschichte der kathol. Kirchenmusik*, I [Kassel, 1972], p. 238.

25. Dans SG 381, pas de notation musicale pour le trope méloforme de *Resurrexi* : est-ce un oubli du notateur ou l'attestation indirecte que le trope méloforme commençait à tomber en désuétude ?

26. La cadence finale du trope méloforme est ici encore un pes stratus : voir tableau II, ci-dessus, note 24.

27. Dans SG 484 et SG 381, le punctum du pressus est affecté d'un *i* (= *iusum* ou *inferius*), signifiant que cette note finale est séparée de la précédente par un intervalle plus grand que la seconde. La distribution du pressus sur le texte est agencée comme précédemment, c'est-à-dire que l'oriscus, deuxième note du pressus major, se retrouve bien sur la deuxième syllabe (*Cum*) *mor*(*te*) de l'élément.

IV

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	syll.		Remarques
p. 110)	p. 246) Al(iter)				28
a. Resurrexi - - - - - -	=	17			
c. alleluia - - - - - -	=	16			29
d. me - - - - - - -	=	10			
f. alleluia - - - - -	=	13			30
g. est - - - - - - - - -	=	17			
n. tua - - - - - - - - -	=	16			
j. alleluia - - - - - -	=	14			
k. alleluia - - - - - -	=	14			
m. meam - - - - - - - -	D. meam	25			
p. 111)					
o. Amen - - - - - - - -	=	16 (17)			

28. Voir dans L. Gautier, *Les tropes* (Paris, 1886), p. 214, le fascimilé gravé de cette page. Il s'agit ici d'un trope méloforme à l'état pur, sans aucun texte. Dans SG 381, en vue d'épargner le parchemin, les lemmes sont écrits à longues lignes, à la suite, et non à raison d'un par ligne comme dans SG 484.

29. La finale du trope méloforme est écrite de deux manières différentes, séparées par le symbole *vel* (*l* barré) : cette variante est d'ordre rythmique et non mélodique (torculus + tractulus = pes carré [long] + pressus minor). Cet usage du *vel* proposant deux variantes au choix du *cantor* est assez fréquent dans le graduel d'Einsiedeln 121.

30. Cadence finale par pes stratus, comme précédemment (voir note 24).

V

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.	Concordance	Remarques
p. 111)	p. 247) ALITER				31
INT(ERROGATIO) Quem quaeritis in sep...	=		12	SG 374, 376, 387, 388	32
R IHCYM nazarenum crucifixum...	RESP. =		15	391, etc. etc.	
Non est hic surrexit...	=		12		
Ite nuntiate quia surrexit...	=		15		
[a.] RESURREXI					

31. Fascimilé de la p. 111 dans K. YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*[2], I (Oxford, 1962), pl. V (face à la p. 202). — Sur la place de ce trope-dialogue dans les manuscrits liturgiques, voir le tableau de Tim. Mc GEE dans *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XXIX (1976), 27-29.

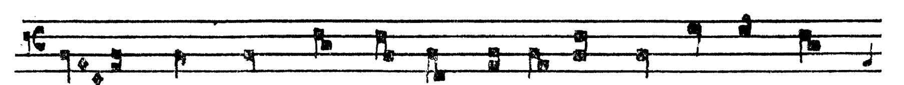
Remarquons que dans le tropaire d'Autun (PaA 1169) et dans les manuscrits aquitains, ce trope-dialogue vient habituellement en tête de la série pascale et souvent avec une initiale décorée ou même historiée (par ex. Pa 887, f. 19r, reproduit par D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *La décoration des manuscrits à St. Martial de Limoges* [Genève, 1969], pl. 40, nº 76 ; Pa 1119, f. 21 et Pa 1121, f. 2, *ibid.*, pl. 41, nº 78 et pl. 39, nº 74 ; Pa 1084, f. 64v, reproduit par T. SEEBASS, *Musikdarstellung...*, II [Bern, 1973], Taf. 76 ; dans Pa 1871, fol. XIIJv une place avait été prévue pour une grande initiale qui n'a jamais été exécutée : cf. W. LIPPHARDT, *Osterfeiern*, I, p. 55, nº 45). Dans quelques manuscrits allemands (*ibid.*, nº 76-77 *etc.*), le trope-dialogue occupe aussi cette première et parfois unique situation, tandis qu'à St. Gall, il est relégué en cinquième place, ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'il n'était pas joué par les moines : la figuration de l'édicule du St. Sépulcre dans l'antiphonaire d'Hartker (SG 391, p. 33, reproduit dans K. YOUNG, *The Drama...*, I, pl. I, en frontispice) laisse penser que le dialogue se jouait encore à St. Gall, mais qu'il était passé à la procession (*ad processionem*) qui s'intercalait entre Matines et Laudes. Sur la tradition anglaise, voir Al. Enrique PLANCHART, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, II (Princeton University, 1977), p. 154.

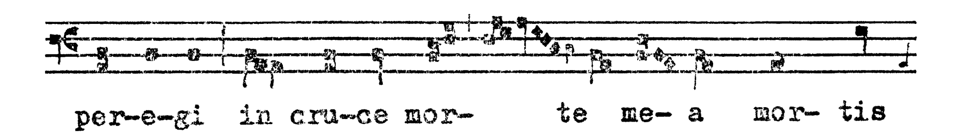
32. Principales éditions du texte : *An. Hymn.*, 49, p. 9 nº 3 ; W. LIPPHARDT, *Lat. Osterfeiern*, I (Berlin, 1975), p. 93 nº 79 et p. 91 nº 78 ; K. YOUNG, *The Drama...*, I, p. 201 ; H. DE BOOR, *Die Textgeschichte der lat. Osterfeiern* (Tübingen, 1967) [Hermaea germanistische Forschungen NF 22], p. 28 et 33 ss. Principales éditions de la mélodie : Cf. E. A. SCHULER, *Die Musik der Osterfeiern* (Kassel, 1951) nº 500 a, p. 282 ; W. L. SMOLDON, « The Easter Sepulchre Music Drama, *Music and Letters* XXVII/1 (1946), 1-17 ; « The Melodies of the Medieval Church Dramas and their Significances », *Medieval English Drama*, edited by J. TAYLOR et Allan H. NELSON (Chicago-London, 1972), p. 64-80 (reprod. from *Comparative Drama*, II [1968]) ; *The Music of the Medieval Church Drama* (ouvrage annoncé dans *Acta musicologica*, XLVI [1974], 96, qui paraîtra en édition posthume) ; D. DOLAN, *Le drame liturgique de Pâques en Normandie et en Angleterre au Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1975), p. 28 ss. (d'après le tropaire de Winchester) ; Fl. COLLINS, *Medieval Church Music-Dramas. A Repertory of complete Plays* (Charlottesville, 1976) : cet ouvrage reprend le matériel à *The Production of Medieval Church Music Drama* (Charlottesville, 1972) ; N. SEVESTRE, *Les tropes d'introït de Noël et de Pâques à l'origine du drame liturgique* (Thèse, Université de Paris X, 1976), p. 148 et surtout p. 310-313 [d'après les manuscrits aquitains].

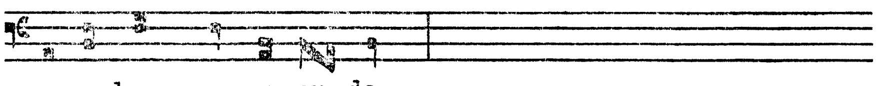
VI

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.	Concordance	Remarques
p. 111)AL(iter)	p. 247) ALITER				
Postquam factus homo tua jussa...	=		16	SG 378, SG 382, Lo 19768 etc.	33
p. 112) In cruce morte mea ...	=		16		
	a-c. Resurrexi — alleluia (s. n.)				
	In regno superno				34
a. Resurrexi – – – – –	=	39			
c. alleluia – – – – – –	=	42			
d. me – – – – – – – –	=	27			
f. alleluia – – – – – –	=	18			
g. est – – – – – – – –	=	27			
h. tua – – – – – – – –	=	26			
k. alleluia – – – – – –	=	21			
o. Amen – – – – – – –	=	24			

33. Trope d'introduction versifié (*An. Hymn.*, 49, p. 28 nº 14 et ci-dessus p. 14) très répandu à l'Est, mais aussi en Angleterre (Winchester). Tous les témoins sont notés *in campo aperto* sauf un seul qui pourrait servir pour la restitution mélodique : il s'agit d'un graduel d'Italie du nord avec notation carrée sur tétragramme rouge (Cividale, Museo archeologico LVI), du XIVᵉ s. : cf. M. HUGLO, « Une composition monodique de Latino Frangipane », *Revue de musicologie*, LIV [1968], 96-98, avec facsimilé) :







34. Dans SG 381, le bas de la page 247 a été rempli au XII-XIIIᵉ s. par un trope d'interpolation versifié (cf. *An. Hymn.*, 49, p. 28 en bas) qui ne peut en aucune manière s'adapter aux tropes méloformes de SG 484. Cette addition tardive n'a pas été faite sur grattage, mais sur un espace resté blanc (lettre de Mgr J. DUFT, bibliothécaire de St. Gall, en date du 10 dé-

VII

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.		Remarques
p. 112) AL(iter)	p. 248)				35
p. 113) Hodie exultent justi...	=				36
a. Resurrexi (s. n.)	=				
	I-m. Dne. probasti...				
	... meam (s. n.)				37
q. investigasti (s. n.)					38
Sancte Pater cujus nutu...	=				
... debellaveram. - - - - - - - -		17	22		39
	I-m. Dne... meam	18			
o. Amen (s. n.)	q. investigasti (s. n.)				
Hec laus tibi (N(on) defuit	=				
domine. - - - - - - - - - - -		21 }			40
	q. investigasti - - - -	21 }			
o. Amen (s. n.)					
Quam archangeli et sanctorum	=				
... praedicant	=		19		
o. Amen - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	=	16			

cembre 1976). Autrement dit, le premier copiste de SG 381 avait renoncé à transcrire les neumes méloformes de son modèle. Ce cas est particulièrement significatif, car il montre comment un trope d'introduction se désolidarise des tropes méloformes pour prendre ensuite son indépendance (voir la colonne « Concordance »).

35. Dans SG 484, la rubrique habituelle AL(iter) semble ajoutée, en caractères plus grands qu'habituellement, sur la même ligne que les neumes du trope méloforme VI et tout à fait au bout : elle semble cependant de première main (lettre citée de Mgr. J. Duft, 10 décembre 1976).

36. Bien que le feuillet 113/114 ne marque pas le début d'un cahier, puisqu'il est attaché au feuillet 111/112, il semble qu'on soit ici en présence d'une autre main, tant pour le texte que pour la notation : cette seconde main est probablement contemporaine de la première (lettre citée de Mgr. J. Duft). Cette main, d'un module plus réduit, utilise les ligatures *rt* (lin 5 et p. 114, l. 9) et *mi* (p. 113, lin. 6) ; la notation semble aussi légèrement différente.

37. Le lemme *Resurrexi* n'est suivi d'aucun élément ni du trope méloforme sur *Resurrexi* : il est très probable que le tableau VII (tropes de la psalmodie d'introït) est la suite du tableau VI (tropes de l'antienne, sans psalmodie) : autrement dit, VI et VII auraient pu primitivement former un seul et unique trope.

38. Ici encore, indices de changement de copiste dans SG 484 : le trope méloforme a été attaché à l'élément au lieu d'être accroché comme d'habitude au texte liturgique : SG 381 a rétabli le neume de ce passage à *meam* et plus bas celui de *domine* à *investigasti.*

39. SG 484 a déplacé le neume du trope méloforme et l'a reporté sur l'élément de texte. En outre, il omet la note d'appui du quilisma qui a été soigneusement transcrite dans SG 381 (d'où la différence d'un point sur le nombre de notes).

40. SG 484 a encore une fois reporté le neume du trope méloforme sur le mot final de l'élément *domine,* neume qui appartient au mot final du versus ad repetendum de l'introït *investigasti.* Ici encore, SG 484 est en défaut : il a déplacé les lemmes liturgiques qui introduisent les éléments. Il se retrouve d'accord avec SG 381 sur le lemme final *Amen.* Quam archangeli... Mais la différence entre le nombre de notes (16) et celui des syllabes (19), laisse planer un doute sur l'ordre des éléments et des tropes méloformes de ce tableau VII...

VIII

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.		Remarques
p. 114)	p. 252)				
a. Resurrexi – – – – – –	=	14			41
c. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	16			
d. me – – – – – – – – –	=	16			
f. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	13			42
g. est – – – – – – – – –	=	14 (15)			
k. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	16			
All. Pascha nostrum					43
Pascha (s. n.)					
V Epule – – – – – – – – mur					44
Epulemur (s. n.)					
V. In azimis sinceritatis					
In azimis (s. n.)					
OF Ab increpatione et ira furoris...					45
IT. Terra tremuit et quievit leo fortis...					
Terra (s.n.)					46

41. Les mélismes caudaux de ce trope VIII sont identiques à ceux du trope II, mais ici on n'a adapté aucun texte mélogène sous les mélismes en question. Il semble bien que les copistes de SG 484 et SG 381, en faisant cette ultime addition, ne se sont pas aperçus du doublet.

Le caractère additionnel de ce trope VIII est confirmé par l'observation paléographique. Les tropes méloformes de SG 484 sont écrits à longues lignes et non plus à raison d'un mot suivi de son mélisme comme dans les tropes précédents : nouvel indice du changement de copiste dans SG 484. Ce trope méloforme se retrouve dans SG 381 à une place toute différente, *après* les tropes d'offertoire et de communion, comme en supplément.

42. Sur le second neume du trope méloforme (un porrectus subpunctis), on remarque la lettre agogique *c* (= *celeriter*), alors que dans les pages précédentes on n'avait employé que les lettres mélodiques *e* (= *equaliter*) ou *i* (= *iusum, inferius*).

43. Les lignes 5 et suivantes de la p. 114 dans SG 484 ont toutes les apparences d'une addition de première main qui rompt la succession des tropes méloformes d'introït qui reprennent ensuite, p. 131, par suite d'un déplacement de feuillets (voir plus loin note 46).

Au point de vue liturgique, la pièce du propre de Pâques qui fait suite à l'introït et au graduel est l'alleluia *Pascha nostrum* : mais ici, sur le texte de l'Apôtre qui sert si souvent dans la liturgie pascale (cf. Épitre de la Messe et capitules de l'Office), on ne relève aucune correspondance entre les neumes de SG 484 et ceux de l'alleluia imposé par la liturgie : cf. E. CARDINE, *Graduel neumé* (1966), p. 222 ; K. H. SCHLAGER, *Alleluia Melodien, I* (bis 1100) (Kassel 1968) Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi VII, p. 376. Il n'y a pas davantage de concordance entre ces neumes de SG 484 d'une part et ceux des deux autres mélodies composées par la tradition béné-

IX

SG 484	SG 381	N not	syll		Remarques
p. 131) ALITER	p. 248)				
a. Resurrexi ------	=	8			47
c. alleluia -------	=	13			48
. alleluia -------	=	11			
h. tua ---------	=	7			
k. alleluia -------	=	13			
o. AM(en) s. n.	=				49
o. Amen --------	=	17			

ventaine sur ce même texte *Pascha nostrum* (K. H. SCHLAGER, *op. cit.*, pp. 373 et 375).

44. De même ici, aucune correspondance entre les neumes d'*Epulemur* et ceux du second verset de l'alleluia *Pascha nostrum* attesté par les plus anciens manuscrits du graduel grégorien (R. J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex* [Bruxelles, 1935], n° 80).

45. Trope d'introduction de l'offertoire de Pâques *Terra tremuit.*

46. Le Père Dechevrens a signalé ici de sa main, en août 1896, que la suite du feuillet 113-114 se poursuivait sur les pp. 131-132 et 133-134.

47. La variante précédée du *l* barré (= *vel*), indiquée par les deux mss. SG 484 et 381, ne porte que sur le remplacement de la montée quilismatique par un pes carré (long) : la variante est d'ordre rythmique, non mélodique.

48. La variante proposée par SG 484 est cette fois d'ordre mélodique (neumes différents).

49. L'annonce de l'*Amen* par ce lemme sans notation laisse croire que le copiste voulait annoncer un élément qui n'est pas venu...

X

SG 484	SG 381	N not.	N syll.		Remarques
p. 131) ALITER	p. 248)				
a. Resurrexi (s. n.)	=				
c. alleluia – – – – – – –	=	12			
P(osuisti) s. n.	o				
f. allelula – – – – – – –	=	13			
d. m(e) (s. n.)					
k. alleluia – – – – – – –	p. 249) =	11			
o. Amen – – – – – – – –	=	9			
Jam redeunt gaudia festa lucent	=				50
p. 132) clara...					
Xpicte...					51
OF Gaudete et cantate quia hodie	=				
p. 133) surrexit dominus...					52
Terra tremuit (s. n.)					

Au cours de l'analyse des différents tropes méloformes accompagnés de textes, il a été démontré sur quelque cas particulièrement évidents que les neumes des tropes méloformes avaient été décomposés en unités simples — punctum ou virga et, parfois, oriscus isolé — appliqués à raison d'une note par syllabe, au texte de l'élément : en somme, nous avons assisté pour l'introït à l'application du même processus utilisé dans l'adaptation de la *prosa* aux *melodiae* de la *sequentia* ou encore de la *prosula* appliqué aux neumes du premier alleluia (cf. C T 2) ou à ceux du second verset d'offertoire.

Cette conclusion repose sur deux arguments : 1) d'abord sur un comptage des notes de la finale mélismatique qui correspond dans la majorité des cas, — ici, dans l'introït *Resurrexi,* dans 80 % des cas — au nombre de syllabes de l'élément. Évidemment, ce pourcentage est plus faible que dans la séquence où la coïncidence est de l'ordre de 99 %, mais il n'en reste pas moins

50. Prosule de l'alleluia pascal : cf. CT 2, p. 115, nº 58.
51. Facsimilé de cette pièce dans L. GAUTIER, *Les tropes* (Paris, 1886), p. 67.
52. Pour lire la fin des tropes de l'offertoire, il faut revenir à la p. 115 qui, avec 116, contient la fin des tropes de la semaine de Pâques (voir plus loin).

Tableau récapitulatif des tropes méloformes de l'introït de Pâques.

	SAINT-GALL										AQUITAINS Pa 1240, 1118 776, 780, 1084 1871, Lo 4951
(*Trop. d'introd.*)	I versifié	II			V	VI versifié					
(*Trop. mélof.*)											
a. RESURRE**XI**		II(15)	III(18)	IV(17)		VI(39)		VIII(14)	IX(18)		*omnes codd.*
c. allelui**a**	I(11)	II(16)	III(19)	IV(16)		VI(42)		VIII(16)	IX(13)	X(12)	*omnes codd.*
d. super **me**		II(17)		IV(10)		VI(27)		VIII(16)			
f. allelui**a**	I(14)	II(12)	III(20)	IV(13)		VI(18)		VIII(13)	IX(11)	X(13)	*omnes codd.*
g. **est**		II(15)		IV(17)		VI(27)		VIII(14)			Pa 1240
h. tu**a**			III(19)	IV(16)		VI(26)			IX(7)		
j. allelui**a**				IV(14)							
k. allelui**a**	I(24)	II(16)		IV(14)		VI(21)		VIII(16)	IX(13)	X(11)	Pa 1240
(*Psalm.*)											
m. me**am**		II(22)		IV(25)			VII(18)				Pa 776
o. AMEN	I(23)	II(22)	III(17)	IV(17)		VI(24)	VII(16)		IX(17)	X(9)	*omnes praeter* Pa 1240
(V *ad rep.*)											
q. investiga**sti**	I(21)						VII(21)				

vrai que le principe de la « verbalisation » de ces tropes méloformes est admissible, en raison du second argument ;

2) en effet, nous avons plusieurs fois fait remarquer que la mélodie syllabique ainsi attribuée à l'élément suit exactement — pour autant qu'on puisse le vérifier sur un manuscrit noté *in campo aperto* — le dessin mélismatique du trope méloforme. Il est donc licite de conclure, du seul point de vue paléographique envisagé présentement, que l'élément de texte inséré entre le lemme liturgique sans notation (s. n.) et ce même lemme prolongé de son mélisme, est en fait un trope mélogène, c'est-à-dire « suscité », engendré par le neume cadenciel préexistant. D'ailleurs, la présence de nombreux tropes méloformes *sans* éléments mélogènes (tableaux IV, VI-X) implique bien la préexistance du trope méloforme sur le texte de l'élément éventuel : il serait aussi superflu de revenir sur ce point que de démontrer l'antériorité des *melodiae* de séquences sur le texte des proses... Quant à la question d'origine (dans l'espace et dans le temps) des tropes méloformes, elle est du domaine d'une autre enquête et sera abordée plus loin après l'examen de la tradition aquitaine.

Dans le Tableau récapitulatif qui suit les dix tableaux des tropes, le témoignage global de la tradition aquitaine a été porté par anticipation à l'extrémité droite du tableau, afin de tenter — grâce à la vue synoptique de *tous* les témoins dont nous disposons — une approche plus serrée du phénomène : quelles raisons pouvaient bien intervenir dans le choix de telle incise liturgique plutôt qu'une autre pour l'intervention du chantre ?

La seule et unique cadence qui a été agrémentée de tropes, non seulement dans l'introït *Resurrexi* de Pâques, mais encore dans tous les autres introïts du répertoire, tant à l'Est qu'à l'Ouest, c'est l'AMEN final : nous reviendrons sur ce point important plus bas. Observons que le tableau VI n'échappe pas à cette remarque, car il s'agit dans les tableaux VI et VII d'un trope unique, ultérieurement dédoublé, qui comprenait l'un (VI), la tropisation de l'antienne seule et l'autre (VII), celle de la psalmodie. Enfin, l'absence de l'*Amen* dans Pa 1240, est due au fait que le seul et unique trope méloforme de ce manuscrit est une addition hative et incomplète, faite de seconde main à ce très ancien manuscrit aquitain, qui d'ailleurs n'avait pas été préparé pour être noté (voir plus bas, page 32).

La raison du choix de l'Amen par les tropistes est très simple : l' *Amen*, mot hébreu comme l'alleluia, appartient à l'Ancien Testament et au Nouveau : les deux mots « marquent l'apogée de la

prière, une sorte de rassasiement et de plénitude de Dieu... Sur les lèvres humaines, le sens pourtant se précise, c'est la louange, c'est l'acte de foi à la Parole... c'est l'acquiescement ... A la fin de la doxologie, il est comme le prolongement de l'expression *in saecula saeculorum*, l'expression de la louange qui ne finira jamais... » (F. CABROL, art. « Amen », *Dict. d'archéol. chrét. et de liturgie* I, 1 [1924], c. 1572).

Le mot le plus fréquemment tropé de l'introït au Temps pascal, après l'*Amen* est naturellement l'*alleluia* et ensuite, en troisième lieu, le premier mot de l'introït, celui qui situe immédiatement dans la fête : *Resurrexi* ... *Spiritus Domini*.

Le mot le moins fréquemment traité est la finale du *Versus ad repetendum* : on ne le trouve en effet qu'au seul tableau I. Ce fait tendrait à accréditer la conjecture d'une haute antiquité pour la date de composition de ce trope puisque le verset de répétition était tombé en désuétude dès le X[e] siècle. Mais ces problèmes de chronologie seront abordés plus loin, dans la conclusion générale.

Il reste maintenant à vérifier d'après le tableau récapitulatif ci-dessus, si dans tous les cas où nous trouvons un même nombre de notes, il s'agit bien du réemploi d'une même mélodie ou si au contraire il s'agit de mélodies différentes qui, par le plus grand des hasards auraient comporté un même nombre de notes. Voici les cas de similitude numérique dans les tropes méloformes du *Resurrexi* :

c. alleluia	II (16)	IV (16)		VIII (16)		
f. alleluia		IV (13)		VIII (13)		X (13)
k. alleluia	II (16)	IV (14)		VIII (16)		
o. AMEN	III (17)	IV (16) (17)	VII (16)		IX (17)	

La comparaison des neumes de chaque trope méloforme comptant le même nombre de notes doit être faite verticalement, soit en pratique à l'intérieur d'un même tableau, et horizontalement, c'est-à-dire de tableau à tableau. Il s'agit en somme de repérer si il y a eu réemploi d'une même mélodie de trope méloforme sur les diverses demi-cadences agrémentées de mélismes...

***a*)** comparaison *verticale* : dans le trope du tableau II, aussi bien que dans le trope du tableau VIII, on constate que la mélodie du trope méloforme est la même pour les alleluia [*c*] et [*k*] : c'est là une constatation tout à fait normale, car les deux alleluia de l'introït en question sont ornementées de la même mélodie (voir ci-dessus, p. 8), d'où même trope méloforme.

Même constatation pour les tropes d'alleluia du tableau VIII : mais ici le parallélisme s'explique par le fait que tous les tropes méloformes du tableau II sont identiques à ceux du tableau VIII : la différence entre les deux tableaux vient de ce qu'au tableau VIII nous avons un trope méloforme à l'état pur sans paroles, tandis qu'en II, les tropes méloforme sont suivis d'éléments de textes adaptés sous les mélismes du trope.

b) comparaison *horizontale* : la lecture du tableau dans le sens horizontal permettrait de déceler par la rencontre de chiffres identiques des similitudes dans l'ordre mélodique, ou autrement dit le transfert d'une même mélodie dans un autre trope : par ex. pour l'alleluia [*f*], à la deuxième ligne, la même mélodie dans les tableaux IV, VIII et X. En fait, il n'en est rien : les mélodies en question comptent fortuitement le même nombre de notes, mais sont fort différentes de par leur constitution neumatique. De même, dans les autres cas, en particulier sur l'*Amen* [*o*].

Cette constatation paléographique est importante, car elle implique que dans la création du trope méloforme la composition mélodique se renouvelle à chaque trope. Aussi, vaudrait-il mieux parler en l'occurrence d'improvisation (fixée par écrit) sur un « thème imposé », celui du chant grégorien. Cette improvisation, chaque fois différente, serait comparable à la variation par ornementation qui entraine la transformation d'un élément musical donné sous ses différents aspects, mais toujours dans le cadre du mode de la pièce [53], de manière à amener la reprise de l'incise liturgique qui forme la suite immédiate du trope méloforme.

Pour l'étude des tropes de l'introït *Spiritus Domini*, il n'est pas nécessaire de passer par toutes les étapes qui ont été suivies dans l'étude du *Resurrexi* : un simple tableau résumera la situation des tropes méloformes ajoutés aux demi-cadences de la pièce liturgique.

Ce tableau ne nécessite pas de longs commentaires : sur les six ensembles d'introït, trois seulement sont encadrés par un trope d'introduction. Les éléments textués adaptés sur les mélodies des tropes méloformes sont peu nombreux... Aussi est-il d'autant plus intéressant de constater dans le plus ancien de nos manuscrits, le SG 484, l'apparition d'une prosule qui vient « monnayer » à

53. Cette incise concernant la modalité est une anticipation qui découle de l'analyse des tropes méloformes aquitains dont la mélodie peut être déchiffrée. Voir plus bas, p. 41.

raison d'une note par syllabe les neumes de l'alleluia [*j*]. Il semblerait presque que cette prosule a été improvisée au moment de la transcription du manuscrit...

Tropes de l'introït *Spiritus Domini* (Pentecôte)
dans SG 484 et SG 381.

	Tropes d'encadrement (Introduction)	I *Hodie Sps. Sci. gratia*	II	III *Consubstantialis*	IV *Hodie Sps. Scs processit.*	V	VI
a.	Spiritus **Dni**			+ *tx*	+	+	+
b.	reple**vit**				+		
c.	orbem terra**rum**						
d.	alleluia	+	+	+ *tx*	+	+	+
e.	et **hoc**				+		
f.	qd. continet oi**a**.		+	+ *tx*	+	+	
g.	scienti**am**				+	+	+
h.	habet vo**cis**						
j.	all. allelu**ia**	+		+ *tx*	+ (18) *		
k.	allelu**ia**	+	+	+ *tx*	+		+
o.	AMEN			+ *tx*	+		
q.	vehemen**ter**				+		

REMARQUES

(*tx*) signifie que le trope méloforme a été ensuite « textué ».
I. Le trope d'introduction *Hodie* n'a pas été édité dans *Analecta hymnica* 49, parce qu'il est rédigé en prose : on le trouvera dans CT 3 (Stockholm, 1977).
III. *Consubstantialis* : *An. hymn.* 49, p. 30, nº 20.
IV. *Hodie* ... : inédit dans *An. hymn.* 49 ; voir CT 3.
* Dans SG 484 (mais non dans SG 381), p. 130, un élément de texte de 18 syllabes a été ajouté dans la marge inférieure : *Quod claret hac die cunctis in ecclesia permanentibus.* Ce texte est adapté sous les neumes du trope méloforme de 18 notes qui prolonge l'alleluia [*j*]. On remarquera que les notes du *pes quassus* du début de ce neume ont été distribuées ainsi : oriscus (premier élément du pes quassus) sur *cla-*, virga (second élément du dit pes quassus) sur *-ret*.
q. vehementer : cette finale du verset *ad repetendum* n'est pas celle du V. *Confirma hoc* attesté par les plus anciens graduels, mais celui de la tradition sangallienne (voir le versiculaire de SG 381).

En résumé, les manuscrits de SG nous expliquent clairement le processus de composition des tropes d'interpolation de l'introït : le mode de confection de ces petits textes interpolés entre les versets de l'introït est exactement le même que celui des prosules en général. A cette époque la plus ancienne, la mélodie préexiste : le tropiste ne compose *que* le texte. Ces texte des tropes d'interpolation ne sauraient donc plus désormais être considérés comme « logogènes », mais bien comme « mélogènes » au même titre que les prosules d'alleluia.

Cependant, entre prosules d'alleluia et nos prosules d'introït on observe une différence assez importante quant à la référence musicale : les prosules d'alleluia sont adaptées aux mélismes de la composition grégorienne, tandis que nos prosules d'introït débitent note par note les neumes de tropes méloformes qui n'appartiennent sûrement pas au « répertoire primitif » imposé à toutes les églises du royaume carolingien dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle... [54].

Cependant, avant d'en venir aux questions de datation, il est nécessaire d'envisager le témoignage de la tradition de l'Ouest, représentée ici par les manuscrits aquitains.



II. Les tropes méloformes d'introït dans la tradition aquitaine

Dans la tradition aquitaine du Sud-ouest de la France, la tradition des tropes méloformes d'introït n'apparaît pas aussi homogène qu'à St. Gall, c'est-à-dire que les pièces que nous étudions ne se trouvent pas en séries bien agencées pour toute l'année liturgique, mais éparpillées çà et là dans les tropaires, dans les graduels ou encore dans les tonaires.

Examinons d'abord le témoignage des tonaires aquitains dans lesquels un trope méloforme d'introït est cité comme exemple caractéristique de mélisme comparable au neuma propre à chaque

---

54. Ce point sera examiné plus bas dans la question des *Étapes chronologiques*. Dans sa lettre du 25 février 1977, le Dr. O. Marcusson m'indique qu'il faudrait distinguer ici deux catégories de tropes mélogènes : 1° ceux qui ont été adaptés sur les mélismes primitifs de l'alleluia ou des versets d'offertoire et 2° ceux qui ont été insérés sous ces tropes méloformes ajoutés après coup au répertoire grégorien, par exemple à l'introït, et qui font l'objet de cette étude.

ton : le relevé de ces tropes sera donné plus loin sous forme de tableau, mais auparavant, au cours de la description des manuscrits, on indiquera la place des tropes du *Resurrexi* et du *Spiritus Domini* sur lesquels porte notre étude.

Pa 1118 (Paris, B.N. lat. 1118)

Tropaire-Séquentiaire-Prosaire du Sud-Ouest de la France, probablement écrit, décoré et noté dans un diocèse voisin à la fois de ceux d'Auch et de Toulouse, au sud du cours moyen de la Garonne (cf. CT^2, p. 48 [corriger « sud-est » par sud-ouest »] ; CT^1, p. 13 ; J. CHAILLEY, *Études grégoriennes*, II [1957], 177-178, sigle H ; *École musicale de St. Martial* [1960], p. 92-96).

Les tropes méloformes du *Resurrexi* figurent au tonaire (fol. 108) et non dans le tropaire lui-même : il sera rendu compte plus loin de cette situation pour le moins inattendue. Le tonaire en question (fol. 104-113^v) a été transcrit par C. T. RUSSEL, *Southern French Tonary*, Dissert. Princeton Univ. 1966 [Ann Arbor Mf. 66-7182], p. 41, 64 & 206 ; il a été analysé par M. HUGLO, *Tonaires* (Paris, 1971), pp. 132-138. Ce tonaire est illustré, comme celui de Toulouse (voir plus bas) par un cycle de représentations de jongleurs et de musiciens (cf. H. STEGER, *David Rex et Propheta* [Nürnberg, 1961], Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach-und Kunstw., VI, Taf. 18 ; T. SEEBASS, *Musikdarstellung und Psalter-illustration im früheren Mittelalter. Studien ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Hds. Paris, B.N. lat. 1118* [Bern, 1973], Bildbd. Taf. 1-9 [en couleurs]).

Lo 4951 (Londres, Brit. Library, Harleian 4951)

Graduel de Toulouse relié à la suite des écrits de Jean d'Abbeville, écrit, noté et décoré à Toulouse autour de l'an 1000 (*Le Graduel romain*, t. II : *Les Sources* [Solesmes, 1957], p. 64, avec bibliographie ; A. M. HERZO, *Five Aquitanian Graduals*, Dissert. Univ. of Southern Calif. 1967 [Ann Arbor Mf. 67-10762], p. 7). Au fol. 119^v, avant le graduel, texte d'une donation de 1138 du comte de Toulouse à l'évêque ; au fol. 121, une seconde charte concernant la même ville.

L'introït *Resurrexi* figure au fol. 215 avec un seul trope méloforme sur l'*Amen* de la doxologie ; les autres tropes méloformes sont notés parmi les pièces du IVe ton, dans le tonaire final, au fol. 299^v. Le sigle Lo 4951 ^{gr} désignera donc la partie du graduel (fol. 121^v-295^v), et le sigle Lo 4951to la partie du tonaire (fol. 295^v-301) qui, par suite d'une lacune matérielle, ne contient pas les pièces de la fin du VIe ton, ni celles des VIIe et VIIIe tons. Le tonaire est illustré par des représentations d'instruments ou de jongleurs (H. STEGER, *David Rex* ..., Taf. 19 ; T. SEEBASS, *Musikdarstellung...*, Taf. 67).

Pa 776 (Paris, B.N. lat. 776)

Graduel de grand format, écrit, décoré et noté à la cathédrale d'Albi

pour l'usage de l'abbaye St. Michel de Gaillac, durant le second tiers du XIe siècle (*Le Graduel romain*, II, p. 93 ; A. M. HERZO, *Five Aquitanian Graduals...*, pp. 43 et 229). L'introït *Resurrexi* figure au fol. 71 (facs. dans *Le chant grégorien*, Harmonia mundi n° 47, St. Michel de Provence 1968, p. 8) avec un seul trope méloforme sur l'*Amen* de la doxologie. Les autres tropes méloformes sont notés parmi les pièces du IVe ton au tonaire final, fol. 155 col. A, milieu (cf. M. HUGLO, *Tonaires*, p. 140 [avec bibliographie complète du ms]).

Le sigle Pa 776^{gr} désigne la partie du Graduel ; le sigle Pa 776to celle du tonaire (fol. 147-155^{v}), qui, par suite d'une lacune matérielle ne contient pas les VIe, VIIe et VIIIe tons. Ce tonaire n'est pas décoré : l'art du décorateur s'est concentré sur les grandes initiales du début et sur celles qui ouvrent les grandes fêtes du cycle liturgique (cf. J. PORCHER, *Manuscrits à peintures du VIIe au XIIe siècles* [Paris, 1954], p. 105, n° 307 ; T. SEEBASS, *Musikdarstellung* ..., Taf. 76).

Sur la notation, voir l'exposé de M. N. COLETTE dans l'*Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe section*, année 1970-71, pp. 417-423.

Pa 1084 (Paris, B.N. lat. 1084*)*

Tropaire-Séquentiaire-Prosaire écrit et noté à St. Géraud d'Aurillac dans la première moitié du XIe siècle (CT^{1}, p. 48 ; CT^{2}, p. 13 ; J. CHAILLEY, *Études grégoriennes*, II [1957], 171-172, sigle E ; *École musicale de St. Martial*, pp. 83-86.)

Les tropes méloformes du *Resurrexi* ne figurent pas au tropaire, sauf l'*Amen* (f. 65^{v}), mais dans le tonaire transcrit au milieu du manuscrit (fol. 155-164^{v}).

Ce tonaire suit un plan différent de celui qui a été adopté dans les manuscrits précédents, mais la sélection de pièces retenues est la même que dans le tonaire de Pa 1118 (cf. M. HUGLO, *Tonaires*, p. 145 ; C. T. RUSSEL, *South French Tonary*, pp. 40, 64, 206). En outre, ce tonaire ne comporte pas de décoration spéciale (cf. T. SEEBASS, *op. cit.*, Taf. 76).

Pa 780 (Paris, B.N. lat. 780)

Graduel de la cathédrale de Narbonne du début du XIIe siècle (et non XI-XIIe siècle, le *Graduel romain* II, p. 94 ; HERZO, *Five Aquit. Graduals*, pp. 17, 216 ss. ; J. MAS, *Histoire de la Musique religieuse en Septimanie, des origines à la fin du XIIe siècle*, Dissert. Paris-Sorbonne, 1976, t. II, pp. 77-79 avec bibliographie et facs.).

L'introït *Resurrexi* figure au fol. 63^{v}-64 avec un seul trope méloforme sur *Amen* ; les autres tropes méloformes sont notés parmi les pièces du IVe ton au tonaire final (fol. 126^{v}) : ce tonaire est transcrit à la fin du ms (*Incipit ordo tonorum...* fol. 122^{v}), à longues lignes et non sur deux colonnes comme dans Pa 776 (cf. M. HUGLO, *Tonaires*, p. 147).

Comme précédemment, le sigle Pa 780^{gr} désigne la partie du graduel, et le sigle Pa 780to la partie du tonaire.

Le tableau ci-dessous (p. 34-35) résume le témoignage des tonaires aquitains sur la question des tropes méloformes.

Ce tableau montre bien l'état fragmentaire de la tradition des tropes méloformes dans les tonaires aquitains : en fait, cet aspect fragmentaire n'a rien d'insolite, puisque les exemples cités dans les tonaires sont choisis librement par le théoricien dans tout le répertoire. Aussi faut-il remonter vers la source du tonaire, c'est-à-dire effectuer les recherches dans les graduels et les tropaires-prosaires aquitains :

A. Dans les graduels, on ne trouve en fait que les *Amen* de l'introït dont la finale grégorienne — ou « différence psalmodique » — est prolongée par les longs mélismes sans paroles des tropes méloformes :

Intr. *Puer* (Noël III), A-**men** tropé dans Lo 4951 *gr* (f. 133), Pa 903 (*Paléographie musicale*, t. XIII), f. 10 (50 notes).
Intr. *Etenim* (St. Étienne), A-**men** tropé dans Pa 903, f. 11v (30 notes).
Intr. *Resurrexi* (Pâques) : voir plus loin le tableau des mélodies.
Intr. *Spiritus Domini* (Pentecôte) : A-**men** tropé dans Pa 903, f. 92 ; dans la seconde partie, le tropaire-prosaire, l'A-**men** qui fait suite au trope *Discipulis flammas infundans* donne une mélodie différente pour l'*A-men* (cf. G. WEISS dans *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi*, III, pp. XXVI-XXVII), parce que ce trope est une adaptation d'un autre trope *Discipulis Dominus reserans* pour le mardi de Pâques, composé dans le même mode (tetrardus).
Intr. *De ventre* (St. Jean Baptiste) : A-**men** tropé dans Pa 903, f. 98v et f. 156v (après le trope *Johannes est hic*) : même mélodie des deux cotés.

B. Dans les tropaires-prosaires, la moisson est un peu plus riche, mais reste néanmoins fragmentaire :

Pa 1240 (Paris, B.N. lat. 1240)

Tropaire-prosaire de St. Martial de Limoges dont la première partie date de 933-936 : cette partie très ancienne a été composée dans le Midi de la France (cf. bibliographie dans mes *Tonaires* [1971] p. 146 ss. et CT[1], p. 48). Ce manuscrit n'avait pas été préparé pour être noté : il a reçu des additions de notation française (f. 20, 35v, 38v, 79v etc.), de main bretonne ou de transition (f. 22v-23) et enfin, naturellement, de main aquitaine très archaïque. C'est parmi ces dernières que se trouve le trope méloforme du *Resurrexi* aux fol. 30 col. B et 30v (facsimilé des deux pages dans N. SEVESTRE, *Les tropes d'introït de Noël et de Pâques à l'origine du drame liturgique*. Thèse, Université de Paris X, 1976 ; facs. du fol. 30v dans K. YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*[2], I [Oxford, 1962], pl. VI, face à la p. 210).

Le trope méloforme du *Resurrexi* de Pâques a été ajouté sur les

espaces de parchemin laissés libres par le copiste. Comme précédemment, nous indiquerons par des pointillés les mélismes du trope méloforme notés par points superposés sans diastématie exacte :

f. 30 B A. *Resurre***xi** - (18 notes)
Cum resurgeret in iudicio Deus
b. *et adhuc tecum sum* (s. n.) *allelu***ia** - - - - - - (16/17 notes)
f. 30^v *d. Posuisti* (notę) *super me* [*e*] *manum tuam* (*s. n.*)
*f. allelu***ia** - (20 notes)
Terremotus factus magnus angelus Domini descendit de celo (20 syllabes)
g. Mirabilis facta **est** - (9 notes)
Custodes velud mortui effecti sunt (les 9 notes du trope méloforme de [*g*] sont groupées sur les 3 dernières syllabes *-ti sunt*).
h. Scienciencia (sic) [j] *allelu***ia** - - - - - - - - - - - (9-10 notes)
Nimio timore angeli (9 syllabes)
*k. allelu***ia**.

Pa 1871 (Paris, B.N. nouv. acq. lat. 1871)

Tropaire d'Aurillac [Husmann] ou de Moissac [Bannister, Dufour], seconde moitié du XIe siècle. Cf. CT 1, p. 48 ; CT 2, p. 13.

Au fol. XIV^v, en bas, tropes méloformes avec textes d'adaptation, comme dans Pa 1240 : édition par C. DAUX, *Tropaire-prosier de l'abbaye Saint-Martin de Montauriol* ... (Paris, 1901), p. 17.

Les mélodies des tropes méloformes seront collationnées sur les tableaux de comparaison du *Resurrexi* (voir plus bas) : ajoutons que l'A-*men* a la même mélodie que dans Pa 903, f. 76^v.

Pa 887 (Paris, B.N. lat. 887)

Tropaire-prosaire d'Aurillac, après 1029/31. Cf. CT 1, p. 47 ; CT 2, p. 13 ; J. CHAILLEY, *Études grégoriennes*, II [1957], 180-181 (K) ; *École de St. Martial* (1960), pp. 98 ss.

Au fol. 11, trope méloforme de l'introït *Pu-er*, trancrit par N. SEVESTRE dans CT 1, pp. 287-289 (cf. R. WEAKLAND, *Mus. Quart.*, 44 [1958], 484).

Pu-er natus est no-**bis** - - - - - - - - - - - *etc.*

Pa 1121 (Paris, B.N. lat. 1121)

Tropaire-prosaire de St. Martial, début du XIe siècle (avant 1031). Cf. CT. 1, p. 48 ; CT 2, p. 13 ; J. CHAILLEY, *Études grégoriennes*, II [1957], 169-711 (D) ; *École de St. Martial*, p. 81. P. EVANS, *The Early Trope Repertory*... (Princeton, 1970).

Au fol. 27, trope méloforme de l'introït *Nunc scio* (St. Pierre), transcrit par P. EVANS, *op. cit.*, p. 205 et dans *Journ. of the Americ Mus.*

Tableau des tropes méloformes dans les tonaires aquitains :

Ton	Pa 1118	Lo 4951 *to*	Pa 776 *to*	Pa 1084	Pa 780 *to*
		Am**en**	**Amen**		
I	De ventre	De ventre	De ventre	De ventre	De ventre
	matris me-**ae**		me-**ae**		
				vocavit **me**	
	nomini me-**o**	me-**o**	me-**o**	me-**o**	me-**o**
	acu-**tum**	acu**tum**	acu**tum**	acu**tum**	acu**tum**
				protexit **me**	
	A-MEN			**A-MEN**	**A-MEN**
II		Terribilis		Terribilis	
		est		**est**	
					A-**men**
III		A-**men**	A-**men**	A-**men**	A-**men**
		Nunc scio	Nunc scio	Nunc scio	Nunc scio
		ve-**re**	ve-**re**		ve-**re**
		angelum			
		su-**um**	su-**um**		su-**um**

Ton	Pa 1118	Lo 4951 *to*	Pa 776 *to*	Pa 1084	Pa 780 *to*
		Hero-**dis** expectati**one** pl**e** — bis	Hero-**dis** expectati**one** judeo-**rum**		Hero-**dis** expectati**one** A-**MEN**
IV	Resurre-**xi**	Resurre-**xi**	A-**men** Resurre-**xi**	A-**men** Resurre-**xi**	Resurre-**xi**
V		////////////	////////////		
VI		////////////	////////////		
VII	[Puer] A-**MEN**	////////////	////////////	A-**men**	
VIII	A-**men** A-**men** [Spiritus Domini]	////////////	////////////	A-**men** [Spiritus Domini]	

Soc., XIV (1961), 127. On retrouve ce trope dans Pa 1120 (un peu plus ancien), f. 42. Remarquer que le tonaire (f. 201v-206), comme d'ailleurs les autres tonaires limousins, ne comporte pas de pièces avec tropes méloformes (cf. M. HUGLO, *Tonaires* [1971], pp. 154 ss.).

Pa 903 (Paris, B.N. lat. 903)

Graduel-tropaire-prosaire de St. Yrieix, seconde moitié du XIe siècle : notation aquitaine très exacte quant à la diastématie (*Paléographie musicale*, XIII [1925], facsimilé du seul graduel). Cf. CT 1, p. 47 ; CT 2, p. 13 ; J. CHAILLEY, *Études grégoriennes*, II, 1957, pp. 172-174 (F) ; *École de St. Martial* (1960), pp. 86 ss.

Ce manuscrit contient une collection complète de tropes méloformes pour l'*Amen* final des introïts et parfois pour d'autres versets (par ex. sur la finale di-xe-**runt** du verset *ad repetendum* de l'introït de l'Ascension *Viri Galilaei*, au fol. 154v). Mais ces tropes méloformes sont curieusement partagés entre le graduel, au début du manuscrit (voir ci-dessus, p. 32), et le tropaire-prosaire des ff. 147 et ss. Nous relèverons seulement les *A*-**men** du Temps pascal :

Resurrexi -*A*-**men** .... f. 76v
Introduxit-*A*-**men**...................... f. 154v
Aqua -*A*-**men** .... —
Venite ben. -*A*-**men** .... f. 155
Viri Galilaei dixe-**runt** ....
-*A*-**men** .... f. 154v
Spiritus Dni. *A*-**men**.................. f. 155v
(Deux mélodies différentes : cf. p. 32).

Bien que ce dernier manuscrit donne l'impression de livrer une tradition quelque peu fragmentaire, il pourvoit néanmoins les grandes fêtes de l'année liturgique d'un trope méloforme, celui de l'*Amen* d'introït, qui, à ses yeux du moins, passe pour le plus important.

Reste le problème des *textes* adaptés aux tropes méloformes aquitains : mis à part les textes d'adaptation du *Resurrexi* transmis par deux manuscrits (Pa 1240 et Pa 1871), que sont devenus les textes qui, comme dans la tradition sangallienne, ont été adaptés à des mélismes cadenciels ? Cette question des textes d'adaptation se pose en particulier pour les mélodies d'introït de Noël, retrouvées dans Pa 887, et pour les mélodies d'introït de la saint Jean et aussi de la saint Pierre, citées dans le groupe sud-ouest des tonaires aquitains (voir plus haut, tableau de la p. 34). La réponse à une telle question demanderait une longue enquête

portant sur les collections de tropes d'interpolation d'introït [55]. D'après les résultats d'un rapide sondage, il ne semble pas que les textes d'adaptation ou tropes mélogènes aquitains de la première heure aient été tous conservés [56]. Il suffira donc, dans la perspective de cette enquête musicologique, de reprendre l'étude des faits à partir d'un des rares tropes mélogènes précédé des mélismes qui l'ont engendré, ceux du *Resurrexi* de Pâques, fort heureusement conservés dans Pa 1240 et Pa 1871, en raison de l'application d'une « loi » liturgique formulée par Baumstark [57] d'après laquelle les usages et les textes qui résistent le plus longtemps aux déplacements ou aux changements sont ceux des grandes fêtes et ceux de la semaine sainte.

Comme la notation aquitaine est d'une diastématie exacte, il est possible de déchiffrer les mélodies des tropes méloformes de tous nos témoins et par conséquent de confronter les neumes sangalliens aux mélodies aquitaines (voir tableaux comparatifs des pp. 38-40).

Ces trois derniers tableaux permettent d'établir plusieurs points :

1. Ils mettent en évidence l'importance du nombre des témoins de la tradition du Sud-Ouest de la France — St. Martial mis à part — sur la question des tropes méloformes d'introït. Les critiques qui jusqu'ici avaient mentionné en passant la présence de tropes méloformes d'introït dans les manuscrits aquitains [58], n'avaient mentionné que les pièces éparses dans les tropaires-prosaires, mais aucun n'avait relevé le témoignage concordant des tonaires du « groupe toulousain ».

---

55. Pour l'introït *Puer*, on pourra consulter les éditions de tropes, textes et mélodies, de G. WEISS dans *Monumenta monodica Medii Aevi*, III (1970), p. 287 ss., n° 275-291 et de N. SEVESTRE, *op. cit.* Pour les introïts de St. Jean Baptiste et de St. Pierre, je compte reprendre l'enquête dans CT 4 (Sanctoral), en préparation.

56. Reportons nous à la situation offerte par les manuscrits de St. Gall : les textes des tropes d'interpolation — tropes mélogènes issus des mélismes cadenciels — ont été intégralement conservés dans SG 484 et SG 381 ; mais que reste-t-il de cette collection primitive dans les tropaires plus récents dits de la « seconde époque » (SG 376, 378, 380, 382) ? Que pourrions-nous penser de l'état premier des tropes, si nous n'avions plus que ces quatre derniers manuscrits ?

57. A. BAUMSTARK, *Liturgie comparée*² (Chevetogne, 1953), p. 32 et 168 ss.

58. R. WEAKLAND, « The Beginnings of Troping », *Musical Quarterly*, 44 (1958), 477-489 ; P. EVANS, « Some Reflections on the Origins of the Trope », *Journal of the Americ. Musicol. Society*, XIV (1961), 119-130 ; G. WEISS, « Tropierte Introitustropen im Repertoire der südfranzösischen Handschriften », *Die Musikforschung*, 17 (1964), 266-269.

SG II

III

IV

VI

VIII

Pa 1240

1871

1118

1084

Lo 4951

Pa 776

780

a. RE-SURRE-XI

SG I

II

III

IV

VI

VIII

IX

X

Pa 1240

1871

1118

1084

Lo 4951

Pa 776

780

c. Al-le-lu -ja

SG I

III

IV

VI

VII

IX

X

Pa 1871

Pa 1118

1084

Lo 4951

to

Pa 776 to

gr

Pa 780 to = gr

gr

Pa 903

A- men

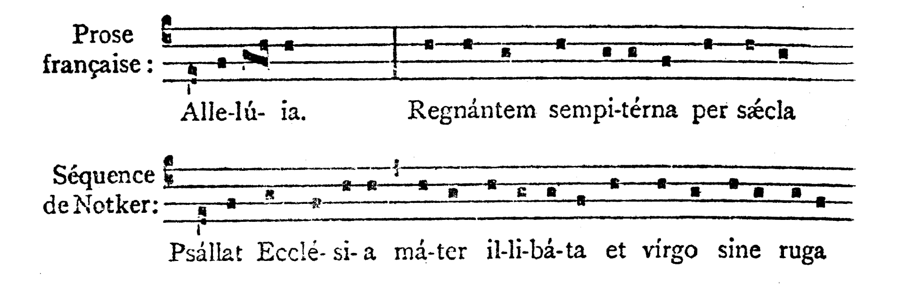
A- men

2. Ces manuscrits aquitains donnent un témoignage quasi unanime sur l'unique mélodie des tropes méloformes du *Resurrexi* : seul Pa 1240, le plus ancien de tous, s'écarte souvent de cette unanimité. Mais comme le trope du *Resurrexi* est une addition faite d'une main rapide, il est difficile de demander à ce témoin une précision plus grande que celle qui est fournie par les autres manuscrits copiés avec soin.

3. En Aquitaine, on ne rencontre qu'une mélodie de tropes méloformes par introït, mais à St. Gall on en recueille plusieurs pour un seul introït : huit pour le *Resurrexi*, cinq pour le *Spiritus Domini* etc. Or, la mélodie aquitaine ne « traduit » aucune des mélodies sangalliennes...

4. Pour le texte d'interpolation, on peut utiliser un moyen de contrôle dans Pa 1871 qui donne une meilleure version des mélodies adaptées aux textes que Pa 1240. On constate alors que l'adaptation de la mélodie au texte ne se fait pas du tout comme à St. Gall, c'est-à-dire à raison d'une note par syllabe. Ce texte, à la différence des prosules d'alleluia qui sont entièrement syllabiques, comporte des incises syllabiques et des passages plus ornés [59].

En somme, aussi bien ici que lors de l'adaptation d'un texte de prose à une séquence, les procédés de l'Ouest diffèrent de ceux de l'Est :



59. Cf. par ex. K. Young, *The Drama*²... I, pl. VI. Ce point mériterait, bien entendu, un développement particulier, mais il dépasse l'objet de notre étude qui concerne le « trope méloforme » en lui-même. On trouvera des exemples musicaux des textes d'adaptation en question dans les travaux de R. Weakland et P. Evans cités à la note précédente.



III. Recherches sur l'origine des tropes méloformes

Dans toute étude sur l'origine des pièces de chant liturgique, il est nécessaire de procéder d'abord à l'analyse philologique du texte, puis à l'examen des mélodies — dont l'existence est attestée parfois deux ou trois siècles après celle du texte —, enfin à une recherche sur l'usage liturgique des pièces en question.

Dans l'approche des tropes méloformes, le philologue doit céder le pas au musicologue, car cette catégorie de chants liturgiques ne comporte en fait de textes que le seul mot qui sert de support à ces mélodies : il ne reste plus ensuite au musicologue qu'à se tourner vers le liturgiste pour l'interroger sur l'usage de ces « variations » musicales introduites dans l'*Ordo* ou « programme » des pièces liturgiques chantées.

Avant d'entamer les comparaisons entre tropes méloformes et les développements similaires de l'art musical au sein de la Liturgie, il convient de faire une observation d'ordre génétique considérant la différence fondamentale qui distingue d'une part la formation du « répertoire de base » établi pour la messe et pour l'office de toute l'année liturgique et, d'autre part, la création des tropes de toutes natures qui ont été ultérieurement introduits au milieu du répertoire officiel.

Le répertoire de base du Graduel grégorien, constitué d'environ 560 antiennes et répons, a été établi une fois pour toutes — textes et mélodies [60] — dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle : il recouvre toute l'année liturgique, fêtes, dimanches et féries, et enfin son calendrier est harmonisé avec ceux du sacramentaire et du lectionnaire. Ainsi, toujours et partout, c'est le même choix de pièces qui est fixé dans toutes les églises de l'empire carolingien pour toute l'année — sauf évidemment lorsque le compositeur avait laissé au chantre la liberté d'entonner la pièce de son choix, en particulier pour le verset de l'alleluia, *quale volueris*. Toute création

---

60. Les textes du Graduel et de l'Antiphonaire sont presque toujours tirés de la Bible. Les mélodies, en nombre inférieur à celui des textes, ont été transmises par voie exclusivement orale pendant vingt lustres. Peu importe ici la question d'origine gallicane ou romaine de ces mélodies attribuées au pape st. Grégoire-le-Grand...

nouvelle, toute interpolation [61], toute addition même si elle ne date que de quelques années après la « première diffusion » [62] est aussitôt décelée par la comparaison des sources manuscrites et par l'examen des mélodies transmises par les diverses branches de la tradition.

En ce qui regarde les tropes, la situation du critique est nettement moins favorable si l'on veut bien considérer les faits suivants :

1. les tropes n'ont pas été greffés en même temps et partout par un seul compositeur sur l'ensemble du répertoire de base, sinon nous les retrouverions diffusés partout, suivant le même cheminement que le graduel et l'antiphonaire grégoriens [63].

2. Les premiers essais de composition, qui sont probablement indépendants les uns des autres et quasi contemporains, ont dû porter pour la première fois sur un genre de pièce donné puis a été étendu aux autres pièces de même catégorie affectées par l'Ordo liturgique aux plus grandes fêtes de l'année.

3. Il est donc logique d'estimer que la toute première invention des tropes a été étendue d'abord aux plus grandes fêtes du Temporal — Pâques d'abord [64] et Noël — puis ensuite, au fur et à mesure de l'intensification de la « production », aux fêtes secondaires du Seigneur ou des saints et enfin aux dimanches ordinaires, voire même — c'est là un cas limite [65] — à certains jours de Carême.

4. Enfin, le procédé de « tropisation » s'est étendu à d'autres catégories de pièces différentes, jusqu'au simple *Benedicamus*

---

61. Par exemple, la Messe *Omnes gentes* pour le VIIe dimanche après la Pentecôte, étudiée par R. J. Hesbert dans *Revue grégorienne*, XVII (1932), 81-89, 170-179 et XVIII (1933), 1-14.

62. Par exemple l'incise *Dominus tecum* de l'offertoire *Ave Maria* : R. J. Hesbert, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* (Bruxelles, 1935), p. xxxix.

63. La première diffusion s'est faite dans l'empire unifié de Charlemagne, mais les pièces composées ou adaptées à des mélodies préexistantes après la division de l'empire de 843 et surtout de 870 n'ont pu connaître une diffusion européenne que de façon tout à fait exceptionnelle et en tout cas jamais comparable à celle de la fin du VIIIe siècle. Cf. M. Huglo, *Les Tonaires* (Paris, 1971), p. 44 ss. ; « La diffusion des manuscrits monodiques en deux groupes EST et OUEST », in *Nordiskt Kollokvium III i Latinsk Liturgiforskning* (Helsingfors, 1975), pp. 47-65.

64. Dans un répertoire aussi archaïque que celui de Bénévent, on a remarqué que la mélodie de l'alleluia de Pâques était différente de celle qui s'adaptait à tous les autres textes d'alleluia de l'année...

65. Les trois tropaires de Nonantola conservent des tropes pour le dimanche des Rameaux.

Domino de la fin de l'office, voire même au Symbole des Apôtres.

5. La production des centres créateurs a donné lieu, de proche en proche, à des échanges, à des sélections de pièces, à des regroupements en collections, à des remaniements de textes ou de mélodies, à des adaptations et transformations dont les tropaires-prosaires nous donnent de continuels exemples.

Il importe pour nous de rechercher quel peut bien être le processus le plus ancien de la « tropisation », non par déduction logique, mais par analyse critique des textes et des mélodies. Pour plusieurs musicologues, c'est dans le trope mélogène et en particulier dans la prosule que l'on devrait chercher les plus anciens exemples de tropes. Cette hypothèse est en effet fondée sur des bases paléographiques très solides [66] : il reste donc à rechercher quelle peut bien être la place des tropes méloformes et des tropes mélogènes qui en découlent par rapport aux diverses formes de pièces issues du répertoire de base.

Avant d'aborder cet intéressant problème, il conviendrait de jauger les « rapports d'équilibre » entre texte et mélodie dans les anciens répertoires liturgiques. Il faut d'abord observer que dans tous les répertoires occidentaux, on constate qu'une conception d'esthétique *a priori* pousserait à considérer comme « déséquilibrée » une pièce toute simple — de style responsorial ou antiphonique — qui serait terminée par une *cauda* prolongeant d'une longue vocalise la dernière syllabe du texte, par exemple l'antienne du Psautier, citée par Guy d'Arezzo [67] :

F G a F Ga G F FFEDCFGaGGF
Mi-se-re-re me- i De-us

Cette vieille antienne du psautier férial et celles qui lui ressemblent [68] pourraient bien être considérées comme des antécédents de nos tropes méloformes : mais il y a dans ce domaine du « modèle » des exemples plus proches et plus évocateurs.

66. La prosule *Psalle modulamina* de l'alleluia *Christus resurgens* dans Clm 9543 est datée de 830 : cf. O. MARCUSSON, *Prosules de la Messe* dans CT 2 (Stockholm, 1976), p. 28 et 160 (bibliographie).

67. *Micrologus*, cap. XVIIJ (CSM 4, p. 198).

68. Voir par ex. les antiennes du VIIIe ton dans l'antiphonaire d'Hartker *Illuminatio mea* (*Paléo. Music.*, IIe série, t. I, p. 90) ; *In tua justitia* (*ibid.*), *Intellege* (p. 93), *Auribus percipite* (p. 94), *Portio mea, Me expectant justi* (p. 99) etc. Cf. J. HOURLIER, « Notes sur l'antiphonie », *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen* (Bern und München, 1975), p. 132 ss.

Modèles et antécédents :

1. Dans le chant grégorien, l'exemple du mélisme additionnel est tout proche : il est contenu dans les tonaires où la formule echématique d'intonation, en grec, propre à chaque ton, est prolongée d'un *neuma* qui après une « envolée » revient à la tonique finale [69]. Le *neuma* propre à chaque ton a été ultérieurement détaché du tonaire pour être greffé sur la syllabe finale des antiennes de Laudes et de Vêpres, mais seulement aux jours de fêtes, à l'exclusion du Carême [70]. Ce *neuma* qui présente un caractère festif est prescrit par la plupart des Ordinaires du XIIIe siècle, et il prend alors les noms de *cauda, stivae, jubilus* [71]. Mais quand cet usage a-t-il bien pu commencer et sous quelles influences ? A ma connaissance, c'est dans un antiphonaire du XIIe siècle, celui de la cathédrale de Piacenza (Bibl. cap. 65) que se rencontrerait pour la première fois cet usage en apparence assez singulier, destiné à rehausser le chant des antiennes pour les jours de fêtes, en soulignant en quelque sorte l'affirmation de la modalité de la pièce...

> Cependant, le *neuma* amène la répétition uniforme de la même ritornella sur chaque pièce du même mode et, de plus, il ne concerne que la dernière syllabe de l'antienne — et non les cadences intermédiaires. Le *neuma* n'est pas non plus « création musicale », mais réutilisation indéfinie d'un mélisme standardisé.

2. Les longues séquences mélodiques prolongeant en arabesques sonores, doublées par le procédé de l'écho, la vocalise exécutée sur la finale *-a* de l'allelui *-ja* est une fixation écrite du jubilus jadis improvisé, dont saint Augustin et le *de persecutione wandalica* [72] ont fait mention. Ces longues séquences sont attestées dès la fin du VIIIe siècle, tant par l'antiphonaire du Mont-Blandin que

---

69. M. Huglo, *Tonaires*, p. 384. J. Chailley m'avait fait observer que la composition de ces formules relevait d'un genre assez différent de celui du chant « grégorien »...

70. *Tonaires*, pp. 388-389.

71. *Tonaires*, p. 389. Le remplacement des formules grecques par des textes latins (*Primum quaerite regnum Dei, Secundum autem* etc.) n'a pas causé de modifications dans le *neuma* final.

72. Les textes sont réunis par A. Roetzer, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als liturgiegeschichtliche Quelle* (München, 1929). Voir encore E. Moneta-Caglio, *Lo jubilus e le origini della Salmodia responsoriale* (Venezia, 1976).

par un *Ordo romanus* du VIIIe-IX siècle [73]. Elle se chantaient encore sans paroles, le jour de Pâques, en plein milieu du XIe siècle, à l'abbaye de Cluny, mais sans doute encore ailleurs [74]. Ces *melodiae* que Notker-le-Bègue († 912) qualifiait en 884 de *longissimae* sont basées sur la duplication des motifs, duplication qui est matérialisée dans les tropaires-prosaires aquitains par un *d* à chaque fin d'incise [75].

Par ailleurs, les premiers *versus*, comme dit Notker, ou si on préfère les premières proses, insérées à une époque très ancienne [76], en plein milieu de la séquence mélodique, sont toujours assonancées en *-a*. En outre, la duplication de chaque motif mélodique en écho, entraîne dans la rédaction de la prose un parallélisme littéraire entre strophes paires et impaires.

Signalons enfin que la duplication des motifs mélodiques n'était pas nécessairement vocale, mais vraisemblablement instrumentale [77].

> Dans le trope méloforme d'introït, le développement de la mélodie est beaucoup plus bref que dans la *sequentia* mélodique. Il ne comporte pas de duplication des motifs et l'assonance n'entre pas en ligne de compte pour les textes d'adaptation.

---

73. Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale 10127-144, fol. 114v-115 (cf. R. J. HESBERT, *Antiphonale Missarum sextuplex* [Bruxelles, 1935], p. 198, nº 199) : ces mentions de la *sequentia* sont bien de première main, ainsi que j'ai pu le vérifier sur le manuscrit. — M. ANDRIEU, *Ordines romani*, II (Louvain, 1948), Ordo V nº 31 : *sequitur jubilatio quam* sequentiam *vocant*.

74. La présence des séquences neumées dans le graduel de Cluny (Paris, B.N. lat. 1087, f. 108 ss.) serait à elle seule insuffisante pour attester un usage qui est par ailleurs expressément relaté par les *Consuetudines cluniacenses* I, XVI : « post alleluia nescio quae Gallicanae neumae cantantur » (*Patrol. lat.* CXLIX, 665).

75. Le plus ancien témoin sangallien des *melodiae longissimae* (lettre de Notker à Liutward de Vercelli) est le ms. SG 484 : mais dans ce tropaire-séquentiaire les motifs répétés sont notés deux fois, alors qu'en Aquitaine et dans le nord de la France, la répétition d'une même vocalise est évitée grâce au *d* (= *duplicateur*) : cf. E. M. BANNISTER, *Anglo-french Sequelae* (London, 1934), p. 21 ss.

76. Vers 830, selon W. von den STEINEN, « Die Anfänge der Sequenzdichtung », *Rev. d'Hist. ecclés. suisse*, XL-XLI (1946-47). Notker baptise ces bribes de séquences assonancées en *-a* du terme de *versus*. En ce domaine, les innovations ou inventions ont du mal à trouver un nom qui les définit clairement : de même pour le trope (voir plus loin, p. 51).

77. Cette conjecture s'appuie sur le titre de certaines séquences tels que *Cithara, Fistula, Lyra, Symphonia, Tuba, Tympanum*... Cf. L. ELFVING, *Étude lexicographique sur les séquences limousines* (Stockholm, 1962), p. 203 (instruments de musique).

3. La « prosule » (*prosula, prosella, prosellus*) est, comme le nom l'indique, une prose en réduction qui se greffe soit au centre de l'alleluia, par ex. sur la vocalise de — *le* —, soit sur une vocalise du verset (cf. C T 2), soit sur un mélisme du dernier verset d'offertoire. Dans le cas de la prosule, la composition du texte se fait à raison d'une syllabe adaptée à chaque note du neume ou parfois à un petit groupe de deux notes.

> Les prosules ou tropes mélogènes sont comparables à nos tropes d'interpolation d'introït dans SG 484 et SG 381. Cependant, le « neume porteur » de la prosule préexiste et il fait partie du « répertoire de base » contenu dans le Graduel, tandis que le trope méloforme d'introït est une création « de seconde époque » qui ne saurait prétendre à une antiquité aussi haute...

4. Dans certains répons de l'office, une des dernières syllabes du répons de la fin des nocturnes comporte un *neuma* : la composition d'un *neuma* deviendra une règle pour le dernier répons des *historiae* [78] composées au Xe et surtout au XIe siècle. L'exemple le plus ancien est celui du répons du 27 décembre *In medio* qui, selon Amalaire, comportait un *neuma triplex* sur le mot *intellectus* [79]. De même sur la syllabe initiale de l'avant dernier mot *fabricae mundi* dans le répons de Noël *Descendit*. Ce qui est notable ici, c'est l'amplification progressive du *neuma* à chaque reprise :

R *Descendit de coelis... *Et exivit ... fa* - - - [4 notes] - - - *bricae mundi.* V *Tamquam sponsus ... *Et exivit... fa* - - - - [39 notes] - - - - - - *bricae mundi.* V *Gloria Patri... *Et exivit... fa* - - - - - [86 notes] - - - - - *bricae mundi.*

Chaque reprise donnait lieu à composition d'un trope mélogène d'une longueur proportionnelle à celle du mélisme, mais qui devait être composé de telle sorte que commençant par *Fa-* (*facinora,* par ex.) il se termine par le retour du mot de la reprise : ... *fabricae mundi* [8] .

Ici, dans le cas du plus ancien *neuma* composé pour l'office, il n'y a pas duplication des motifs comme dans la séquence : mais

78. Sur le sens de ce terme, voir R. JONSSON, *Historia* (Stockholm, 1968).
79. Ce *neuma triplex* a été restitué par Br. STÄBLEIN dans l'art. « Tropus » de *MGG*, XIII (1966), Ex. 9. Le texte du *de ordine antiphonarii* d'Amalaire, chap. XVIII, 9 a été restitué par J. M. HANSSENS dans *Studi e Testi,* 140, pp. 55-56.
80. L. GAUTIER, *Les tropes* (Paris, 1886), p. 166 ; H. HOFMANN-BRANDT, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Offiziums* (Erlangen, 1973), Tl. I, p. 12 ss.

dans certains offices propres du XIe siècle, on la retrouve de manière constante, d'où parallélisme des strophes du texte, avec assonance obligatoire, de la couleur de la voyelle qui engendre le *neuma*.

Si le cas du *fa-bricaè mundi* a été évoqué ici, c'est parce qu'il a vraisemblablement servi d'exemplaire à un trope méloforme de caractère absolument insolite qui a été inséré à la fin de la communion *Video* de la fête de saint Étienne, au lendemain de Noël, sur la même syllabe *fa-* du mot final *fa- ciunt*, dans le graduel de St. Denis, au XIe siècle (Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 384, f. 5). Dans cette antienne de communion, de style semi-orné comme celui de l'introït, et donc sans grand développement mélismatique, nous relevons un trope méloforme à motifs mélodiques symétriques, exactement comme dans une séquence :

Ce dernier exemple nous ramène au Graduel, mais il faut s'empresser d'ajouter que le trope méloforme ne repose pas sur une syllabe finale de mot, comme ceux de l'introït, mais sur un début de mot [81]. L'exemple de la communion *Video* montre du moins le caractère spontané, voire insolite, de la tropisation mélismatique des pièces du Graduel grégorien.

5. L'antienne d'introït précède le chant du *Kyrie eleison* et du *Gloria in excelsis* : n'y aurait-il pas quelque lien, par contiguïté, entre les tropes méloformes d'introït et les grandes vocalises du *Kyrie* et celles de l'Hymne angélique ?

A s'en tenir au témoignage laconique des *Ordines romani* [82], on

81. Une exception cependant pour les tropes d'introït : le mot *ple-bi* (mélisme additionnel sur *ple-*) dans l'introït *Nunc scio vere* du 29 juin : voir le tableau de la p. 35.

83. Dicatur *Kyrie eleison* (Ordo IV, n° 20) ; cum dixerint *Agnus Dei* (Ordo I, n° 99) ; ut dicatur *Agnus Dei* (Ordo IV, n° 62) : d'après l'édition de M. ANDRIEU, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut-Moyen-Age*, II (Louvain, 1948).

est incliné a déduire du texte de ces prescriptions que dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe siècle, les chants de l'Ordinaire — qui ne rentrent dans aucune catégorie de genre antienne ou répons — s'exécutaient suivant une mélodie quasi syllabique, plus proche de la récitation psalmodiée que des développements d'une pièce mélismatique. Or, au Xe siècle, on constate que plusieurs mélodies très développées pour le *Kyrie* et le *Gloria* sont déjà fort répandues dans toutes les églises d'Europe... Comment expliquer la composition de ces mélodies et la présence de tous ces tropes en prose ou en vers qui s'intercalent au milieu de ces deux pièces ?

Il faut donc rechercher si le processus qui vient d'être observé sur les tropes d'introït n'a pas été également exploité pour ces deux chants de l'Ordinaire, tant à Saint Gall qu'en Aquitaine et même encore ailleurs...

Dans SG 484, la série des *Gloria* comporte quelques tropes méloformes à l'état pur (pp. 217, 242 et 246), c'est-à-dire avec des mélismes cadenciels, sans aucun texte : *Laudamus* **te**, *Benedicimus* **te** etc. Mais on rencontre encore de telles pièces avec un seul texte d'adaptation, par ex. à la p. 218 :

Gloria in excelsis Deo...
Gratias agimus ti- **bi** - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [14 notes]
Quibus ad coelos pulchrum
Per Christum parasti [13 syllabes]

Enfin, on rencontre des pièces avec tropes méloformes dont les mélismes sont accompagnées du texte d'adaptation, par ex. le *Quem cives* [83].

Rappelons ici que la mélodie de base de ce *Gloria* est celle que l'Édition Vaticane a adoptée sous le n° XV, mélodie entièrement syllabique dont la construction modale, identique à celle du *Te Deum*, passe pour l'une des plus anciennes de l'Ordinaire de la Messe :

Gloria in excelsis De - **o** - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - [18 notes]
Quem cives cœlestes... [16 syllabes] [84]
... *hominibus, bonae volunta*-**tis** - - - - - - - - - - [19 notes]
Quam ministri... [20 syllabes]

83. Kl. RÖNNAU, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis* (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 148 et 213. R. WEAKLAND (*Musical Quarterly*, 44 [1958], 487) donne un autre exemple de trope du *Gloria*. A propos de cette pièce, il faudrait traiter ici un trope méloforme du *Regnum* (**per** - - - - - *manebit in eternum*) de la fin du *Gloria* et des prosules qui s'y greffent...

84. Seize syllabes, mais la septième porte trois notes (torculus liquescent) ;

De même, dans les manuscrits aquitains, le trope *Quem cuncta* [85] qui comporte pour les acclamations *Laudamus te* etc. des tropes méloformes dont les mélismes sont aussitôt monnayés sur des textes d'adaptation :

Laudamus **te** - [20 notes]
Quem cuncta laudant ut bona... [20 syllabes]
Benedicimus **te** - [23 notes]
Qui maturae das... [22 syllabes]
Adoramus **te** - [20 notes]
Quo vivere mereamur... [20 syllabes]
Glorificamus **te** - [35 notes]
O rex tante memores... [31 syllabes]

Semblable processus de « tropisation » pourrait encore faire matière à des observations très instructives sur le *Kyri-e eleison* [86] qui se chante juste après l'introït et avant le *Gloria in excelsis*. En somme, tout le groupe de pièces du début de l'Avant-messe, c'est-à-dire l'introït, le *Kyrie*, le *Gloria* a été traité suivant le même procédé en deux temps :

1° greffe de tropes méloformes sur la syllabe finale des incises du texte liturgique de base ;

2° adaptation d'un texte en prose à ce mélisme, par « monnayage » des neumes à raison d'une ou parfois deux notes par syllabe.

En somme, la musique précède le texte...

Nous n'avons plus affaire dans ces textes à des tropes logogènes, mais bien à des tropes mélogènes ou tropes d'adaptation, qui de par leur situation dans le texte de base peuvent encore s'intituler tropes d'interpolation. Il faudrait donc, à propos de cette petite mise au point de terminologie conformée aux obser-

---

on retrouve donc la parité entre le nombre de notes du trope méloforme et le nombre de notes monnayées sur le texte d'adaptation.

85. Kl. Rönnau, *Die Tropen...*, pp. 79, 127, 190, 225 (Kontrafaktur), Faks. 12 (= Pa 1871, f. 71v-72) ; D. Bosse, *Melodien zum Gloria in excelsis* (Regensburg, 1955), passim ; C. Daux, *Tropaire de Montauriol* (Paris, 1901), p. 74 (d'après Pa 1871, f. 71 v) ; *Analecta hymnica*, 47, p. 236, n° 175.

86. Cette question demanderait un examen approfondi : en attendant, on pourra trouver des indications sur les sources dans M. Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie...* (Erlangen, 1954) ; Br. Stäblein, art. « Kyrie », *MGG*, VII (1958), col. 1931-1946 ; M. Huglo, « Origine et diffusion des *Kyrie* », *Revue grégorienne*, XXXVII (1958), 85-87 ; D. Björk, *The Kyrie Repertory in Aquitanian Mss.* (Ph. D. Musicology, Univ. of California at Berkeley, 1976).

vations qui viennent d'être faites, revoir la notion de trope en général ! Le terme de « trope » ne s'appliquait-il pas à l'origine, comme le titre du manuscrit de St. Gall 484 (cf. ci-dessus, p. 10) semblerait le suggérer, aux seuls tropes méloformes, c'est-à-dire aux mélismes, tandis que les textes inventés plus tard, sans appellation bien précise, auraient reçu les noms de *versus* pour l'introït, de *preces* pour le *Kyrie*, de *laudes* pour le *Gloria* ?... [87].

Le texte célèbre du chroniqueur de St. Gall attribuant à Tutilon les « tropes », qu'il chantait lui-même en s'accompagnant du psaltérion ou du crwth, désigne expressément comme son œuvre les mélismes (*neumata*) de ces tropes méloformes, et non les textes d'adaptation : « Quae autem Tuotilo dictaverat... per psalterium seu per rothtam, quia potentior erat, neumata inventa dulciora sunt... » [88].

Il suffit pour l'instant d'avoir posé la question de terminologie à propos du processus de composition des textes d'adaptation à partir des mélismes : il reste maintenant à établir les différents stades de la chronologie.

Étapes chronologiques.

Ayant établi des constatations de fait d'après les manuscrits de l'Est (Saint Gall) et de l'Ouest (Aquitains), il reste maintenant à remonter au-delà du document vers les origines.

1. Les anciens textes d'interpolation de l'introït — ainsi que les tropes du *Kyrie* et du *Gloria in excelsis* — sont les tropes mélogènes adaptés sous les mélismes qui préexistent aux textes tant à l'Est qu'à l'Ouest.

Par opposition aux textes d'interpolation qui ont été directement composés sans passer par la filière des tropes méloformes, nous pourrions les appeler « tropes de première époque » [89].

---

87. Eva ODELMANN (Stockholm), « Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes ? Observations sur les rubriques des tropes des xe et xie siècles », *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, XVIII (1975), 15-36 : voir en particulier le tableau 7 pour les tropes d'introït (*tropi* ou *versus*) ; voir p. 28 les rapports entre *tonus* et *tropus* dans les rubriques de certains tropaires...

88. EKKEHARDT IV (980-1060), *Casus sancti Galli* (*Monum. Germ. Hist. Scriptores*, II, 101). L'éditeur précise en note le sens de *dictaverat* et indique que ce verbe a le sens de composer. Sur Tutilon, voir E. G. RÜSCH, *Tuotilo Mönch und Künstler, Beiträge zur Kenntniss seiner Persönnlichkeit* (St. Gallen, 1953), Mitteilungen zur vaterländischen Geschichte, 41. — Ce texte éclaire la présence de représentations d'instruments de musique dans nos tonaires aquitains (Pa 776, Pa 1118, Lo 4951), les seuls qui donnent les mélodies des tropes méloformes sans texte.

89. Cette appellation ne recouvre pas les mêmes pièces qu'envisage L. GAUTIER (*Les tropes*, p. 147), lequel, comme beaucoup d'autres, considère seulement les textes...

2. Ces tropes (textes) de première époque ont nécessairement été composés avant l'année de transcription du support qui les contient, soit, pour l'Ouest, avant 933/936 (date de Pa 1240 = B^2 de Chailley) et, pour l'Est, avant le milieu du xe siècle (date de SG 484 : 965 [?]).

3. Les textes d'adaptation rédigés à l'Est étant très différents de ceux qui furent composés à l'Ouest et surtout la manière d'adapter ces textes aux mélismes relevant d'une technique assez différente, il est vraisemblable qu'en raison de cette indépendance de composition, la « verbalisation » (*Textierung*) des mélodies est postérieure à la « division » des traditions liturgiques et musicales entre l'Est et l'Ouest, c'est-à-dire postérieure à 840/870.

4. Cette datation des tropes d'interpolation ne préjuge aucunement de la datation des tropes d'introduction habituellement versifiés. Il faut cependant remarquer que le trope-dialogue *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro*, répandu à l'Est comme à l'Ouest (cf. p. 18), pourrait fort bien être antérieur à l'époque de la division Est-Ouest.

5. Les mélodies des tropes méloformes d'introït sont-elles antérieures ou postérieures à celles du *Kyrie* et du *Gloria* ? Les unes ont-elles servi de modèles aux autres ? Il est impossible, sans un nouvel examen, de résoudre ce problème... En tout cas, ces mélismes d'introït qui ont servi de « cadre de composition » aux textes de tropes ne sont pas les mêmes à l'Est qu'à l'Ouest : autrement dit, les mélodies déchiffrées d'après les manuscrits aquitains ne « traduisent » adéquatement aucune des mélodies transcrites en neumes dans les tropaires de St. Gall.

Il faut encore tenir compte du fait que quelques tropes méloformes des grandes fêtes se greffent sur le *Versus ad repetendum* qui est tombé en désuétude vers la fin du IXe siècle. Il faut donc en conclure que les tropes méloformes ajoutés à ce verset ont été composés avant l'abandon de l'usage : ainsi les tropes I et VII de Pâques, et le trope IV de Pentecôte...

Les mélodies de ces tropes méloformes ne découlent donc pas d'une source unique : seul le principe d'ornementation des cadences par développement mélismatique — mais non la réalisation concrète que nous étudions sur manuscrit — peut prétendre à une certaine antiquité. On peut supposer que les premiers essais de composition ont porté sur l'*Amen* de la psalmodie d'introït dont la « collection » a parfois été transmise à part (Pa 903, 776^{gr}, Lo 4951^{gr} *etc.*).

6. C'est vraisemblablement à l'image du *neuma* des tonaires

carolingiens que ce principe de la « variation improvisée » a dû être inventé par des chantres exercés, pour amplifier, pour relever la solennité du chant d'entrée aux grandes fêtes, tout comme l'*organum*, au IX-Xe siècle, dont la destination première était l'enrichissement du chant liturgique, *pro ornatu ecclesiasticorum carminum* (GS I, 171 b). N'est-il pas frappant que la liste des tropes méloformes dans les tonaires aquitains, proches des auteurs de la seconde renaissance carolingienne par le contenu de leurs prologues, coïncide précisément avec la liste des plus grandes fêtes du cycle liturgique ?

NOËL	*Puer*	VIIe ton
PÂQUES	*Resurrexi*	IVe ton
PENTECÔTE	*Spiritus Domini*	VIIIe ton
St. JEAN BAPT.	*De ventre* [90]	Ier ton
St. PIERRE	*Nunc scio vere*	IIIe ton
DÉDICACE	*Terribilis*	IIe ton

Seules les pièces du Tritus (V^e^ et VIe tons) ne sont pas représentées dans cette liste, car il n'existe aucun introït *festif* composé dans le mode de Fa. Ainsi, la « neumatisation » des cadences d'introït, ou invention du trope méloforme, a-t-elle été, à ses débuts (seconde moitié du IXe siècle ?) très réduite : seulement les plus grandes fêtes...

7. Le procédé n'a guère été amplifié en Aquitaine où, comme on l'a vu, la liste des introïts à mélismes est restée stationnaire : par contre, à St. Gall les introïts des fêtes secondaires et même ceux des féries de l'octave de Pâques et de Pentecôte ont été agrémentées de tropes méloformes. En outre, les mélismes additionnels d'introït pour les grandes fêtes ont été multipliés comme on l'a vu dans la première partie de cette étude : sept pour le *Resurrexi*, cinq pour le *Spiritus Domini*, cinq pour la St. Pierre *etc.* Cette production nouvelle pourrait fort bien être attribuée à Tutilon qui a exercé son activité de compositeur et d'instrumentiste entre 895 et 912.

La séparation des « tropes de première époque » — grâce à l'ana-

90. Il y aurait ici un intéressant problème à traiter : l'introït de St. Étienne — patron, entre autres, de l'église de Metz ! — en Ier ton, si souvent tropé dans SG 484 et SG 381 (cf. R. Weakland, *Musical Quarterly*, 44 [1958], 482, n° 3 et p. 486), n'aurait-il pas été évincé du « troping » du premier ton des listes aquitaines par l'introït de St. Jean Baptiste *De ventre* ? Il est tout de même curieux de ne pas trouver de tropes en Aquitaine pour cette fête jadis si importante...

lyse des mélodies — des autres genres de tropes oriente donc la critiques des textes dans une voie nouvelle [91] : elle appelle en même temps une révision, sous cet angle nouveau, de toute l'immense production contenue dans les plus anciens tropaires-prosaires de l'Est et de l'Ouest.

---

91. Après avoir lu cet article, Madame Jonsson a bien voulu me faire part de ses remarques concernant le problème de l'origine des tropes. L'origine des tropes, me dit-elle dans sa lettre du 28 février 1977, n'a pas une explication unique : à coté de l'origine musicale qui vient d'être étudiée ici, il faut considérer aussi une origine « liturgique » à certains groupes de textes : « dans Mü 14843 (Toul) et dans Ve 90, nous avons des tropes très primitifs, sans notation, dont l'une des caractéristiques est la différence très menue entre texte de l'antienne et texte du trope ». De fait, le trope — phénomène complexe et différencié suivant les régions, — ne peut trouver une explication unique valable pour tous les cas. L'édition du C. T. ouvrira aux chercheurs des perspectives immenses à ce sujet : que Madame Jonsson soit félicitée pour cette magnifique entreprise...

[4]

Les « Libelli » de Tropes et les premiers Tropaires-Prosaires

Michel Huglo

La typologie du *libellus* liturgique a été abordée pour la première fois à ma connaissance, par Niels Krogh Rasmussen dans sa thèse de 1977 sur les Pontificaux du Haut-Moyen-Age.

Cette notion très féconde sur le *libellus,* que l'on doit aux hagiographes Guy Philippart et François Dolbeau, s'est révélée de grande importance pour l'histoire de la formation des livres liturgiques que j'appellerais de seconde épopontifical, hymnaire, processionnal, tropaire-prosaire et aussi, bien entendu, en hagiographie.

Dans une lettre adressée au Père Rasmussen le 29 février 1980, le Père Gy a défini en quatre points précis les caractéristiques du *libellus* liturgique :

— 1 : le *libellus* comporte seulement un cahier ou tout au plus deux à trois quaternions ;

— 2 : à l'origine, ces cahiers étaient indépendants ;

— 3 : le *libellus* n'est pas relié ;

— 4 : au point de vue liturgique, le *libellus* a pour objet non pas l'ensemble des fonctions d'un ministre — par exemple l'évêque — ou l'ensemble de l'année liturgique, mais seulement une fête déterminée ou une action liturgique *(Agenda)* particulière.

Avant de développer et, au besoin, de discuter ces notions, il importe d'examiner le sens exact de *libellus,* depuis l'Antiquité classique jusqu'à l'aube du Haut Moyen-Age, à l'aide du *Thesaurus linguae latinae.* Le terme y occupe une place importante (VII, 2, 1262—1270). Pour le Haut Moyen-Age, il faut naturellement consulter le formidable matériel rassemblé à l'Académie de Munich, pour la préparation du *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch.*

Libellus a deux sens principaux : d'abord le sens d'écrit en général, puis le sens de livre.

1. En Droit romain, *libellus* concerne un rapport judiciaire ou le texte d'un jugement (*libellus divortii* dans le Digeste). Plus tard, sous l'empereur Dèce (248—251), *libellus* désigne le certificat attestant qu'un citoyen avait offert un sacrifice aux dieux païens et que, par conséquent, il ne pouvait être persécuté : c'est alors que certains chrétiens achetèrent à prix d'or un tel certificat, sans pourtant sacrifier aux dieux romains, et furent dénommés *libellatici. Libellus* peut encore concerner un billet, une lettre d'affaire ou même une longue épître, telle que, par exemple, l' *Epistola seu libellus sancti Hilarii*[1].

2. Le deuxième sens, que j'appellerais « bibliographique », est évidemment plus intéressant pour notre recherche. *Libellus* désigne soit un livre, par exemple chez Cicéron, par artifice de style pour éviter la répétition de *liber ;* soit un manuel, par exemple un manuel de grammaire, soit parfois le chapitre d'un livre, par exemple dans les *Vitae patrum.* Il n'a habituellement pas le sens diminutif de « petit livre », puisqu'on a éprouvé le besoin de créer *libellulus (Thesaurus* VII, 2, c. 1270) : notons en passant qu'au Moyen-Age, peut-être par accès de modestie, on a parfois préféré *libellus* à *liber,* même pour des ouvrages de quelque importance. Enfin, le Thesaurus a relevé dans l'Apocalypse (X, 10) deux traductions différentes de *βιβλαρίδιον*; la *Vetus Itala* l'a traduit par *libellum,* tandis que la Vulgate a préféré *librum.*

Finalement, c'est chez Grégoire de Tours au VIe siècle, que nous rencontrons pour la première fois le terme *libellus* appliqué à deux reprises au livre de prières à l'usage du prêtre (*Thesaurus* VII, 2, c. 1270), livre qu'à Rome on devait appeler plus tard « sacramentaire ».

Nous arrivons au Moyen-Age où la littérature latine a pris un essor considérable : les ouvrages en un livre, deux livres, trois livres sont légion. Rencontre-t-on des *libelli* dans l'intitulé des titres ? A défaut de recherche systématique, on peut glaner quelques éléments dans la littérature de l'époque carolingienne et ensuite dans les *libelli* eux-mêmes qui ont survécu dans les recueils actuels.

Les relations étroites qui unissaient Alcuin (d. 804) et Benoît d'Aniane (d. 821), le grand réformateur de la vie monastique et le savant liturgiste, sont bien connues. Ardon, le biographe de Benoît, nous rapporte que son Abbé avait pieusement conservé les lettres d'Alcuin et qu'il en avait confectionné un recueil — « *inviolabili se illi caritate conjunxit, ita ut ex suis epistolis ei saepe directis adgregatis in unum unus conficeretur libellus* »(2). Evidemment ce *libellus,* formé de feuillets épars ne relevait pas du genre de livret que nous recherchons : mais la copie de cette collection a dû certainement former un *libellus.* De Benoît d'Aniane nous avons conservé un *libellus* liturgique qui a été analysé par Dom Wilmart(3).

A Centula, Angilbert avait organisé suivant un cérémonial quelque peu compliqué, des processions dans la grande basilique dédiée à saint Riquier : son *Institutio,* nous dit Hariulf(4), était consignée dans « *quidam libellus* ». Ailleurs, le chroniqueur désigne l'*Institutio* sous le terme de *libellus Angilberti*(5).

Le terme *libellus* est assez fréquemment employé pour désigner — notamment dans les anciens catalogues de bibliothèques médiévales — les opuscules et petits traités qui servaient habituellement à l'enseignement des arts libéraux, surtout le Quadrivium et plus particulièrement, peut-être, pour les traités de musique. Ainsi, le catalogue des livres de Hartmut en 883 mentionne « *Bedae libelli duo de natura et temporibus* »(6), tandis qu'à Fulda le catalogue du XVIe siècle oppose le *Liber Prisciani grammatici* à un *Libellus Prisciani,* distinction qui doit bien correspondre à une réalité concrète.

Dans l'enseignement de l' *Ars musica* — la théorie — et dans la pratique, le

libellus tient une place importante. Ainsi, Aurélien de Réomé, qui incorpore un tonaire dans son traité de musique (chap. VIII—XIX), rédigé entre 840 et 849, prescrit aux chantres de relire son traité : « *hunc libellum cantoribus praebemus relegendum* »[7]. De ce fait, son tonaire abrégé tient tout entier sur trois quaternions.

Du traité et du tonaire de Bernon, qui fut « polycopié » à Reichenau au début du XIe siècle à destination des églises et monastères du Saint-Empire il nous reste un seul exemplaire traité comme *libellus tonarius*[8] qui comprenait jadis cinq cahiers — aujourd'hui, il en manque un, l'avant-dernier — écrits par Udalricus[9], les autres copies ayant été englobées dans les collections scolaires de traités de musique.

Enfin, le remarquable traité de musique de la seconde Renaissance carolingienne, la *Musica enchiriadis* (ca. 860—870), éditée par le Dr. Hans Schmid[10], porte le titre de *Liber*... dans la plupart des manuscrits, mais avec la variante *libellus* dans quelques témoins tardifs[11]. De fait, le manuscrit de Freising (Clm 6409 = ms. F de Schmid) et celui de Cologne (ms. K) permettent de constater que la *Musica Enchiriadis,* indépendante à l'origine de la *Scolica enchiriadis* et sans le chapitre XIX (interpolé), peut tenir sur un quaternion supplémenté d'un feuillet intercalaire : le feuillet supplémentaire est souvent inséré à la fin du cahier, entre les deux derniers feuillets quand le scribe s'aperçoit que seize pages ne suffiront pas pour copier son texte.

Lorsque, vers la même époque, Notker le Bègue rédigea à Saint-Gall ses premiers essais de séquences, il se servit pour écrire, nous dit-il dans son *Proemium,* de rouleaux *(rotulas) ;* ses vers furent ensuite reportés sur un *libellus,* puis en 884, sur un *codicellus* destiné à Liutward de Vercelli, mais dont les initiales étaient sûrement plus soignées que celles du *libellus* de l'étape intermédiaire.

Ultérieurement, c'est à dire vers 950, les compositions de Notker identifiées en 1947 par W. von den Steinen, grâce à la critique interne, ont été englobées dans un *corpus* liturgique de séquences qui fut rapidement diffusé dans les pays de langue germanique.

Cet exemple est intéressant pour notre enquête, car il illustre assez bien la succession des étapes qui séparent la période de composition de la période de grande diffusion. Au même instant, nous découvrons l'énorme hiatus chronologique qui sépare les témoins subsistants actuellement des tous premiers recueils de proses ou de tropes : les premiers prosaires, les premiers tropaires.

De ces considérations préliminaires découlent naturellement la première proposition, qui donne la caractéristique formelle du libellus :

1. « *Le libellus comporte seulement un cahier ou tout au plus deux ou trois quaternions* ».

a. Un cahier : ce peut être parfois un ternion. Ainsi par exemple, pour le libellus de Sainte-Foy de Conques (dans le ms Paris, B. N. Lat 1240), qui sera ana-

lysé tout à l'heure, ou encore pour le petit *libellus*-processionnal donnant les antiennes du dimanche des Rameaux, qui appartenait autrefois au Dr. Werner Wolffheim de Berlin, et qui se trouve actuellement à la Public Library de New York(12).

b. Parfois, le *libellus* comprend deux ou trois cahiers : ainsi, les *quaterniones de tonis,* mentionnés dans l'ancien catalogue de Saint-Gildas-de-Berry(13). Ce titre semble se rapporter à un tonaire plutôt qu'à la *Commemoratio brevis* dont l'exposé sur la psalmodie des huit tons ne pouvait suffire à remplir un seul quaternion! . . .

2. *« A l'origine, ces cahiers étaient indépendants ».*

C'est évident, si on n'avait pas redouté leur perte, on n'aurait pas regroupé ces petits livrets épars dans des recueils qui se présentent à nous aujourd'hui de façon disparate. Revenons au Paris, B. N. ms. lat. 1240, qui contient plusieurs *libelli* hagiographiques. Au milieu d'eux, la Passion et l'Office de sainte Foy. Ce *libellus* a été plié en deux, sans doute pour être emporté en voyage et il porte encore aujourd'hui, en milieu de page, la marque des plis, tous dans le même sens. Souvent, la première page des *libelli,* mais aussi des petits livrets autrefois indépendants, porte les traces brillantes d'une usure provenant de l'absence de reliure.

3. *« Le libellus n'est pas relié ».*

Tout au plus sont-ce la première et la dernière pages non écrites qui servent de couverture au *libellus.* Le cas n'est pas fréquent, mais on saisit de cette indication pourquoi certains textes, autrefois transcrits sur un ou deux quaternions, commencent encore aujourd'hui au verso du premier feuillet d'un manuscrit au lieu de débuter au recto. Tel est le cas dans quelques manuscrits de la *Musica Enchiriadis*(14).

A propos de reliure de manuscrits, il faut rappeler qu'autrefois on distinguait pour les livres deux types principaux de reliure. Les livres étaient habituellement reliés :

1°/*in asseribus,* c'est à dire au moyen de planchettes épaisses attachées entre elles par des « nerfs ». L'expression vient du catalogue de Cantorbéry à propos des traités de la *Musica* de Boèce. La plupart des manuscrits de Fleury ont conservé leur reliure de bois recouverte ou non de peau blanche.

Souvent, dans les écoles, les livres de consultation usuelle étaient enchaînés *(catenati)* par un anneau fixé au plat inférieur : ainsi, à Saint-Emmeran(15) ou à la Sorbonne dès le XIIIe siècle(16).

2°/*in pergameno* ; c'etait, suivant un texte publié par Bernhard Bischoff(17), la reliure habituelle des livres universitaires d'usage privé.

Les manuscrits sans reliure sont parfois conservés *in quaternionibus*(18). Ces deux ou trois quaternions restant attachés ensemble ou peut-être pas attachés du tout, d'où la nécessité de les regrouper en recueils.

4. « *Au point de vue liturgique, le libellus a pour objet non l'ensemble des fonctions d'un ministre, par exemple l'évêque, mais seulement une fête déterminée ou une action liturgique (Agenda) particulière* »,

« Une fête déterminée » : ce peut être une *fête nouvelle* qui se répand peu à peu dans toute l'Eglise — telle par exemple la Toussaint au IXe siècle ; la fête de la Sainte-Trinité au Xe siècle ou encore la Fête-Dieu au XIIIe siècle — ou une fête locale, telle que par exemple celle d'un martyr dont on reçoit les reliques — cas assez fréquent au IXe siècle — ou encore celle d'un évêque ou d'un abbé reconnus comme saints et honorés par un nouvel office propre : les exemples sont nombreux au XIe siècle.

Reprenons ces deux catégories :

1°/ Pour la diffusion de l'office propre célébrant la fête de tous les saints, on peut citer en exemple un remarquable *libellus* contenu dans un quaternion qui se trouve aujourd'hui relié dans un recueil de Fleury-sur-Loire conservé à Orléans (ms. 261) : ce *libellus* parfaitement écrit et neumé ne semble pas originaire de Fleury, mais a été modifié par grattages d'incipit pour être adapté aux usages liturgiques de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. Sur la dernière page restée blanche, on a ajouté à la fin du XIe siècle, un *Gloria in excelsis* tropé, composé pour la fête de tous les Saints. Voilà un exemple très intéressant qui nous explique comment, par compilation de deux *libelli* nous trouvons parfois dans les anciens antiphonaires — par exemple celui du Mont-Renaud, de la fin du Xe siècle — deux usages parallèles, mais divergents pour un même office, justement celui de la Toussaint(19).

La diffusion de l'Office composé par Etienne de Liège pour le dimanche de la Sainte Trinité, premier office qui observe la loi de succession des huit tons pour le choix des psalmodies et des timbres de répons, a dû se faire au moyen de *libelli*(20).

Pour la diffusion des offices de la Fête-Dieu, dont l'histoire est très complexe, il faut tenir compte de ces *libelli* contenant l'office et la messe de la nouvelle fête, qui ont circulé isolément ou bien qui ont été insérés dans les livres liturgiques plus anciens.

Deuxième catégorie de *libelli* : ceux qui nous transmettent les offices locaux ou offices propres. Mais ici, attention à ne pas confondre *libellus* et « recueil hagiographique ».

Le meilleur exemple en l'occurrence pour mettre en relief la distinction est celui des offices de Sainte-Foy-de-Conques en Rouergue, sur lequel je voudrais apporter ici quelques informations. En effet, les bibliothèques de France, d'Allemagne, de Suisse, d'Angleterre *etc.* contiennent tellement de petits recueils hagiographiques qu'il est nécessaire de bien s'entendre sur les termes et sur les réalités codicologiques qu'ils recouvrent.

Le culte de sainte Foy, martyre d'Agen, doit en partie son essor aux migrations, par les routes de pélerinage, qui convergeaient sur Ostabat pour amorcer le *camino francès* sur le versant méridional des Pyrénées.

Il nous reste aujourd'hui deux offices totalement différents pour célébrer sainte Foy : l'un, précédé d'une lettre d'approbation de Pascal II, reconnue aujourd'hui comme un faux, qui se trouve dans un manuscrit du XIIe siècle de Sainte-Foy-de-Sélestat[21]. C'est l'office le plus récent. L'autre office, plus ancien, est contenu dans deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale lat. 1240, du fonds de Saint-Martial et le ms. 443 des Nouvelles acquisitions latines, qui a reçu des faussaires à la solde de Libri une reliure en ais de bois, grossièrement imitée de la vieille reliure d'Orléans 347, à l'intérieur de laquelle on voit encore aujourd'hui le trou béant causé par le larcin du trop célèbre inspecteur des bibliothèques de France sous Napoléon III[(22)].

Pour reconstituer le manuscrit dans son intégrité, il faut rapprocher des manuscrits de Paris et d'Orléans un fragment de Leyde et un feuillet retrouvé dans le fonds de la Reine à la Vaticane par Monseigneur Victor Saxer[(23)].

Ce qui est fort suggestif pour notre enquête, c'est le fait que, dans les deux manuscrits parisiens — celui de Saint-Martial et celui des Nouvelles Acquisitions — nous trouvons le même office de part et d'autre, mais avec une différence importante mise en évidence sur le tableau hors-texte : dans le lat. 1240, nous avons l'office monastique à 12 antiennes et 12 répons et la messe de Sainte-Foy avec un seul alleluia[(24)]. Dans le manuscrit des nouvelles acquistions latines nous avons bien le même office, certes, mais aux places normales, à la fin du répons des Premières Vêpres et à la fin de chaque nocturne, un *neuma* de répons à motifs répétés (*∂ = duplicatur*) suivi d'une prose (*prosa* et non pas, ici, *prosula*). A la fin, un *Benedicamus Domino* inconnu du ms. lat. 1240.

Ce qui est fort remarquable, c'est que ce petit cahier plié en deux, à l'écriture très serrée, du lat. 1240 porte à la fin, après le nom du copiste, le titre de *libellus.* (Voir le tableau hors-texte).

Le manuscrit des nouvelles acquisitions latines est tellement plus riche en pièces, tellement plus orné d'initiales à entrelacs sur fonds de couleurs[(25)], tellement plus complet en récits hagiographiques en latin et en langue d'oc qu'il ne répond plus du tout à la notion de libellus, *stricto sensu.* C'est l'amplification d'un ancien *libellus* mais ce n'est plus un *libellus.*

J'ai passé en revue un certain nombre de ces offices propres qui sont très fréquents dans les recueils hagiographiques : dans la plupart des cas, ils ne forment pas une unité codicologique individuelle : ils ont été copiés et agrémentés d'initiales d'après d'anciens *libelli* tout simples, comme celui du lat. 1240. Ils ne forment plus de *libelli.*

Les offices propres suivants sont insérés dans des recueils hagiographiques de confection généralement très soignée, avec initiales peintes ou historiées : ils procèdent évidemment d'anciens *libelli,* mais ne sauraient être considérés comme tels dans leur état actuel.

PARIS B N Lat. 1240, f. 183—188
f.185 [IN I VESPERIS]
R/ Emissiones tuae . . . Libani, alleluia
V Veni sponsa

[AD NOCTURNOS]
f.186 R/[4] Gloriosa Dei Virgo Fides . . .
V Certandum
Gloria Patri

f.186v R/[8] Furore succensus . . . a — vertitur.
V Contemptis V Gloria Patri

f.187 R/[12] Jam nunc o venerabilis sponsa.
. . . foveant nos in secula.
V Perac — — — ta virtutum feliciter
Gloria Patri . . .
f.188v OFFICIUM (chants de la Messe)
Alleluia V̄ Apparuit Virgo Fides
DUPLEX BONUM EST : BERNARDUS PRESBITER :
IUBENTE SAIONE GRAMMATICO : HUNC : LIBELLUM :
SCIPSIPSIT (sic !) : DEO GRACIAS *etc.*

L. DELISLE; *Cabinet des Mss,* I,p. 390
G. BEYSSAC; *Colophons. . .* I, 1965, n°2012 (Rectifications de J. Vezin).
Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, I, Paris, B.N. 1939, p. 459.

PARIS B N n. acq.lat. 443
f.1 IN VIGILIA SCE FIDIS AD VESP.
R/Emissiones tuae
V Veni sponsa
V Gloria Patri
Al — — ∂ — — ∂ — — (le)-lu-ja
Prosa Candida tu quia super lilia . . . voce ovatizant. Alleluia
f.2 ANS IN NOCT. f.4 RESPONSORIA
f.5 R/[4] Gloriosa Dei Virgo Fides
V̄ Certandum . . .
Gloria Patri
f.5v Supe — — — raret
Prosa O vere sancta prerogative . . .
f.6v R/[8] Furore succensus . . . a — vertitur
V̄ Contemptis V Gloria Patri
A — ∂ — ∂ — ∂ — vertitur
Prosa: Theorica referta qui agnicia.
f.8 R/[12] Jam nunc o venerabilis
. . . foveant nos in secula.
V Perac — — ta virtutum feliciter
Gloria Patri
f.8v Foveant — — ∂ — — nos in secula
Prosa Que super titania iam rutilant . . .
. . . . .
f.14v Benedicamus altitrono domino
qui sue martiri Fidei dedit vivere celo
quia ignis exusta incendio
carnis metam excessit gladio.
Deo voce excelsa dicamus eia
omnes una gracias regi regum qui gubernat secla,
quem per albentia lilia
sequitur sponsum Fides sanctissima
dulce decantans carmen, alleluia.
Alleluia (III) Apparuit Virgo Fides . . .

L. DELISLE; *Catalogue des mss. des fonds Libri et Barrois,* Paris, 1898, p. 15—16.
Br. STÄBLEIN, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik,* Leipzig, 1975, Abbild. 35 (=f.4).

Ainsi, l'office neumé de saint Vaast[26] ne commence pas à un début de cahier dans le ms d'Arras 734 (686), mais en milieu de cahier (f. 81v—89v). L'office de St. Wandrille a été ajouté sur les premières pages d'un des manuscrits de l'abbaye de St. Bertin (St. Omer 764, f.1 A — 3 B) : écriture, initiales, notation sont tracées de mains différentes de celles qui ont confectionné le reste du manuscrit.

L'office des deux premiers évêques de Sens, Potentien et Savinien, a été ajouté à la fin du XIIe siècle sur des pages restées vides d'un manuscrit du XIe siècle — comme dans le cas précédent, on a dû reporter sur un support disponible l'office composé antérieurement et écrit sur rotulus[27].

Il faudrait étendre l'enquête aux différents témoins des offices des saints Serge et Bacchus d'Angers[28], de saint Maur[29], de l'ancien office de saint Rémi[30].

Le deuxième objet du *libellus* liturgique est la transmission d'une *action liturgique* particulière ou *Agenda.* Le regard se porte directement sur les *Ordines Romani* du Haut Moyen Age : si nous possédons plusieurs collections d'Ordos romains du IXe siècle, et des copies de tel ou tel Ordo transcrit sur des feuillets vierges de textes, par ex. à Bamberg, je crois qu'il serait difficile de retrouver un Ordo romain isolé transcrit sur *libellus*[31].

Pour l'Office des morts, la situation est un peu différente : la Messe des morts n'appartient pas au Graduel grégorien primitif et l'Office des défunts ne fait pas partie de l'archétype de l'Antiphonaire grégorien. Alors, d'où viennent ces deux parties importantes de la liturgie des défunts ? C'est un problème. Pour le moment, nous constatons que l'office des Morts a circulé sous forme de *libellus* avant d'être reporté dans un recueil liturgique plus important, tel que le Rituel d'Asti du Xe siècle[32]. Ainsi, dans un *libellus* de la Trinité-de-Vendôme formé d'un seul quaternion, relié dans un recueil de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris[33].

J'en arrive enfin aux tropaires-prosaires : dans son catalogue des tropaires-prosaires[34] H. Husmann a observé que chaque section importante des manuscrits de Saint-Martial et de Saint-Emmeran, les tropes du Kyrie, les proses, les tropes du Sanctus et de l'Agnus, démarraient à un début de cahier, souvent avec une initiale plus importante. Il découle de cette observation que les prosaires ont dû être copiés sur des *libelli* analogues à celui que Notker avait constitué en 884.

Il est également fort probable que les premiers tropaires d'introït ont été recopiés et enrichis aussi de pièces nouvelles, sur des collections du genre de Vienne 1609 contenue dans un ou deux cahiers[35]. Les *libelli* de tropes ont disparu mais leur contenu pourrait être reconstitué, grâce aux tables des éléments qui figurent dans chaque volume du *Corpus Troporum*[36]. La filiation des tropaires aquitains, qui a été tentée par plusieurs chercheurs[37], ne peut s'appliquer qu'à telle ou telle partie de ces tropaires, non à l'ensemble du livre formé par la circulation des *libelli* et par leur fusion dans des recueils liturgiques.

Ainsi, la notion de *libellus* se révèle extrêmement féconde pour la recherche dans les domaines où le Moyen Age a produit des oeuvres nouvelles : opuscules théologiques, collections canoniques[38], traités de comput[39], de mathématique et de musique[40], recueils de tropes, de séquences primitives, de séquences rythmées et rimées[41]. La réussite de l'enquête repose sur une observation codicologique rigoureuse, condition de toute recherche scientifique.

Notes

(1) MIGNE, *Patrol.lat.* c.733 — 750 : ce texte a été édité par J.C. Trombelli qui n'a pas bien précisé le dépot du manuscrit qu'il avait découvert.

(2) M.G.H. SS. XV, 210. La correspondance d' Alcuin, qui compte 232 lettres, a été éditée par E. Dümmler dans M.G.H. *Epistolae IV, Aevi karolini II* (1895), p. 18—481 et par Colin Chase, *Two Alcuin Letter-Books,* edited from B.M. Ms. Cotton Vespasian A XIV. Toronto, 1975 (Toronto Medieval Latin Texts). Malheureusement, deux épitres seulement nous restent de la correspondance entre les deux auteurs : les ép. 56 et 57. Cette dernière fait aussi allusion à la même correspondance.

(3) André Wilmart, « Un livret bénédictin composé à Gellone au commencement du IXe siècle » *Revue Mabillon,* 12 (1922), p. 119—133.

(4) Hariulf, *Chronique de St. Riquier,* éd. F. Lot (1984), XXV, 101.

(5) *ibid.* p. 70 et note *i* (le terme semble dû à l'éditeur : il ne figure pas au Glossaire final.)

(6) Paul Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz,* Erster Band : Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur, München, 1918, p. 87.

(7) *Musica disciplina,* c. XX, ed. L. Gushee, C.S.M. 21 (1975), p. 131.

(8) Vaticane, Palat. 1344, base de l'édition de Gerbert (*Scriptores* . . . II, 79—83), qui n'a pas comblé cette lacune en se servant des nombreux manuscrits à sa disposition (cf. M.Huglo, *Tonaires,* Paris, 1971, p. 266—267).

(9) Ce scribe peut-il être identifié avec l'auteur des *Consuetudines cluniacenses?* Udalric, après un séjour à Cluny à partir de 1052, avait fondé Zell en Forêt Noire.

(10) Hans Schmid, *Musica et Scolica enchiriadis, una cum aliquibus tractatulis adiunctis.* München, 1981. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Musikhistorischen Kommission, Band 3.

(11) H. Schmid, p.3.

(12) New York, Public Library, Music Division (Lincoln Center), Mus. Res °MFN.

(13) Ch. Kohler, « Inventaire de la bibliothèque de St. Gildas-en-Berry » : *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 47, 1886, p.104.

(14) Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm 6409 (Freising), Clm 14649 (St. Emmeran de Ratisbonne).

(15) Voir par ex. les traités de philosophie avoisinant la *Musica enchiriadis* (Munich, Clm 14272 et Clm 14372 : l'anneau rattachant le livre à la chaîne a été scié !).

(16) L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale,* Vol. 3, Paris 1881, p. 9 — 72. Dans ce catalogue rédigé en 1338, les livres d'enseignement sont suivis de la mention *cathenatus :* voir par ex. le recueil de traités de musique Paris, B.N. lat. 16662, cité dans mes *Tonaires,* p. 360.

(17) Dans ses *Mittelalterliche Studien* II, p.145, Bernard Bischoff cite le Catalogue Menger de St. Emmeran de Ratisbonne : « In pergameno secundum morem scolarium bene ligatus »

(18) G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui,* Bonn 1885, p. 111, no 443.

(19) *Paléographie musicale,* tome XVI.

(20) P. M. Gy dans *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 64, 1980, p. 495.

(21) Sélestat, Bibl. municipale 22 (95).

(22) L. Delisle, *Catalogue des manuscrits des fonds Libri et Barrois,* Paris, 1888, p.15—16. Remarquons que le tonaire qui suit l' office de ste. Foy vient du ms. 240 d' Orléans; cf.M.Huglo, *Les Tonaires,* Paris, 1971, p. 158—159.

(23) Vaticane, Regin. 467 : cf. Mgr. V. Saxer dans *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia,* 26 (1972), p.188.

(24) *Apparuit Virgo Fides :* ce verset d'alleluia se retrouve dans la liturgie du diocèse de Clermont (Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale et universitaire, Ms. 73). Faut-il expliquer ce transfert de pièce par le fait que, selon S. Swieckowski (*Sculpture romane d'Auvergne,* Clermont-Ferrand, 1978), le programme des sculptures de Notre-Dame du Port avait le même auteur que celui de Conques?

(25) Facsimilé du B, initiale du premier répons, dans Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik,* Leipzig, 1975 [Musikgeschichte in Bildern, Band III, Lieferung 4], Abb.35.

(26) Facsimilé des neumes dans S. Corbin *Die Neumen,* Köln, 1977, Tafel 26. Dans *Musicologie médiévale : Neumes et Séquences, Actes de la Table ronde de paléographie musicale à Orléans-La Source,* Paris, 1986, pl. IV. Cf. Louis Brou *L' ancien Office de saint Vaast évêque d' Arras : Etudes grégoriennes,* IV, 1961, p.7—42.

(27) Vaticane Regin. 577, ff.91v—94 : cf. Mgr. P. Villetard, *Offices de saint Savinien et de saint Potentien. Texte et chant publiés d' après le ms. d'Odoranne (XI—XIIe siécle),* Paris, 1956 [Bibliothèque musicologique, V].

(28) Angers, Bibl. municipale 814; Paris, B.N. lat. 9376, fragment d'office propre ; lat. 11574, f. 1.

(29) Paris, B.N. lat. 3778, f.174—179 : *Catal.codd. hag. Paris.* I (1889) p. 238—270 ; lat. 5344, f.54 et ss. : *ibid.* II, p.270—271.

(30) J. Hourlier, *Extension du culte de St. Rémy en Italie : Etudes grégoriennes* I, 1954, p.181—185 : cette étude se base sur l'analyse des mss de Montecassino 494, Naples, Bibl. Naz. VIII B 51 et enfin Vercelli CCV.

(31) Au IXe siècle, les *Ordines romani* circulaient à l' état isolé avant d'être intégrés dans des collections, ainsi par exemple l'*Instructio ecclesiastici ordinis* (= l'Ordo L de l'édition de Mgr. M. Andrieu), qui était au IXe siècle contenue dans un *codicillo :* cf. P. Lehman. *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge . . .* I, München, 1918, p. 71.

(32) Paris, Bibl. Mazarine 525 : cf. S. Corbin, *Répertoire des mss. médiévaux contenant des notations musicales.* II, *Bibliothèque Mazarine* (Paris, 1966), p. 35—36 et pl. VI.

(33) Paris, B.N. lat. 2984 A, f. 87 — 104v.

(34) *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften.* München, 1964, R I S M. B V 1

(35) Cf. R. Weakland, « The Beginnings of Troping » : *Musical Quarterly* 44, (1958), p.477—488 ; M. Huglo, « Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation : le trope méloforme d'introït » : *Revue de musicologie* LXIV (1978), p.12.

(36) A propos du t. 3 du *Corpus Troporum* j'ai évoqué dans *Scriptorium* (XXXVIII, 1984, p. 168) l'interêt du procédé de description en ces termes : « L'ordre des tropes pour une même fête est toujours différent d'une église à une autre, mais se perpétue parfois identique dans les mss. d'un même centre (par ex. Bénévent, voir p. 258, 261 etc., mais exception à la p. 275). On se rend très bien compte de cette loi en consultant les tableaux des pp. 256 et ss. où on peut constater que le fameux trope-dialogue *Quem quaeritis* vient en tête de liste dans les mss français, anglais et dans quelques allemands anciens, parfois avec une belle initiale tandis qu' au début de la tradition sangallienne . . . il vient en fin de liste puis disparait aux XIe et XIIe siècles . . . ».

(37) Voir les travaux de Günther Weiss et de David G. Hughes cités dans mes *Tonaires* p. 131, note 1.

(38) Cf. G. Fransen, *Les décrétales et les collections de décrétales* dans la Typologie des Sources du Moyen-Age occidental, n° 10.

(39) Parmi les mss de comput attribué à Helpericus d' Auxerre — sur lesquels Ludwig Traube avait fait naguère une profonde enquête — il faut remarquer le Paris, B.N. lat. 7361, intitulé au f.9v — donc au verso du deuxième quaternion du recueil ! — qui porte le titre « Incipit libellus Helprici de arte calculatoria ».

(40) L'enquête sur les mss « scientifiques » du Moyen-Age entreprise dans cette perspective serait très fructueuse.

(41) Sur la séquence primitive, voir plus haut ; sur la séquence rythmée et rimée, il faudrait ici encore analyser les petites collections isolées ajoutées à des mss non liturgiques. Lorsque Abélard adressa son sermonnaire à Héloïse, il lui rappela qu'il lui avait envoyé les six planctus dans un libellus : « Libello quondam hymnorum vel sequentiarum a me nuper precibus tuis consummato . . . » P.L. CLXXVIII, c.379 (cf. mes remarques à ce propos dans les *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* XXII, 1979, p.357).

[5]

Tropes and the Concept of Genre

Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler

I

"What is a trope?"

Why do we ask this question repeatedly? What sorts of answers do we seek? It is first of all a practical question, one that has to be asked by the editors of such publications as the *Analecta Hymnica* and the *Corpus Troporum,* and answered with every decision about the inclusion of one text in those editions and the exclusion of another.

But throughout its history it has had more attention as a scientific question. What did the compilers of manuscripts around the turn of the Millenium intend when they wrote "Tropus" at the head of a text? What is the origin of "the trope"? What is "its" history? The last two questions presuppose some idea about what the "it" is. What is it, about whose origins we have been asking? What can we identify as the subject of the continuous history that we would like to trace? The question "what is a trope?" has most often been raised explicitly in connection with questions about origins and history, and that connection has determined a great deal about the kinds of answers that have been entertained. It presupposes a multitude of works with a constellation of shared features that is more or less consistently associated with the name "trope", and whose appearance in a succession of such items constitutes the basis of continuity in the category bearing that name. An answer to the question, then, is given by describing that constellation of features. But that has been difficult, as we shall be reminded in a moment.

None of the scientific questions can be answered without at the same time addressing — at least tacitly — similar questions about types of liturgical song known by other names: sequence, hymn, versus, prosa, prosula, laudes . . . To ask "what is a trope?" is to ask "in what sorts of partitions does the world of medieval ecclesiastical song present itself to us?"

There is a third sense of the question, that we might identify as the aesthetic, or critical sense. It is raised implicitly whenever we engage a single trope with the intention of judging its qualities and values. We can do that only if we have a sense of the norms and standards for the making of such things. This is no more than to say that we cannot judge the meaning of a thing without having some idea about the kind of thing that it is. Without entering into the never-ending controversy about whether understanding about norms and standards

is essential to the criticism of art as a general rule, we can be certain that a single trope text with its melodic setting does not carry with it — at least not for us, in the present state of our experience — a sufficient artistic universe to enable us to understand it.

In all three senses — the practical, the historical, and the aesthetic — the question asks for the definition of a "genre", a word we commonly use to designate the classes, clusters, or kinds of art works that we study. We use the word easily in speaking of the categories of art works, and it has then a neutral connotation, doing little more than identifying the divisions in a taxonomy. But the concept of "genre" can function more actively and productively in the analysis of art and its history, and that potential rests on its multi-dimensionality. It brings together perspectives on the artist, on the work, and on the public. With respect to the artist, a genre represents a tradition of making that sets tasks and transmits conventions and models in relation to which the artist exercises his own intentions. This perspective focuses more on practice than on products. With focus on the work, a genre represents a complex of structural and stylistic features and features of content. It is the basis for a classification of the morphologies of works. With focus on the public, a genre represents the function or purpose of a kind of art work, addressed to a particular public, and the expectations and responses of the public in the light of that function and of the artistic means that are adapted to it. Those means will include not only morphological features and content, but matters of tone and attitudes as well. To take the most obvious sort of case, in the genres of spy or mystery novels, both the details of formal conventions and subject matter on one side, and tone on the other, are understood in relation to the objective of delivering both intellectual stimulation and the experience of terror to readers.

Despite the separate identification of these perspectives in this description, it is only in their interaction that the genre concept can produce understanding of individual works.

But even in investigating the history of a genre, we require such a multidimensional approach. In biology the development of evolutionary theory — that is, of a theory about the history of species — depended on the replacement of purely morphological species identification with classification involving the interaction of genetics, morphology, and ecology. Similarly, if the classification of medieval ecclesiastical song is to serve as a basis for the understanding of the history of its genres, it will have to be a classification based not only on the morphology of individual songs, but on the interaction of that factor with the generation and transmission of songs and with their function vis-a-vis a public.

The genre concept has been in use since classical times — then with its companion concept, propriety or *decorum*. The latter stood for the idea that particular conventions, which could be spelled out in the form of rules, were appropriate to particular genres in the light of their objectives or functions.

In view of their functions, genres develop norms and conventions of theme and manner which are available to artists working in the genre, and which are already intelligible to audiences, who in turn develop conventionalized responses to them. Conventions on both sides undergo development through their interaction within the tradition of the genre, and it is to these that one has paid attention in tracing the history of the genre.

Artists working in a genre are conscious of a tradition; they imitate, parody, transform what their predecessors have done. They work to carry forward a standard that constitutes the core of the genre. Such is the historical aspect of the "genre" concept from the viewpoint of the artist. If we do not have that aspect in mind, it is misleading to speak of genres at all. "Genre" is more than a concept for building a taxonomy of art works. One question we shall have to consider is how the genre concept can serve to elucidate the history of tropes.

A shift of emphasis has taken place in the use of the genre concept more recently. It is a shift toward the point of view of the beholder, and its core idea is the notion of art as an exchange, or transaction. The interest is in the role of genre as a system of norms to which works may be related, a code by virtue of which they become intelligible, coherent, and meaningful. The conventions of genre make the conveyance of meaning possible by providing categories in which to register the things encountered. An account of genres would be an attempt to define the classes which have been functional in the processes of making and understanding art works, the sets of premises and expectations that have enabled publics to relate art works to their own worlds. Genre, from this point of view as well, is not simply a taxonomic class. It is the basis for an understanding of art works as aesthetic objects, for the critic today, as well as for the beholder in history.

A further question we shall have to consider, then, is how the genre concept can contribute to a critical understanding of tropes.

These considerations about the genre concept reflect mainly the experience of the history and criticism of art and literature. But still "genre" has something, if not everything, to do with taxonomy. It will be well, therefore, to think also about what we expect when we think of tropes as a genre from the point of view of classification in theory. By inference, we will thereby be considering what might have been intended by those who wrote "tropus" at the head of a text in a medieval manuscript.

The heuristic value of systems of classification depends on the premise that we can partition the collections of things we are classifying so that everything falls into one class or other. It is only then that our classifications have theoretical or explanatory impact. To take a general example from the field of chant study, in identifying a melody as "plagal" we are saying two sorts of things about it. For one, we encode certain of its features that have to do with the relation of its range to its tonic; we describe its morphology. For the other we relate it to a classification scheme that partitions the collection of all chants

and in doing so we make a theoretical and explanatory claim about the tone system that underlies them. That is, when we say the melody is "plagal" we are not merely labelling or indexing it for convenience; we are making a claim about how it works and how it relates to the system. And that claim is an important aspect of what we want to say about the melody.

By contrast, the classification of books by librarians and fingerprints by policemen are acts of indexing for purposes of identification, storage, and retrieval. The grading systems for eggs and meat are ways of distinguishing size or quality, and cost. The ranking systems for military and civil service employees signify different levels of experience, ability, responsibility, authority, and salary. All such classifications schemes serve some practical purpose of identification and have no theoretical impact. They may in fact partition the entire universe of items that they classify, but that fact is not pertinent for the information that they are mainly intended to convey.

A consequence of this difference between heuristic and utilitarian classification, as we may call them, is that the former amounts to a kind of concept formation, whereas the latter does not. We place something under a certain class and group it with other things under the same class because of certain characteristics that we regard as essential to the object and the class. Those characteristics really give us the *concept* of that class. There is a concept that represents the characteristics possessed by chants that we classify as "plagal", the *plagal* concept. In identifying a chant as "plagal", we place it under that concept, and thereby we make a substantial claim about its nature. On the other hand when we label a book with the designation "ML 410" our primary interest is not usually in the concept of that class ("music literature, biographical").

To come to our own subject, when we say that a liturgical song is a trope or sequence or hymn, unless that represents some specific filing or indexing decision, we are implicitly making a claim about the way the whole system of medieval ecclesiastical song worked and why one sort was different from another. There must be an implication that we control — or at least that we aim to control — the concept of each of those classes and the relationships among the several concepts. What we aim for in making classifications is systematic understanding. We aim to se how the characteristics which qualify a thing as a member of a class, are related to other clusters of characteristics. The more we can see of that, the more we can feel that we understand the organization of the world we are studying — the more, to quote Plato, we can feel we are "carving nature by the joints". [1]On the other hand, the further away we remain from that objective, the more the act of classifying will be a compulsive but futile exercise.

In our classfication of ecclesiastical song the more we can identify and distinguish clusters of characteristics having to do with form, stylistic features of language and melody, length, ritual function, subject matter, tone, etc., the

more we will have the sense that we understand how the systems of medieval song work. The further away we remain from that objective, the more we should wonder whether the names we use really represent classes, and whether the material we are looking at really bears that sort of systematic analysis. Then we will still be left with the question, what did the compilers of medieval ecclesiastical books mean to convey when they wrote "tropus" above an item? What does it mean that Notker called his collection of sequences "Liber hymnorum", when we think that we know the difference between a hymn and a sequence? Was the word of medieval song partitioned in the way that we expect our worlds to be partitioned when we attach names to the things that we find in them?

Having reviewed in the abstract what can be implied in calling a song "trope", we now turn to the concrete material of tropes to inquire whether and how it may be productive to regard them from the point of view of "genre".

It seems from this review that we are unlikely to achieve, as a matrix for a trope genre, a classification of medieval ecclesiastical song that is systematic in a very high degree. For we have seen how differently the factors of form, content, and function can interact at the level of the individual song. And as they do not follow consistent patterns of interaction from song to song, they do not produce sharply defined categories at higher levels of classification. As a consequence of this situation the efforts to partition the material neatly show that any such scheme must be so multidimensional that the goal of "carving nature by the joints" will necessarily elude it. It would entail a very large number of classes, most of them with very few members, and with uncertain lines of demarcation between them. What is more, in the medieval sources there is not only a degree of inconsistency in the classes to which individual items are assigned, there is an inconsistency about the criteria for establishing classes altogether: "versus", which simply means "a collection of lines", and may be assigned to various styles and functions; "laudes", which speaks to a kind of function or tone; "prosa" or "prosula", which suggest certain morphological characteristics.

Jorge Luis Borges wrote about a certain Chinese encyclopedia in which are identified the following classes of animals: belonging to the emperor, embalmed, tame, sucking pigs, sirens, fabulous, stray dogs, included in the present classification, frenzied, innumerable, drawn with a very fine camel-hair brush, et cetera, having just broken the water pitcher, that from a long way off look like flies. [2] We could read this as a parody, exaggerated only in degree but not in kind, of the classification of medieval song that is implied by the naming behaviour of medieval manuscripts (and, by the way, of medieval lists and classifications of all sorts of things). What is the matter with it? It poses categories that do not strike contrasts with respect to consistent sets of dimensions; they cannot therefore be compared, and one cannot decide whether a thing belongs to one category or another. It is unsystematic, and it cannot provide a

very good basis for theoretical understanding. But instead of regarding this sort of thing as a primitive trait in the medieval intellect, we might consider that our expectations in naming and classifying are inappropriate to the early medieval way of organizing material, and look for alternatives that may bring us closer. We can suggest two intersecting ways of thinking about the problem that may provide better access.

For the first, this exercise in inquiring "What's in a name?" has amounted to a sort of re-enactment of Ludwig Wittgenstein's reasoning about the way we think about categories and whether particulars belong to them. [3] His question is about how we decide that particular activities are called "games".

> I mean board-games, card-games, ball-games, Olympic games, and so on. What is common to them all? — Don't say: "There *must* be something common, or they would not be called 'games'" — but *look and see* whether there is something that is common to all. — For if you look at them you will not see something that is common to *all*, but similarities, relationships, and a whole series of them at that . . .
>
> And the result of this examination is: we see a complicated network of similarities, sometimes similarities of detail.
>
> I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than "family resemblances;" for the various resemblances between members of a family; build, features, colour of eyes, girth, temperament, etc. etc., overlap and criss-cross in the same way.
>
> . . . And we extend our concept as in spinning a thread we twist fibre on fibre. And the strength of the thread does not reside in the fact that some one fibre runs through its whole length, but in the overlapping of many fibres.

We regard this piece as a trope, and another because it is in some important ways like the first, and then another and another, and so on. But in the collection that we accumulate in that way there can be two that are very *unlike* one another. Does it not seem likely that, to the medieval mind, the category "tropus" formed itself in just this way? There are different aspects of tropes in respect of which they may be alike or dissimilar from one to another: the proximity to the mass, the assimilation and juxtaposition of biblical and other texts, the use of certain stereotyped texts, such as the exchange at the sepulchre, the exhortation to sing, the identification of feasts, the apostrophizing of a group of celebrants, the modelling on antiphons, hymns, or other types of liturgical song, the tone of praise, the practice of concretizing pre-existant texts as speech-acts. If these are the fibres in the thread that runs through the trope genre, then some of them are longer than others. But the thread itself is constituted by the overlapping and interweaving and criss-crossing of the fibres. We have only to add to Wittgenstein's image that any of these fibres may run into another thread in what is really a network.

It is striking that we cannot arrive at a very satisfactory characterization of the trope genre by means of the identification of a constellation of features that is common to tropes, that is by way of the morphological description of works.

Putting this in the terms of our earlier discussion of the genre concept, it

means that of the three perspectives that this concept entails, the view on tropes from the perspective of the work has not been very productive. Our observations and generalizations have been focused instead on the other two points of the triangle, as we might put it, the maker and the public. We have been led to interpret the material in terms of systems and traditions for composing tropes — in the literal sense of putting them together — adapted to particular ritual functions and purposes, cast in particular tones, directed at particular celebrants. The generative systems for tropes have certain points of contact with systems for composing other kinds of ecclesiastical songs, and the several systems jointly constitute a larger planetary system that is dependent upon the central function of the mass, itself a fluctuating phenomenon. The individual items that were produced and that we find depicted in the manuscripts, always in different local configurations, are better understood in the context of such a total dynamic system, than in terms of a sharply partitioned classification of fixed works.

That brings us to the second way of thinking about the problem. What we have just said amounts to a recognition that we are dealing with the productions of a culture that retained the residual habits and techniques of an oral tradition while exercising the technology of writing of which it was coming into increasing possession and control and which, conversely, was coming increasingly to control its productions. The fixed work is not the principal unit or the highest goal of artistic production in such a culture. Artistic production depends, not on a tradition of artists consciously working in view of an advancing standard to produce monuments of high art, but on generative systems through which the items of art that are needed may be produced locally, for local use, according to local needs. This is not to deny that artistic skill may be exercised and that productions of high aesthetic achievement may result. It is, however, to affirm that one of the premises on which the genre concept has been postulated — the centrality of the work and of a continuous tradition of works — is foreign to the culture with which we are dealing, and that the difficulties that have arisen in attempting to apply that concept here are directly related to that fact. These difficulties do not constitute a failure, but an important historical realization.

Some of the most characteristic features of the products of fully and residually oral traditions can be recognized among the tropes, and we have already taken note of them: expressions which are stereotyped, heavily patterned or formulaic, and highly contextualized; a rhapsodic manner of composition in which elements of different origins are juxtaposed and recombined; highly evocative and referential language; the maker adopting the tone of the performer or speaker and addressing his *listeners* directly (thus the heavy use of the imperative and the second person plural).[4]

But on the other hand the material of the tropes shows, perhaps better than any other similar material, how the technology of writing in the early centuries

of its widespread use, was in the service of this kind of artistic production. The core of the *Quem quaeritis* tradition is a *text,* the bases of many early trope compositions are biblical texts, the practice of juxtaposing texts, especially with such a large number of texts in circulation, was surely dependent on writing, the growing tendency to compose decorative — particularly hexameter — trope texts, and especially the close musical settings of these, must have been supported by writing.

These latter tendencies, in both poetry and music, begin to give to tropes the appearance of the pursuit of particular artistic tasks under particular artistic standards. In this sense the tropes took on a characteristic that has generally been taken as a basis for the identification of a genre. So that perhaps we may say that it is an aspect of the history of the trope genre, that it took on one of the main attributes of a genre in the course of its history. While it seems not justifiable to assume the applicability of the genre concept to early medieval song from the start, it may be that the changes that were taking place during the Middle Ages can in part be characterized by observing that the Genre concept *becomes* relevant.

II

One of the most intriguing problems of medieval studies is that of the origin of medieval drama and hence of the birth of modern theatre. The question about the "trope" genre lies at the heart of that problem. But the material basis for the question seems to be simple and straightforward.

The liturgical Easter play always has just one little text, a dialogue between the women at the empty grave and the angel, always with the same three utterances: first a question, *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, christicolae* — then the answer: *Iesum Nazarenum crucifixum, o caelicolae* and finally the response that changes everything: *Non est hic — surrexit sicut praedixerat* followed by the exhortation *Ite nuntiate quia surrexit, alleluia.*

This text appears in several sorts of liturgical books: missals, breviaries, antiphoners, tropers, etc. and it can be embodied in different series of antiphons, of tropes and of sequences, and in a sometimes highly elaborated liturgical play. It can be followed by the Resurrection introit, *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum,* and is then a trope, belonging to the mass; it can be followed by *Te deum,* which fits it for Matins, and it can be followed by various other songs. This has created the occasion for an enormous amount of writings. One principal task is to determine systems and categories in which to place the different *Quem quaeritis*-songs; another principal task, related to the first one, is to find out how the tradition began, what came first... And then come all the problems of performance, of variants... [5]

However, what is striking is that it is always the same small text that is transmitted, the three utterances with scarcely any changes, from the early tenth century down to Renaissance. Even embodied in a sophisticated context, with elaborated strophes in different meters, our text nucleus is always the same.

It is quite clear that this text was sung as a trope, is named trope in the rubrics of several manuscripts, just as it is true that in many other manuscripts it clearly is regarded as something other than a trope — for instance in those liturgical books not containing other tropes.

Now we will not deal at all with the liturgical drama-question, whether or not the drama originated as a trope. But there are at least two important conclusions from what we have said about *Quem quaeritis* for our subject: 1) We have an extremely clear case of a text being used *both* as a trope and as something else. 2) We have here the evidence of a dramatic genre of trope which has even been a model for other similar tropes constructed in the same way with a question, replies and an exhortation: *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* for Christmas, *Quem creditis ascendentem in caelum* for Ascension etc. [6]

But it can be said that the *Quem quaeritis* is a special type of trope, different from the normal trope. What then is a normal type of trope?

Instead of pursuing the long story of the attempts to define "trope" — let us quote the well-known definition by Durandus de Mende (1230—96).[7]

> Tropus est quidam versiculus qui praecipuis festivitatibus cantatur immediate ante introitum quasi quoddam praeambulum et continuatio ipsius introitus ut verbi gratia in festo Nativitatis. Continet autem tria tropus, videlicet antiphonam, versus et gloriam. (Rationale IV, cap. 5 § 5.).
>
> /The Trope is a kind of a little verse which on special feast days is sung immediately before the introit as a sort of a prelude and continuation of the very introit, for instance in the Christmas feast. The trope thus includes three items, that is the antiphon, the verses and the Gloria./

Hence, trope texts introduce and are intercalated in the mass songs. In order to learn what the normal case is for this genre, let us look at one or two examples, chosen from the rather rich tropers of Apt. These two manuscripts are the subject for a thorough study by Gunilla Björkvall, soon to be published. [8]

For now we will deal with the proper tropes. First, let us see how the later of the two, Apt 17, from the end of the 11th century, presents the tropes for the resurrection introit. It offers a rich choice, 13 sets of tropes. [9]

Example 1

Apt 17 (Resurr intr)

p126 11
 Hora est psallite
1. iubet domnus canere
 eia dicite

» An(gelus) «
Quem quaeritis in sepulcro o xpisticole
» R(espondent) «
Hiesum nazarenum crucifixum o caelicole
» Ang(elus) «
Non est hic
surrexit sicut prędixerat
ite nunciate quia surrexit
» Cant(ores) «
Alleluia
ad sepulcrum residens angelus nunciat
resurrexisse Xpistum
» Ang(elus) «
Ecce completum est illud
quod olim ipse per prophetam dixerat
ad patrem taliter inquiens
RESUR(REXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM . . .)
» Tr «
2. Ecce pater cunctis ut iusserat ordo peractis
p127 RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Victor ut ad caelos calcata morte redirem
POSU(ISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Quo genus humanum pulsis erroribus altum
scanderet ad caelum teneo de morte triumphum
MIRABI(LIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
» P «
DOMINE PRO(BASTI ME ET COGNOVISTI ME
TU COGNOVISTI SESSIONEM MEAM ET RESURRECTIONEM MEAM)
» Al «
3. Factus homo tua iussa pater moriendo peregi
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Abstuleras miserate manens mihi reddita lux est
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Plebs caecata meum nomen non novit amandum
MIRAB(ILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
» It tropos «
4. Aurea lux remeat Hiesus iam morte perempta
sic cruciger patri Davidis fatur in odis
RESUR(REXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)

68

p128 Quo compos hominis caelos iam victor adirem
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Omne quod est fuerat superest tu noscis ob idque
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
O paradisicole cherubin in laude ciete
ALLELUIA

» P « INTELLE(XISTI COGITATIONES MEAS A LONGE
SEMITAM MEAM ET DIRECTIONEM MEAM INVESTIGASTI)

» It(em) «

5. Ego autem constitutus sum rex
prędicans pręceptum tuum
et morte devicta
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Dormivi pater et surrexi diluculo
et somnus meus dulcis est mihi
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Ita pater sic placuit ante te
ut moriendo mortis mors fuissem
morsus inferni et mundi vita
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
Qui abscondisti hec sapientibus
p129 et revelasti parvulis alleluia
ALLELUIA

» Ad gloria «
Sit semper illi gloria laus et honor
nos quaesumus conserves
in haec sacra solemnia canentes
eia eia
GLORIA SECULOR(UM) AMEN

» It tro «

6. En ego verus sol occasum meum novi
et super eum solus ascendens
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Destructo mortis imperio
POSU(ISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Quoniam mors mea facta est mundi vita
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
Exurge gloria mea fili
exurgam diluculo pater
ALLELUIA

» It(em) «

7. Iam tua iussa pater mortem superando peregi
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
P130 Vincere quo mundum mortem zabuloque valere
POSU(ISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Mistica perdocui gemina sacramenta sophię
MIRA(BILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
Omnia quae sperant pater hinc te laude canendo
ALLELUIA
EXPUR(GATE)
8. Resurrexit dominus
auctor lucis adest cui
non pepercit pater inde
refert illi gratias
RES(URREXI)
Passus ut homo
surrexit ut deus
ultro sustulit mortem
qui omnibus dat vitam
et nunc conlaudans patrem dicit
ET ADHUC (TECUM SUM)
Quo tremuit terra moriente
quo pavefactus inferus ad se intrante
p131 nunc resurgens affatur patrem
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Corpus iacens in sepulcro
munitur custodibus
anima secum reduxit
quos tenebat Tartarus
fideles tantum
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
Alleuia decantemus
resurgenti domino
omnis clerus atque vulgus
cum fideli populo
quem laus decet honor virtus
in excelso solio
ALLELUIA
» P « SURREXIT
» It tro «
9. Gaudete et lętamini fratres
quia surrexit dominus alleluia
iocundemur cum illo dicentes eia

RES(URREXI)
Dum resurgeret in iudicio deus
p132 ET AD(HUC TECUM SUM)
Terremotus factus est magnus
angelus domini descendit de caelo
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Contremuit terra Xpisto surgente a mortuis
MIRAB(ILIS FACTA EST)
Custodes velut mortui effecti sunt
SCIENTIA (TUA)
Nimio timore angeli
ALLELUIA

10. Claustra destruxi inferni
et subverti potentias diaboli
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Te pater omne pariter proclamans conlaudat
POSU(ISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Tu me probasti et cognovisti resurrectionem meam
tu me formasti
et manu dextera tua tenuit me
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)

11. Hodie resurrexit leo fortis
xpistus filius dei
p133 deo gratias dicite eia
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Gaudeamus omnes
resurrexit dominus
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Vicit leo de tribu Iuda
radix Iesse
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
» It(em) «

12. Hunc diem Xpistus patri sacravit sic dicens
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)
Deus enim et homo pariter ego sum
POS(UISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Ego dormivi somnumque cepi et ecce
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)
Leo fortis de sepulcro resurrexit hodie
deo gratias dicite eia
RES(URREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM)

13. Calcato mortis aculeo resurrexi hodie
eia eia

POSU(ISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM)
Quos redemit suo sacro sanguine
et vocavit ad gloriam
MIR(ABILIS FACTA EST SCIENTIA TUA)

The first set is the Easter dialogue, the old and famous *Quem quaeritis* about which we already have spoken. This dialogue has an equally old introduction, *Hora est psallite,* which also functions as an introduction in several other contexts. It is really an invitation to sing, without any allusions to the Christian context: ''It is time, sing. The master (the bishop or priest) bids us sing. Say eia. ''And after the dialogue, first the singers relay the angel's report that Christ is risen, then the angel passes from the dialogue to the introit antiphon: ''It is fulfilled, that which he once said to the father through the prophet, saying thus: *Resurrexi.''* The very special and typical function of the trope could not be better exemplified than by this trope line: introducing a sentence by explaining who says what, and to whom, binding together the Old Testament text with that of the gospel. Note the role of the adverbial expressions: *olim* — once upon a time, which places the text of the introit in its original context, and *taliter,* ''thus'', placing it now in its new context.

Following this first trope set, there are twelve more. Of these the 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 7th are hexameters of the ''normal kind'' — the introit is introduced and twice intercalated with one or two hexameters and eventually followed by one before the alleluia. In these texts it is mostly Jesus who speaks, in the first person, and the pronoun *ego* is even used more than once. Base liturgical text and trope text fit together syntactically. We can see how similar those hexameters in the different tropes are:

Ecce *pater* cunctis ut *iusserat* ordo *peractis* (2)
Factus homo tua *iussa pater* moriendo *peregi* (3)
Iam tua *iussa pater* mortem superando *peregi* (7)

The father is apostrophized, the son has fulfilled *(peregi)* his orders *(iussa).* One could go on and look at many such small building blocks used repeatedly in slightly changed combinations. One sees also how the base liturgical text is paraphrased and explained, thus the somewhat obscure Psalm text *Mirabilis facta est scientia tua* has introductory tropes such as *Plebs caecata meum nomen non novit amandum* or *Omne quod est fuerat superest tu noscis ob idque* — the verb *nosco, novi* takes up *scientia.*

The fifth and sixth trope sets are different: they are in prose and have different themes or images. But they too begin by putting the introit text in the mouth of Christ risen, and this is very strongly underlined by the word *ego.* If we look more closely, we will find that the prosaic building blocks in these trope lines already belong to the Liturgy: scriptural quotations, echos from antiphons and responsories etc.

When we come to the ninth trope set, we can observe a quite different type. All the foregoing tropes are explanations, theological commentaries or ornamentations. Only the trope elements introducing the doxology, in the fifth trope set, and "Alleluia" in the eighth trope set have the classical hortatory form: *Sit semper illi gloria laus et honor . . . in haec sacra solemnia canentes,* and *Alleluia decantemus resurgenti . . .* which binds the jubilation to the actual feast.

But the ninth trope set begins by inviting the people to sing, and its form is very "classical": *Gaudete,* an exhortation in the imperative plural, directed to the singers *(fratres); quia,* which tells why; *iocondemur,* with its first-person subjunctive form, embraces the entire celebrating community. The connection with the introit text occurs through *cum illo* — it is Christ who says *Resurrexi.* This is the first occurrence of the word "eia" in all the tropes for this feast, except for the very beginning. The model for this procedure — an exhortation in the second person imperative, immediately followed by a subjunctive in the first person plural — is the Invitatory Psalm (95), *"Venite, adoremus."* This, being sung daily, was not only well known, but the rhythm of its procedure must have been assimilated deeply in the minds of all present. In this sense the "form" is a productive model, a mental template. [10]

Let us look at the rest of this trope: mere scriptural quotations, and half of them from the New Testament. The base liturgical text is cut into smaller pieces and its syntax is interrupted by the tropes:

	Trope		*Base text*
1	The earth was shaken when Christ rose from the dead	a	It was made wonderful
2	The guards became as though dead	b	through thy knowledge
3	and through the great fear caused by the angel		

The original order of the base text: a b

The order of the troped text: 1 a 2 b 3

The fact is that introit and trope do not fit together in a very obvious way.

In nos. 10—13 we have four trope sets to *Resurrexi* (or two, if we take the texts preceding and following the rubric "item" as belonging to the same set). Three types of trope expression are involved: In the first, the psalm is transformed to have Christ speak and introduce the word *Resurrexi.* In the second, quotations from other parts of the Bible are brought into this context

(e.g. *leo fortis* from the Apocalypse). And in the third, the feast itself is named *(Hunc diem, hodie, gaudeamus, eia).*

Apt 17 is not only a late manuscript, a very rich troper which represents different influences, but it is also a troper composed by someone who worked in a quite conscious manner, reworking, arranging. We can see how much he changed the set *Resurrexit dominus* which is transmitted with bad Latin in other sources. It is also very clear what is meant by ''trope'' here. The rubrics, the arrangement, show that the Apt scribe knew quite well what he meant by ''trope''.[10 bis].

Looking at the collection as a whole, it seems to be ordered on more than one principle. It begins with the old dramatized *Quem quaeritis* trope to the introit and the mass, perhaps because it had the greatest prestige. Then come three hexameter tropes of a similar type, presumably later than the first. The eighth seems much older, and could be introduced into this fine troper only after a thorough reworking. 9—13 seem to represent the oldest layer.

In any case, what is most interesting is that the Easter introit tropes in this book constitutes such a cross-section of genres. We shall return to this later. Now we may consider the introit tropes for Easter in Apt 18, the older of the two. The series begins also with *Quem quaeritis* and its introduction, which is followed by about half of the tropes in Apt 17, but presented *in nearly reverse order.* Using the numbering in Apt 17, they are 11—13, 9, some of 6, and finally 4 (the only hexameter trope in this series). This seems to substantiate the common understanding that the oldest tropes were of a more biblical type and were based on the poetic conceit of the invitation to the singer to perform the liturgical chant. In the later tropes, which are often in hexameters, the texts are more given over to commentary and ornamentation. [11] But we must consider the rest of the Proper tropes for Easter Sunday in the Apt manuscripts. The example is from Apt 18 (example 2).

Example 2

Apt 18 (Resurr off; com)

22

f41 » Ad of «
f41 v Iam surrexit dominus salvator mundi
hodie apparuit mundo Christus Iesus
cantate illi
TERRA TREMUIT (ET QUIEVIT)
Ab increpacione et ira furoris domini
TERRA TREMUIT (ET QUIEVIT)
Monumenta aperta sunt
et multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt
DUM RESURGERE(T)
Christus iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos

74

quando venerit
IN IUDICIO (DEUS)
(C)hristo resurgente a mortuis
venite adoremus eum omnes
huna voce proclamantes
ALLELUIA
Notus es dominus in Iudea
salus eterne
gracias agamus deo ipsi
eia et eia
» V « NOTUS IN IUDEA DEUS (IN ISRAEL MAGNUM NOMEN EIUS)
f42 Factus est in pace locus eius
resurrexit dominus
gloria laus et honor sit semper illi eia
ET FACTUS EST IN PACE (LOCUS EIUS ET HABITATIO EIUS IN SION)
Ibi confregit potencias
arcum et bellum fortissimum
IBI CONFREGIT CORNU ARCUM (SCUTUM ET GLADIUM ET BELLUM
ILLUMINANS TU MIRABILITER A MONTIBUS AETERNIS)
» Ad comm «
(Venite populi ad sacrum . . .)
Laus honor virtus deo nostro
decus et imperium regi nostro
qui precium redemcionis nostre
» co « PASCHA NOSTRUM (IMMOLATUS EST CHRISTUS)
Peccata nostra ipse portavit
et propter scelera nostra oblatus est Christus
ALLELUIA
ITAQUE EPULEMUR (IN AZYMIS SINCERITATIS ET VERITATIS)
f42v Leo fortis de tribu Iuda
hodie surrexit a mortuis
ALLELUIA
in cuius laude
celsa voce perthonate
ALLELUIA
» item «
Hec est festa precelsa
convenite omnes sacrum corpus percipere

una voce proclamantes
PASCHA (NOSTRUM . . .)
(CT III, *Tropi selecti* pp. 339—340)

If we consider the offertory and the communion tropes in these two Apt manuscripts, the situation for the same feast looks very different. First we have the same tropes in the two manuscripts with very few exceptions. We have no hexameter tropes at all but mainly biblical quotations embellished with laudatory exhortations. (Note again the invitatory form *venite adoremus.)* Further, in contrast to the introit tropes, which constitute a rather local repertory, we have here tropes that are transmitted in all regions. In other words, we cannot trace a historical pattern, such as it seemed we could among the introit tropes. What we see in Apt — that tropes of different genres have both a different character and a different type of transmission — is typical, and would be found in sources from other regions. Wherever we follow repertories, we shall notice that anytime we are tempted by an attractive generalization, we will encounter something that contradicts it. [12]

III

We shall now continue the effort to describe the trope genre by trying to place items into different kinds of systems.

Tropes are often versified — and we have more than hexameters, e. g. the quantitative Ambrosian strophe or, what is more frequent, a rythmic imitation of it. We even have quite a wonderful example of a Sapphic strophe (CT I, p.98, *Gaudeat cunctus populus per orbem . . .)* [13] There are scriptural quotations and other quotations from liturgical texts. There are tropes in a typical antiphon or responsory style. Baumstark has shown how a great number of texts beginning with *Hodie* are Latin adaptations from Byzantine sources, and exactly this style is fecund for the trope authors. [14]There are even some tropes written in the style of the orations. There is the German type of trope with a greater theological sophistication, the English type of rhetorical exuberance with a pronounced joy in using rare words, there is the typical Italian type of exhortation to praise. [15]

One could even make a classification according to length — what a difference between the short gloss-type, only one or two words inserted in the base-liturgical texts, and the long introductory songs of a more independent character. There is the established classification in terms of the music-text relation: logogene and melogene tropes. All our examples hitherto have been logogene tropes, but those where texts were underlaid to a preexisting melody must follow other laws, must be very bound by their original text. [16]

And there is yet another classification: ordinary tropes and proper tropes.

Richard Crocker has stressed the independent nature of the tropes and also the difference between tropes: proper tropes adapted to old Gregorian introits are something quite different from, say, ordinary tropes where we know nothing of the existence of the melodies before their appearance in the manuscripts provided with tropes. What Crocker calls "The troping hypothesis", has, according to his famous article of 1966, been an obstacle that has prevented people from really seeing the shifting nature of the genre called "trope".

Crocker is right when he shows how various songs called tropes can be. If we use the term "trope" for so many different things, we must of course be aware of those differences. If we call them tropes, we follow the practise of many medieval manuscripts, but far from all of them. Eva Odelman has shown in her article *Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes?* [17] that all sorts of items are called tropes in one place and by some other name elsewhere — *versus, laudes, prosa, prosula,* etc. — but that the term *tropus* is the most frequently used. The point, then, is not to think of introducing a new terminology, but rather to continue in the effort to understand what was embraced by "tropus".

First it must be stated that even the classifications already mentioned are dubious. The same trope element is sometimes used for different mass antiphons and also for different feasts. But there is much more. We can cite a few examples based on the analyses of Gunilla Björkvall in her forthcoming book on the Apt tropers.

In Apt 18 there is a prosula to the alleluia *Pascha nostrum: omnium vita mori voluisti pro cunctis salvator. O bone Iesu Christe, qui in cruce pependisti.* The same text appears as one of the elements in a Gloria trope from Winchester, Saint Evroult and Apt which has paschal themes. [18]

The well known and widely spread Easter-prosulae, *Iam redeunt gaudia* and *Christe tu vita vera* function quite clearly in Apt 18 as prosae introduced by "Alleluia", finished by "Amen" and with every strophe ending in "a". [19]

We can take our last example from the Apt manuscripts, the Gloria trope in hexameter, *Omnipotens aeterne deus, spes unica mundi/Qui caeli fabricator ades, qui conditor orbis.* Those two beginning hexameters are taken from Sedulius' *Carmen paschale I,* verses 60—61, a poem used for several different liturgical purposes. [20]

Other examples are Alleluia verses used as tropes and alleluia prosulae used as introit and offertory tropes. There are hymn strophes — and even such a very well known one as the Pentecost hymn *Iam astra Christus ascenderat* — used as introit tropes; antiphons or responsories used as proper tropes, an Agnus trope used as a proper trope or vice versa, etc. [21]

Among the most fascinating things of this kind are actually the Agnus tropes, where it is hard to say whether one really should speak about tropes at all. Among the most wide-spread are tropes which are exact quotations from the Angels' hymn, the *"Doxologia maior", Gloria in excelsis deo:*

Qui sedes ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis and *suscipe deprecationem nostram.*
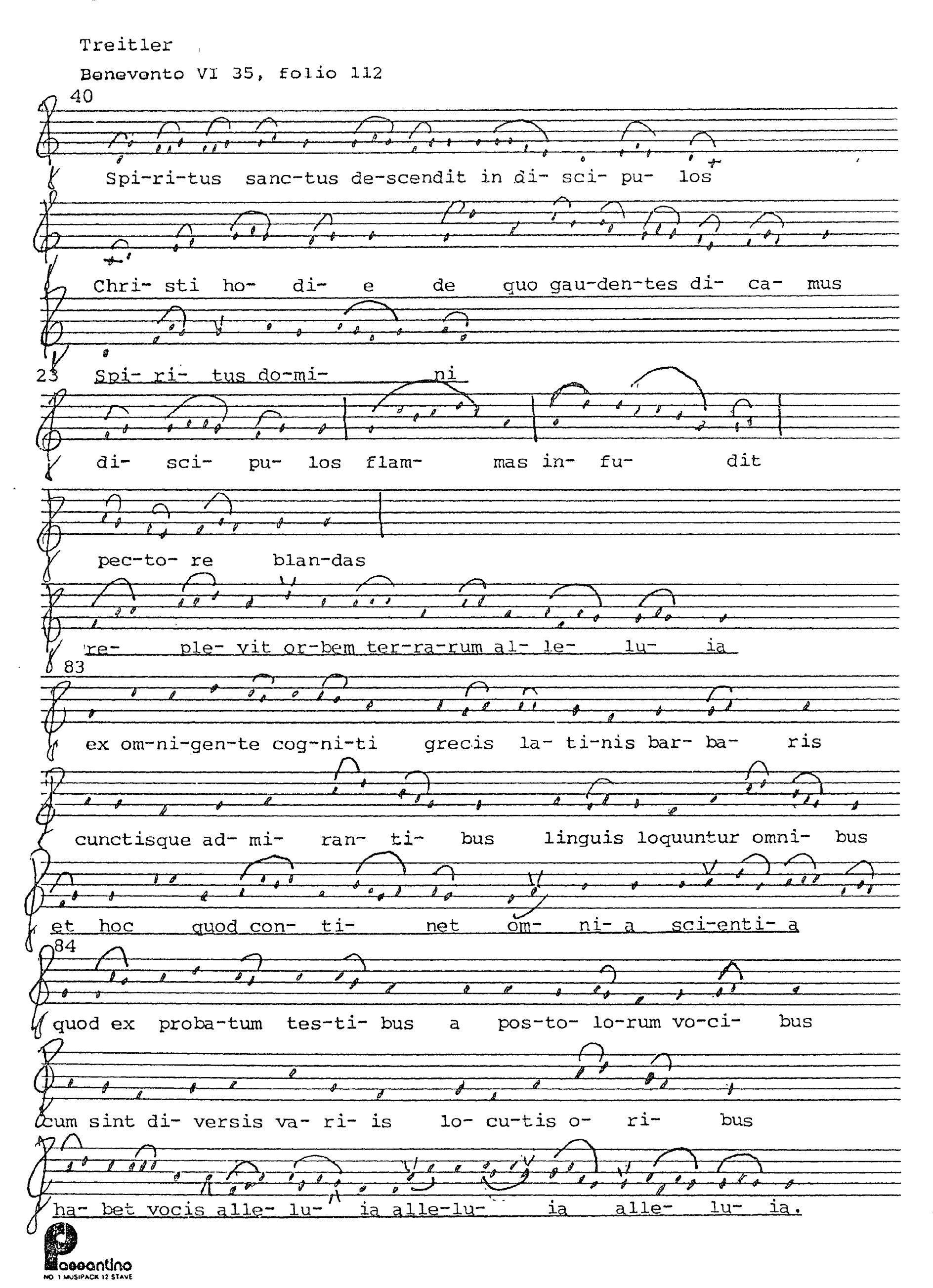
These quotations also belong to the Litany. Gunilla Iversen has argued in what we find a convincing way that in spite of their proximity to these other already established genres, we should take them as tropes when they are included together with the Agnus Dei in the manuscripts. The same can be said of the Greek version of the Agnus Dei, *O amnos,* also used as a trope.[22]

We have so far confined our attention to the linguistic component of tropes, and for the problem that concerns us here that is appropriate. For a concept of a trope genre can emerge, if at all, mainly — perhaps only — from the interaction of literary and ritual factors. But attention to the melodic aspect will produce a similar impression about the sort of tradition we are dealing with. We illustrate with a single trope complex for the introit of the mass for Pentecost, inscribed in the manuscript Benevento VI, 35 (example 3). The melody of the introductory element (40) could easily be taken for an 8th-mode antiphon (an example is given below the transcription of element 40). The style of the second element (23[a]) is quite different; it is the later, highly articulated and symmetrical trope-melody style that corresponds or better, responds, to the hexameter style of the verse.[23] The third element (83) presents a style typical of yet another genre, the Ambrosian hymn; it is in fact the sixth strophe of the Ascension hymn *Iam Christus astra ascenderat.*[24] And the fourth element is a direct imitation of the third.

This particular congeries of trope verses and their melodic settings is unique to this manuscript. With respect to its melodies it displays some of the same general characteristics that we have observed with respect to the linguistic aspects of tropes: composition on the model of different traditional types of ecclesiastical song, an ecclectical association of loosely connected elements, stitched together by a common function, the uniqueness of the item for a particular manuscript, and on the other hand signs of the crystalization of a style that came to be characteristic in the later stages of the practice.

If we try to come closer to a medieval conception of the tropes as a genre, it might perhaps be rewarding to go back to the oldest, most archaic manuscripts containing tropes. The two most interesting of them are without any doubt Verona 90 from Monza and München 14843 from Toul.[25] Both these manuscripts are quite important for the discussion concerning the rise of the sequences, since they also contain some of the oldest sequences. Both mss are without notation and the liturgical parts are smaller enclaves in books that contain for the most part texts of quite different sorts, e. g. texts by Isidore of Seville, various didactic texts, Carolingian rhythmical poems etc. Another interesting feature is that there seem not to be any boundaries between the different liturgical items.

Example 3


Treitler
Benevonto VI 35, folio 112
40
Spi-ri-tus sanc-tus de-scendit in di- sci- pu- los
Chri- sti ho- di- e de quo gau-den-tes di- ca- mus
23
Spi- ri- tus do-mi- ni
di- sci- pu- los flam- mas in- fu- dit
pec-to- re blan-das
re- ple- vit or-bem ter-ra-rum al- le- lu- ia
83
ex om-ni-gen-te cog-ni-ti grecis la- ti-nis bar- ba- ris
cunctisque ad- mi- ran- ti- bus linguis loquuntur omni- bus
et hoc quod con- ti- net om- ni- a sci-enti- a
84
quod ex proba-tum tes-ti- bus a pos-to- lo-rum vo-ci- bus
cum sint di- versis va- ri- is lo- cu-tis o- ri- bus
ha- bet vocis alle- lu- ia alle-lu- ia alle- lu- ia.
Passantino
NO 1 MUSIPACK 12 STAVE

Example 4

''In Palmis'' •
Hodie fratres karissimi •
adoremus Christum filium dei
cum ramis palmarum •
DOMINE NE LONGE
Inproperium expectavit cor meum
et sustinui •
dicite filii eia •
Pater si non potest hic calix transire •
nisi bibam illum
fiad voluntas tua •
''In Pascha''
Hodie exultent iusti
resurrexit leo fortis
deo gratias dicite •
RESURREXI •
Terra tremuit et quievit
leo fortis • resurrexit dominus
deo gratias eia •
Notus est dominus in Iudea
salus aeterna •
gratias agamus deo illi eia eia •
Et factus est in pace locus eius •
IBI CONFREGIT •
Pascha nostrum ymmolatus est Christus •
ipse est enim verus agnus • eia •
VIRI GALILEI •
Ascendit deus in iubilatione •
Psallite domino
qui ascendit super caelos caelorum •
Spiritus sanctus descendit super apostolos
deo gratias dicite •
CONFIRMA HOC DEUS •
Alleluia excipias nostra studia
et gaudia manentia largiaris nobis deus • in secula •

80

In palmis. Hodie [illegible] adoremus
xpm filium di cum ramis palmarū [illegible]
In proprium expectavit cor meum et sustinui
dicite filii eia. Pater si non potest hic calix tran
sire [illegible] fiat voluntas tua. In pascha
Hodie exultent iusti resurrexit leo fortis deo gra
tias dicite. Resurrexi. Terra tremuit et quie
vit leo fortis. resurrexit dns deo gratias eia. Nonne
e dns in iudea salus sancta. gratias agimus deo illi
eia eia. Et factus est in pace locus eius.
Ibi confregit. pascha nostrum immolatus est xps. ip
se est enim verus agnus. eia. [illegible]
Ascendit ds in iubilatione. psallite dno qui as
cendit super caelos caelorum. Sps scs descendit
super aplos deo gratias dicite. Confirma hoc ds.
[illegible] [illegible] maguntia
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

Example 5

135

134v

Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis

Laudat in excelsis caelum terramque regentem

angelicus coetus laudat et omnis homo

Laudamus te

Te benedicit ovans angelica celsa potestas

et mortalis homo te benedicit ovans

Benedicimus te

Te adorant dominum cuncta caterva polorum

te tellus pelagus laudat et orat amat

Adoramus te

Glorificant dominum rutilantia sidera caeli

glorificant te rex cuncta creata tuis (= tua)

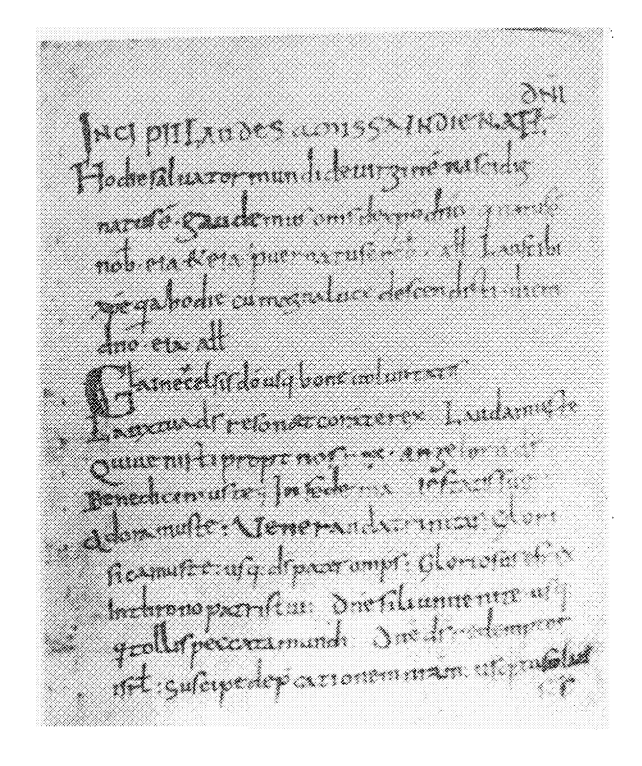
Glorificamus te gratias agimus tibi . . . .

. . . . . suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Qui super astra sedes ad dexteram patris in altum

rex caeli famulis tu miserere tuis

Qui sedes ad dexteram



135v

Let us first look at the proper tropes. In Mü 14843, they are on one page, fol 94 (Example 4). The two rubrics identify the feasts as Palm Sunday and Easter, but the incipits of mass antiphons refer also to Ascension and Pentecost. The rubrics do not call these texts tropes, but we can recognize them in five cases from other later manuscripts which are without any doubt tropers. Thus, the text *Hodie exultent iusti* appears in twelwe manuscripts with slight variants, *Notus est dominus* in nine and *Terra tremuit* in five.[26] Whatever these texts are in this manuscript, they are regarded as tropes in other manuscripts. Subsequently, we might take the other texts in this manuscript page as tropes, especially as their style is the same. The first one, *Hodie fratres karissimi,* for instance, is unique for this manuscript but as a type very like other tropes. Finally, the last of the texts, *Alleluia excipias nostra studia,* is a bit different in style but has the typical alleluia prosula character with all the words ending in *a,* the position of the words giving the vowels of *a e u a (largiaris nobis deus in secula).*

It is easy to see what is typical of the proper trope genre in this old manuscript. First of all, most texts are biblical. Specifically, they all belong to psalms or to other scriptural texts used in the traditional liturgy for these Easter feasts.

Secondly, there are liturgical formulas of the most current and well known type: twice the *"Hodie",* placing the text into the present, then apostrophizing of the community with *fratres, karissimi* formulas from the epistles which are often used in the Liturgy. We have the subjunctive form *adoremus* or the imperative *dicite,* belonging to the same type.

Thirdly, what is perhaps most characteristic, there are not only the short phrases giving information about the content of the feast, such as *cum ramis palmarum* or *resurrexit leo fortis* or *Spiritus sanctus descendit,* but there are even texts which are nothing else than the base liturgical texts, namely the offertory verses; but not the whole of the offertory verses, only the beginnings, followed by the most striking thing of all, *deo gratias dicite, gratias agamus deo illi eia eia.* This is exactly the type of trope found in the two Apt manuscripts, a type which thus survives even when the trope genre has developed into something else, for example the hexameter proper tropes in Apt 17. We could be tempted to define the trope genre as a liturgical text of mostly biblical content, followed by some formula containing the words *dicite eia, deo gratias.*[27]

But let us now look at the proper tropes in the Verona manuscript. (Example 5). We have two items, on fol 135 and 135v and both are provided with rubrics: *Laudes ad introitus in pascha domini,* which is astonishingly exact; it gives us not only the feast but the exact place in the mass. The text is *Quem queritis* introduced by the introduction *ora est psallite iubet domnus canere eia dicite.* On the other side of this same folio, the rubric is *Incipit laudes (sic!) ad missam in die natalis domini.* Easter comes before Christmas. This is not a "normal" liturgical manuscript.

The text is *Hodie salvator mundi de virgine nasci dignatus est. Gaudeamus omnes de Christo domino, qui natus est nobis, eia et eia,* followed by *Puer natus est nobis.* This is quite clearly an introduction to the introit of the third Christmas mass. This trope appears in 11 manuscripts from Mainz and Italy with exactly the same typical features: *Hodie,* the feast theme mentioned briefly, the exhortation to joy and the characteristic word *eia,* twice repeated. The following phrase is also well-known and wide-spread: it is the Alleluia prosula *Laus tibi Christe quia hodie cum magna luce descendisti. Dicite domino, eia, alleluia*[28].

Now, we could say that the trope genre might be defined as a kind of verse having some sort of liturgical character. The introduction function is clear. But similarly clear is the key role of the offertory texts and especially the offertory verses. If one were inclined to see the introit tropes as the very earliest of proper tropes, one would probably be mistaken. In the München manuscript we have three tropes to the offertory verse and the incipits of the offertories. Now we can come back a little to our Apt examples, where we saw that the two manuscripts, representing different ages or generations in trope-making, have nearly exactly the same offertory trope repertory. We can also see that these offertory tropes are not only enormously wide-spread, but also note that they even appear in some manuscripts that do not have other tropes. (This concerns the series *Ab increpatione et ira, Monumenta aperta sunt, Christus resurgens a morte)*[29].

Tropes as genre: — is it not then a matter first of liturgical texts used in a new context, and then newly created texts only in a later period when the hexameters invade the practice of troping?

The München manuscript also contains the hymn ascribed to Fortunatus, *Quem terra pontus ethera;* sequences, some of them very short, and the Gloria trope *Laus tua deus resonet coram te rex.*[30]

The same Gloria trope (on fol. 135v) and some of the same sequences appear in the Verona manuscript. The Verona manuscript also has a fraction antiphon and two more Gloria tropes. The first Gloria trope, *Laudat in excelsis celum terramque regentem* is entirely in elegiac distics, even with some Leonine rhymes. The text is not at all of the primitive kind that repeats already existing parts of liturgical texts, but a very conscious type of troping of the Gloria. In its style, it has a striking similarity to the so-called ''versus'', which are often processional songs used in Saint Gall, Reichenau etc[31]. What conclusions can we draw from all of these observations? What is typical for the trope as a genre?

First of all, there is no difference between the basic principles on which tropes and other liturgical songs and texts are made. Since the same biblical texts can be used — and in fact are used — in many different ways, also other texts can have very different functions in the liturgy. The liturgical authors act as bees, according to an image by a medieval author, flying from one flower to another and sucking the sweet honey where they can find it. We can see this procedure

everywhere, for instance among the antiphons and the responsories in the editions of Hesbert, where quite a lot of versified items have been picked out from Sedulius or Fortunatus, for instance. Hymns destined for the divine office can be used in other contexts. A very interesting example of that occurred when archbishop Stephan of Liège created the first series of antiphons and responsories for the feast of the Holy Trinity. Among other things he quite simply chose the doxologies of well-known hymns which were naturally nothing other than praise to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit[32]. We can take such a wonderful example as the passage in some of the Italian versions of the *Exultet,* borrowed from Vergil's epic poem on agriculture, *Georgica,* in praise of bees.[33]

As this principle obtains also in the tropes, it is quite natural that we have a constant interaction between tropes and other genres, both in that the same texts appear as tropes and as other chants and also that tropes often are similar to songs of other genres.

It is not altogether incorrect to postulate some sort of evolution from a type of simple verse such as the tropes from the two very archaic manuscripts (Vro 90 and Mü 14843) to the more elaborated hexameter type in Apt 17. This is suggested especially in cases where trope writers appear to be intentionally completing a troper on an older substrate, and choose the hexameter form for their new texts. Apt 17 and the Winchester troper are clear cases[34].

We should not forget that some of the early types remained in the repertory throughout the history, and among the most interesting of those are the *Hodie* type, the *Quem quaeritis* and similar tropes. We must also bear in mind that the hexameter is not a new invention. From antiquity through the entire Middle Ages hexameters were created for all purposes, and a highpoint in the hexameter tradition is just the so-called Carolingian Renaissance. Thus, there is also an old tradition of hexameters from the beginning of troping. The Gloria trope in Verona 90 with its perfect elegiac distichs is a trope genre as old and as important as the other type of tropes.

We can summarize the subject in the following way. The oldest manuscripts make no clear distinction between tropes, sequences, fraction antiphons, hymns, etc. — There is simply some sort of liturgical bulk in a manuscript whose main contents are non-liturgical. If we look at all manuscripts containing tropes, even those with very clear rubrics, we will see that everywhere they also contain other genres, mostly sequences, or prosulas, or offertory and alleluia verses. They may be combined with tonaries, they may be graduals containing tropes and sequences etc. All this shows very well the medieval idea of the trope as a genre: the main idea is that there is one genre which is that of the mass — and which does not always have such sharp boundaries as one might think, as can be seen from the *Quem quaeritis* belonging sometimes to the mass, sometimes to matins and often being placed between the two. The Mass has some very firm and constant texts without any variants at all and some

texts which change slightly and some texts which change sometimes. It seems best to see tropes as belonging to this higher order genre, the mass text, always with the mass as its center, and then with different and shifting circles of tropes, sequences, processional antiphons, verses, songs of different kinds always interfering with and influencing one another, but never isolated, never as something one ought to study apart from its context.

Notes

1. Plato, *Statesman,* 287c.
2. "El idioma analitico de John Wilkins," published in his *Obras completas,* vol. 8, *Otras inquisiciones* (Buenos Aires, 1960) p. 142. English translation by Ruth Simms, *Other Inquisitions, 1937—52* (Austin, 1964) p. 103.
3. *Philosophical Investigations: the English Text of the Third Edition,* translated by G.E.M. Anscombe (New York: Macmillan, 1958 (66—7.)
4. For a recent general survey of scholarship treating such traditions, see Walter J. Ong, S.J., *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York: Methuen, 1982).
5. The literature on the Liturgical Drama in the Middle Ages can be reached through the bibliographies: C. Stratman, *Bibliography of Medieval Drama,* New York 1972 and C. Flanigan, *the Liturgical Drama and its Tradition: A Review of Scholarship 1965—1975 (Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 18 (1975) pp. 81—102; 19 (1976), pp. 109—136).* Some new literature is presented in the bibliography of *Corpus Troporum III, Tropes du propre de la messe 2, Cycle de Pâques* (ed. Björkvall, Iversen, Jonsson) pp. 363—377. In the same volume, the texts of *Quem quaeritis* are edited pp. 217—223. The fundamental edition is W. Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele,* I-V Berlin 1975—76. See also S. Rankin, *The Music of the Medieval Liturgical Drama in France and in England* (Ph. Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1—2, 1982, unpublished); *Musical and Ritual Aspects of Quem quaeritis, Liturgische Tropen,* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, hrsg G. Silagi, München 1985) pp. 181—192 and R. Jonsson, *The Liturgical Function of the Tropes, Research on Tropes,* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Konferenser 8, Stockholm 1983, pp. 99—123).
6. Quem quaeritis in praesepe, Corpus Troporum I, Tropes du propre de la messe I, Cycle de Noël, Stockholm 1975, p. 173—4, 261 et 279 ss; *Quem creditis super astra,* Corpus Troporum III, p. 173.
7. The best survey of definitions of the tropes is unfortunately not printed; it is an essay by Craig McKee, *The Hoping Trypothesis,* written in the University of Notre Dame, School of Theology, December 1979. It refers to R. Crocker, *The Troping Hypothesis* (Musical Quarterly, 52, 1966, pp. 183—203). See also B. Stäblein, *Tropus,* in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
8. The Apt trope manuscripts are treated in *Corpus Troporum V, Les deux tropaires d'Apt. Inventaire et étude analytique* par G. Björkvall, to appear in 1986. The music of the introit tropes of Apt 17 is in large measure published in *Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi 3, Introitus-Tropen 1,* Hrsg. G. Weiss, Kassel 1970.
9. The Resurrection introit is taken from Ps. 138, 18, and 5—6, from the old version *Psalterium Romanum; Resurrexi, et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia; posuisti super me manum tuam, alleluia: mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia alleluia.* The introitus verse is from the same psalm 1—2: *Domine probasti me et cognovisti me: tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.* The trope texts from the Apt manuscripts are all included in a critical edition in the *Corpus Troporum III.* Some sources of the text are also given in this edition as well as commentaries. This diplomatic version from Apt 17 is taken from the *Tropi Selecti,* pp. 322—326.

10. See new *Grove Dictionary,* articles *Psalmody* (T. Connolly) and *Invitatory* (R. Steiner).
10 bis. Cf. Gunilla Björkvall, *"Resurrexit dominus": Un trope pascal — ou deux?* (Liturgische Tropen, Hrsg G. Silagi, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36) München 1985.
11. The introit tropes for Resurrection Sunday in Apt 18 are on fol. 33v—34. See also the table in CT III, p. 257.
12. The offertory tropes for Resurrection Sunday in Apt 17 are on fol. 144—145 and those for Communion on fol. 147—148. See also tables in CT III p. 260 and 262.
13. See Peter Stotz, *Sonderformen der Sapphischen Dichtung (Medium Aevum-Philologische Studien 37)* München 1982, p. 328.
14. See A. Baumstark, *Byzantinisches in den Weinachtstexten des Römischen Antiphonarius Officii.* (Oriens Christianus II, 1936 pp. 163—187); Die Die *Hodie-Antiphonen des Römischen Breviers und der Kreis ihrer Griechischen Parallelen* (Die Kirchenmusik, X, 1909—10, pp. 153—160) and R. Jonsson, *Historia, Etudes sur la genèse des offices versifiés,* p. 39 ss, 202 et 204.
15. (Corpus Troporum = CT). An example of an Ambrosian strophe in a trope is *Ex omni gente cogniti* (CT III p. 99), of scriptural quotation *Terraemotus factus est magnus* (CT III p. 202), *Expurgate vetus fermentum* (CT III p. 100), of antiphon and responsory style *Hodie namque Christo* (CT III p. 112), *Hodie spiritus sanctus* (CT III p. 115), of oration type *Oramus te, o beate baptista Johannes* (CT II p. 87), of German type of theological treatise *Ex semine davitico* (CT I p. 321), of English rhetorical type *Lucida culmina stelligeri caeli* (CT III p. 135), and of Itaian praising style *Benigne pater* (CT IV p. 41).
16. Examples of very short tropes, "glossa type" are *Immortalis factus* (CT III p. 122), *Igneis linguis* (CT III p. 121) and *Vide pater* (CT III p. 212); of longer types are *Haec est nimis praefulgida festa* (CT III p. 108), or *Ingresso Iesu in praetorio* (CT III p. 125). Almost all the prosulae edited in CT II, *Prosules de la messe I, Tropes de l'alleluia* (ed. O Marcusson), are melogene tropes.
17. E. Odelmann, *Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes? Observations sur les rubriques des tropes des Xe et XIe siécles* (Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 18 (1975) 15—36).
18. *Omnium vita mori voluisti* is unique for Apt 18 (CT II, p. 120). Its first half is also a part of the Gloria trope *Laus tibi domine.* W.H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper* (H.B.S. 8, London 1894, p. 55) and A. E. Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester,* (Princeton 1977, II p. 274).
19. CT II, pp. 117—118; See also Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum,* nr 9363. The prose is in Apt 18, fol. 43v, without notation.
20. The Gloria trope is, in this version, unique for Apt 17, fol. 189. Carmen Paschale; CSEL X, p. 20.
21. An alleluia verse used also as a trope is *Amavit eum dominus* (CT II p. 19 and CT I, p. 58). The alleluia prosula *O redemptor omnium* (CT II, 84, II) functions also as an introit and an offertory trope (CT I p. 152), in all cases for the same feast, Epiphany. The strophe from *Iam astra ascenderat* (Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns,* Cambridge 1922, nr 116 p. 368) is *Ex omni gente cogniti,* (CT III p. 99) The antiphon *Hodie namque Christo* (Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii,* II, nr 3107), is an introit trope at Palm Sunday (CT III p. 112) and the responsory *Spiritus Sanctus procedens a throno* (CAO IV nr 7693) is, slightly remade, an introit trope for Pentecost, (CT III p. 116). Finally, *Aurea lux* seems to be both an Agnus trope (CT IV, p. 68 ss) and an introit trope element (CT III p. 61).
22. See CT IV, pp. 223; 229—240; 253—259 et 293. See also C. Atkinson, *O amnos tu theu: The Greek Agnus Dei in the Roman Liturgy from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century* (Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch (1981) pp. 7—30).
23. For a detailed analysis of a trope in this style, see our paper "Medieval Music and Language. A Reconsideration of the Relationship," in *Studies in the History of Music, I: Music and Language* (New York: Broude Bros., 1983). P. 1—23.
24. A.S. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns.* 368—371. Cf also note 21.
25. For Verona 90, see Crocker (ibid.), H. Spanke, *Deutsche und französische Dichtung des Mittelalters,* Stuttgart 1943, p. 33 ss); for München 14843, H. Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften* (RISM) München 1946, pp. 78—79), and W. von den Steinen, *Die Anfänge der Sequenzendichtung* (Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte 1946, p. 253—263).

26. See CT III pp. 111; 147; 203.
27. A discussion of offertory tropes of this kind takes place in J. Johnstone, *Beyond a Chant: "Tui sunt caeli" and its Tropes* (Studies in the History of Music, 1, Music and Language, New York 1983), pp. 24—37.
28. CT I p. 112; CT II p. 38.
29. Voir CT III pp. 53, 139, 68—69. Cf. John Johnstone, *The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmissions, and Function.* Ph. D. Dissertation at the Ohio State University (unpublished) 1984.
30. Walpole, *Early Latin Hymns* p. 198; Analecta Hymnica 47, p. 282.
31. AH 47 p. 226. See also P. Stotz, *Ardua Spes Mundi. Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus Sankt Gallen* (Bern/Frankfurt am Main 1972).
32. R. Jonsson, *Historia,* p. 164—176.
33. See the article *Exultet* in New Grove's dictionary by Michel Huglo. See particularly *Supplementum Anianense* (J. Deshusses, Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, Spic. Friburgense 16, Fribourg Suisse 1971) nr 1022b, p. 362 and Vergilius' Georgica 152—205.
34. A. Planchart has treated this question in *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester 1—2, Princeton 1977. . .* passim. See also G. Björkvall, CT V.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[6]

Beyond a Chant: "Tui sunt caeli" and its Tropes

John G. Johnstone

It has been justly remarked that "one of the most perplexing issues facing investigators of liturgical music in the ninth through eleventh centuries is the relationship between trope and chant."[1] Perhaps the primary reason for our puzzlement is the trope's double identity as both a textual and a musical phenomenon. Léon Gautier, in his groundbreaking study *Les Tropes*, published in 1886, dealt only with trope texts.[2] An edition of trope texts published in 1905 as part of the *Analecta Hymnica* series also ignored the trope melodies.[3] Shortly after the *Analecta Hymnica* edition appeared, Peter Wagner criticized its editors on the grounds that "surely many tropes could be better understood with the help of their melodies."[4] Although musicologists are currently restoring the trope melodies,[5] and although a new edition of trope texts is in progress,[6] Wagner's admonition has gone largely unheeded, for no thorough examination of the relationship between text and music in tropes has been made.

Paul Evans' examination of the earliest manuscript sources led him to offer the following definition of the term *trope*: tropes are "additions to the antiphonal Proper chants of the Mass [introit, offertory, and communion] . . . and additions to the chants of the Ordinary." Both music and text of these

[1]Charles M. Atkinson, "The Earliest Settings of the *Agnus Dei* and its Tropes," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1975), p. 1.

[2]*Histoire de la poésie au moyen âge*, I: *Les Tropes* (Paris, 1886; repr., 1966).

[3]Clemens Blume and H. M. Bannister, eds., *Die Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae*, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, 47 (Leipzig, 1905; reprint, 1961); Clemens Blume, ed., *Die Tropen zum Proprium Missarum*, Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi, 49 (Leipzig, 1906; reprint, 1961).

[4]Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*, 3 (Leipzig, 1911): 503.

[5]For examples of such restorations, see Atkinson, "Earliest Settings"; David Bjork, "The Kyrie Repertory in Aquitanian Manuscripts from the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1976); Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton, 1970); Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (Princeton, 1977); Günther Weiss, *Introitus-tropen*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi, 3 (Kassel, 1970).

[6]Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jonsson, eds., *Corpus Troporum*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (Stockholm, 1975–).

additions are newly composed, and the texts, particularly of the tropes to the antiphonal chants, "relate the texts of the Mass chants which they embellish to their particular feasts."[7]

Evans and Heinrich Husmann have demonstrated that trope texts serve to introduce the chant texts which follow them and that these introductions are often syntactically linked to the chant texts to form an altogether new and integrated entity.[8] A different conception prevails concerning musical relationships between trope and chant. Richard Crocker argues that trope melodies are stylistically distinct from their chant counterparts, and this view has been supported largely by examples of tropes for the Mass Ordinary.[9] Evans finds the musical styles of trope and chant to be similar, but he agrees with Crocker that trope melodies are generally complete, ending with a cadence that serves to distinguish the tropes "as independent, self-sufficient musical compositions."[10]

Here, then, are two seemingly contradictory stylistic features of the trope. Trope texts intermingle with chant texts, often forming an organic whole, while trope melodies are independent units, stylistically more similar to each other than to chant melodies. In a paper first presented at a study session on chant at the 1979 meeting of the American Musicological Society in New York and now included, in expanded form, on pp. 1–23 of the present volume, Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler discussed this problem with specific reference to the Pentecost introit trope "Discipulis flammas." They traced textual variants of the trope, then analyzed the ways in which these variants—often having theological implications—were reflected by musical differences. Their work clearly shows that in such cases trope melodies support their texts.

A notable example in which music and text combine to form an organic entity unifying chant and trope is provided by the tropes for the offertory "Tui sunt caeli" from the third Mass on Christmas Day. The main set of tropes to be considered in this study, "Qui es sine principio," is taken from the Aquitanian repertory. This trope set is found in all but one of the southern French tropers, as well as in manuscripts from England, northern France, and Italy.[11] The four

[7] *Early Trope Repertory*, p. 3.

[8] Evans, *Early Trope Repertory*; Husmann, "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen Veranschaulicht an den Introitustropen des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959): 135–47.

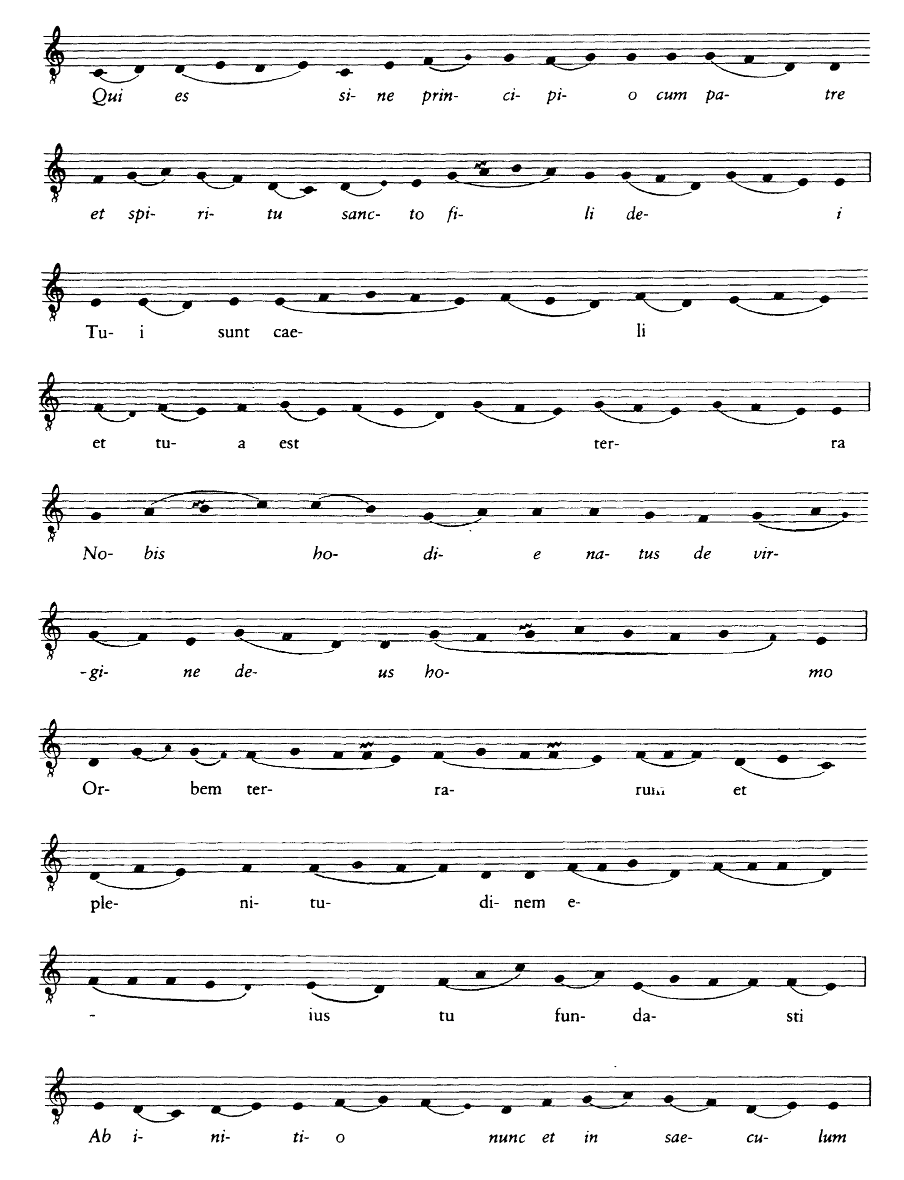
[9] Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis, " *Musical Quarterly*, 52 (1966): 183–203. See also Charles M. Atkinson, "The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and its Tropes," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 30 (1977): 1–19; David Bjork, "The Kyrie Trope," *Journal of the American Musicological Sociey*, 33 (1980): 1–41.

[10] Evans, *Early Trope Repertory*, p. 74.

[11] For a concordance of this set, see Ritva Jonsson, ed., *Corpus Troporum I. Tropes du propre de la messe I. Cycle de Nöel*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia, 21 (Stockholm, 1975). In general, only the Aquitanian manuscripts transmit the set's fourth element, "Praeparatio."

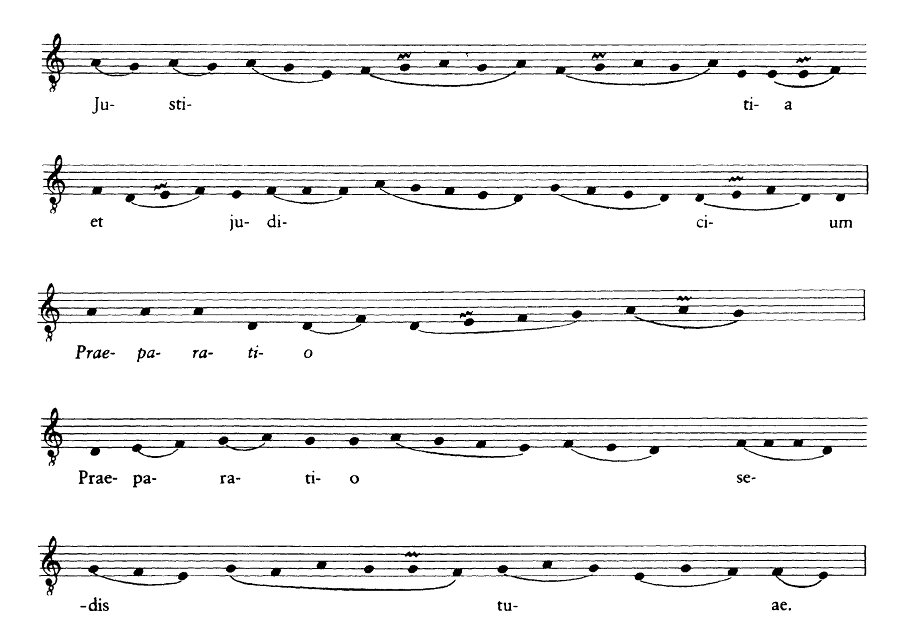
elements of the set are inserted between phrases of the offertory antiphon (Ex. 1). In the example, trope lines are printed in italics.

Example 1. Offertory Antiphon "Tui sunt caeli" with Trope Set "Qui es sine principio"[12]



[12]The antiphon and trope melodies are transcribed from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1871, fol. 5r. Citations to manuscripts from the Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin, will henceforth take the form "Paris" followed by the manuscript number.

Example 1, continued



The first element of the trope set—"Qui es sine principio cum patre et spiritu sancto fili dei" (O Son of God, you who are without beginning, with the Father and the Holy Spirit)—echoes in thought and structure the opening lines of the Gospel for the third Christmas Mass, John 1:1–14 (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Parallel Construction of Gospel and Trope Texts

In principio erat verbum	Qui es sine principio
et verbum erat apud deum	cum patre et spiritu sancto
et deus erat verbum	fili dei
In the beginning was the word	You who are without beginning
and the Word was with God	with the Father and the Holy Spirit
and the Word was God	O Son of God

The noun "principio" (beginning) appears in conjunction with Christ in the first phrase of each text. The reference to Christ in the Gospel is through the symbolism of "verbum"—"And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us" (John 1:14). In the trope, the relative pronoun "qui" refers to "fili dei" (O Son of God). It is important to consider the discrepancy between the Gospel's use of "principio" (beginning) and the trope's use of "sine principio" (without beginning). John's conception of "principio" seems to be drawn from Genesis 1:1—"In principio creavit deus caelum et terram" (In the beginning God created heaven and earth); that is, "principio" suggests the beginning of the world. But Christ, who was present at the world's beginning ("In principio

erat verbum"), has no beginning himself, since he, as God ("deus erat verbum"), is timeless. Christ, paradoxically, is both temporal and eternal, both man and God. The trope phrase "Qui es sine principio" emphasizes this paradox by describing Christ as being without beginning.[13]

The second phrases of the Gospel and trope, using the synonymous prepositions "apud" and "cum," associate Christ with God—"The Word was with God" ("apud deum") from the Gospel, and he who is "with the Father" ("cum patre") from the trope. The third phrase of each text develops this association by introducing the concept of God in Christ—"the Word was God" from the Gospel, and "O Son of God" from the trope. Thus, by recalling the Christmas Gospel, the trope element "Qui es sine principio" renders the psalm text of the offertory antiphon liturgically proper to the Christmas feast.

The antiphon's liturgical propriety is reinforced by a syntactical connection between the trope and offertory antiphon. In the first phrase of the untroped antiphon, "tui" refers to God—"Tui sunt caeli et tua est terra" ([O Lord God,] yours are the heavens and yours is the earth).[14] In the troped antiphon, "tui" refers to Christ ("fili dei")—"O Son of God, you who are without beginning, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, yours are the heavens and yours is the earth." This passage again recalls the creation text from Genesis, but here heaven and earth belong to Christ as the Son of God, a modification that reinforces the concept of Christ, the Word, as God's creative force ("Through him [the Word] all things came to be"—John 1:3).

Christ's incarnation is the theme of the second trope element—"Nobis hodie natus de virgine deus homo" (God as man, born of a virgin to us this day). This text serves a double function. It is associated with the antiphon phrase that follows it—"Orbem terrarum et plenitudinem eius tu fundasti"—because it supplies the reference to Christ ("deus homo") for the pronoun "tu"—"You [God as man] have founded the world and all that is in it." The trope is also associated with the antiphon phrase that precedes it ("tua est terra"—"God as man, born of a virgin to us this day, yours is the earth."). Whereas the first trope element establishes the heavens ("tui sunt caeli") as the domain of the eternal Christ ("Qui es sine principio"), "Nobis hodie"

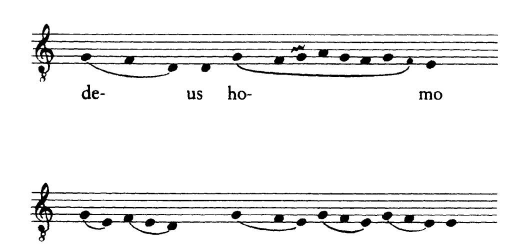
[13]The formulation of this paradox can be traced at least back to the Church Fathers. St. Augustine says that "although God is eternal and without beginning, he caused time to have a beginning, and he made man within time" (*De Civitate Dei*, Book 12, ch. 15). Furthermore, "God's son, assuming humanity, without destroying his divinity, established and founded his faith, that there might be a way to God, through God as Man" (Book 11, ch. 3). The paradox of Christ as both temporal and eternal is the subject of other Christmas tropes as well. "Hodie cantandus," an introductory trope for the Christmas introit, "Puer natus," speaks of Christ as begotten of the Father before time ("ante tempora") and also begotten of the mother within time ("sub tempora"). I am grateful to Professor Ritva Jonsson for bringing "Hodie cantandus" to my attention.

[14]The offertory antiphon and verses are drawn from Psalm 88. The context of the psalm indicates that "tui" refers to God.

establishes the domain of Christ incarnate ("Deus homo") as the earth ("tua est terra").[15]

The music of "Nobis hodie" reinforces the latter connection. The musical setting of the words "deus homo" approximates the setting of the words "tua est terra" in the antiphon and therefore supports the syntactical connection between these two phrases (Ex. 2).

Example 2. Musical Similarity between "deus homo" and "tua est terra"



That this is so may seem surprising in view of Evans' contention that "tropes, as we know them from even the earliest of Western manuscripts, appear to have been conceived, not as extensions of plainchant, . . . but rather as introductions to it."[16] Evans recognizes the technique of ending a trope line with the music that ends the preceding chant phrase, but he sees this as a purely musical phenomenon. He maintains that "the melody of a trope line is brought to a close with a literal quotation of the conclusion of the preceding chant line, so that the melodic connection between the trope and the phrase which follows will be identical to that between the two phrases of the chant when no trope is present."[17]

The significance of this technique is, at times, greater than that of musical connection. A version of the trope set "Qui es sine principio" found in the Winchester trope manuscripts supports this view. In these manuscripts the opening of the first trope element conforms to the opening of the antiphon

[15]The distinction between the heavenly and the earthly Christ is made by St. Paul and St. Augustine. St. Paul says, "The first man, Adam, became a living soul, but the last Adam has become a life-giving spirit. . . . The first man, being from earth, is earthly by nature. The last man is from heaven" (1 Corinthians 15:47–48). St. Augustine, commenting on this passage, interprets the "last man" as Christ. But "Christ also condescended to take such a body [i.e., the body of the earthly man], not of necessity but as an act of power. Afterwards will come the spiritual body like that which has gone ahead of us in the person of Christ" (*De Civitate Dei*, Book 13, ch. 23).

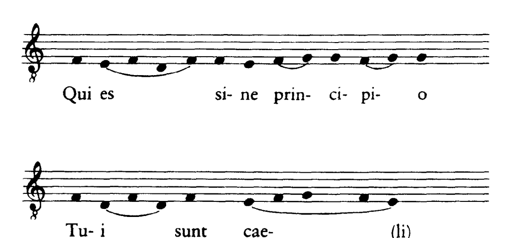
[16]"Some Reflections on the Origin of the Trope," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 14 (1961): 128.

[17]*Early Trope Repertory*, p. 91.

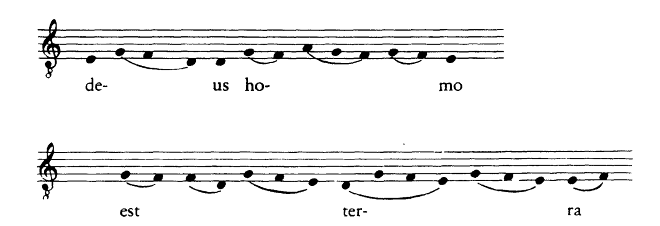
"Tui sunt caeli" (Ex. 3a).[18] A syntactical connection is reinforced here, just as in "Nobis hodie," by the use of similar musical settings for related clauses.[18]

Example 3

a. Musical Similarity between "Qui es sine principio" and "Tui sunt caeli" in the Winchester Tropers



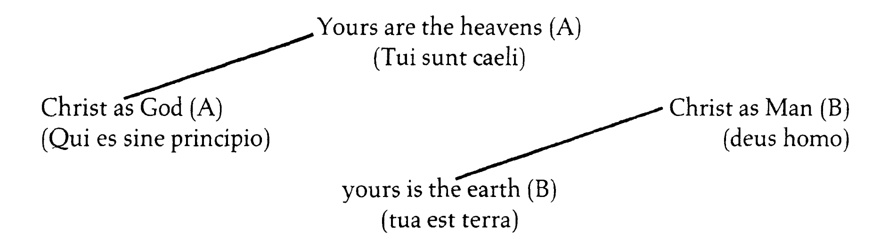
b. Musical Similarity between "deus homo" and "tua est terra" in the Winchester Tropers



The musical similarity between "deus homo" and "tua est terra" in the Winchester tropers, illustrated in Example 3b, persists, although both the trope and the antiphon are slightly different from the Aquitanian versions. Indeed, a symmetrical structure is created which is charged with symbolic meaning. The opening of the first trope element is syntactically and musically related to the opening of the first antiphon phrase, and the end of the same antiphon phrase is syntactically and musically related to the end of the second trope element (Fig. 2). Christ is therefore represented in a single musical and textual unit as both spiritual and worldly. This structure becomes a symbol for the paradox of Christ's duality, which was introduced by the contrasting use of the word "principio" in the Christmas Gospel and in the trope element "Qui es sine principio."

[18]Both the trope and the antiphon begin slightly differently from their Aquitanian counterparts. The trope melody in Example 3 is taken from the Winchester source as edited by Planchart, *Repertory*, 1:305. The antiphon melody is taken from Paris, n. a. 1235. This manuscript was used by Planchart for his reconstruction of "Qui es sine principio" because it follows the Winchester version exactly. In general, the northern French melodies correspond closely with Winchester, and in this case the cue to "Tui sunt caeli" indicates the version transmitted by Paris, n. a. 1235.

Figure 2. Symmetrical Structure Created by Trope Elements 1 and 2 with Opening Phrase of Offertory Antiphon



The third trope element—"Ab initio et nunc et in saeculum" (From the beginning, now, and forever)—is reminiscent of the second half of the Lesser Doxology—"Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saeculum saeculorum" (As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be). The Lesser Doxology, sung after the psalm verse of an introit, separates the verse from the repeat of the introit antiphon. The "Ab initio" trope functions in a similar way by concluding the first half of the offertory antiphon and by separating it from the antiphon's final phrase—"Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae"—the phrase that serves as the response to each of the offertory verses.[19] It is, once again, important to note that whereas tropes are usually viewed as introductions, in the present case the trope serves as a conclusion.

The "Praeparatio" trope, the final element of the set "Qui es sine principio," is inserted into the offertory antiphon between "Justitia et judicium" and "Praeparatio sedis tuae." Conflicting theories have been propounded regarding the trope text. Paul Evans suggests that the trope consists of the single word "praeparatio," and that it "anticipates the first word of the following chant."[20] *Corpus Troporum* presents a more complex picture. Its alphabetical list of Advent and Christmas tropes includes only the trope "Praeparatio sedis tuae alleluia eia." This trope, which appears in several German and Italian manuscripts, not only anticipates the remainder of the antiphon—"praeparatio sedis tuae"—but also adds the acclamation "alleluia eia." The table that lists tropes by the offertory to which they belong indicates that five Limoges tropers also contain this trope, although only the single word "praeparatio" appears in these manuscripts. The commentary in *Corpus*

[19]Jonsson (*Corpus Troporum I*, p. 296) has also commented about the concluding nature of this trope. In Cambridge 473, one of the Winchester tropers, "Ab initio" ends the offertory antiphon; this is indicated by the lack of a cue after the trope. Jonsson considers the trope an appropriate ending because it has the character of a doxology. In preparation for the discussion below, it is interesting to note the apparent truncation of the offertory antiphon in Cambridge 473.

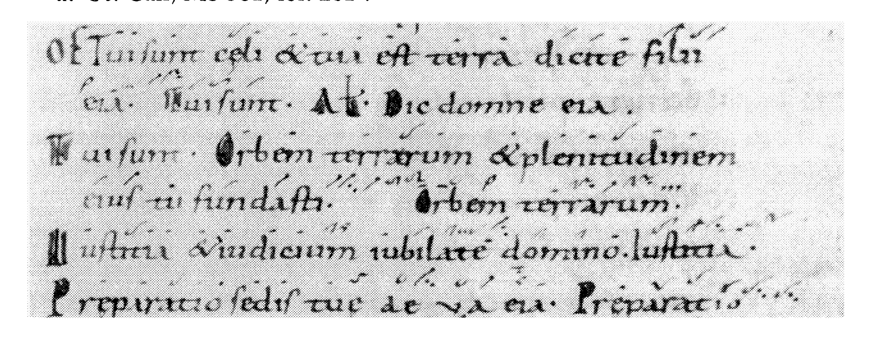
[20]*Early Trope Repertory*, p. 89.

Troporum suggests that the single word is an incipit for the complete trope, and that the incipit may offer an indication of the trope's origin.[21]

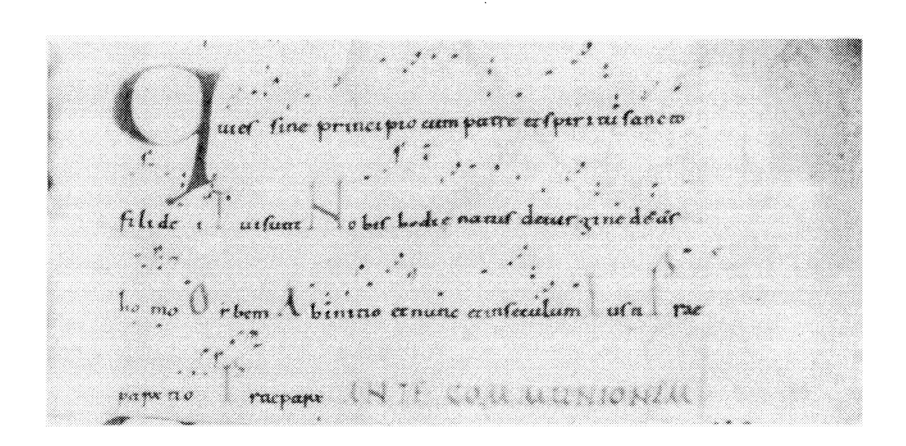
This is, however, unlikely. It is probable that "Praeparatio" and "Praeparatio sedis tuae alleluia eia" are distinct tropes of independent origin. The neumes in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 381, although non-diastematic, are completely different from those in the Aquitanian manuscripts (Plate 1).

Plate 1. Neumes for the two "Praeparatio" Tropes

a. St. Gall, MS 381, fol. 201r.



b. Paris, MS 1121, fol. 4r.



[21] Jonsson, *Corpus Troporum I*. The trope is given on p. 160, the table of offertory tropes on pp. 229–30, and the commentary on p. 265. The concordance for this trope is incomplete, one of the rare errors to be found in this fine series. The editors were aware of the "Praeparatio" text, but were unsure whether it should be classified as a trope or as part of the offertory antiphon. Their uncertainty only helps to underscore the anomalous character of this text. A more complete concordance is given by Planchart, *Repertory*, 2:219–20. He does not indicate the two occurrences of the trope in the Nevers manuscripts, Paris 9449 and Paris, n. a. 1235, since the element is part of a set that is not concordant with the Winchester tropers. Nancy Van Deusen has discussed these two occurrences in her study *Music at Nevers Cathedral*, Institute of Medieval Music, Musicological Studies, 30 (Henryville, 1980), 1:94–96.

Similarly, the trope set that includes the element "Praeparatio sedis tuae alleluia" is altogether different from "Qui es sine principio," the set that contains the element "Praeparatio" (refer again to Plate 1). The St. Gall set consists of textual anticipations of each segment of the offertory antiphon, while "Qui es sine principio" consists of amplifications of the antiphon text, with tropes and antiphon syntactically connected. The St. Gall set is further unified by the virtually identical sequence of neumes at the beginning of each element; the first pes falls on the first accented syllable in each case.

Two additional pieces of evidence suggest that no additional text was intended for the "Praeparatio" trope. First, while one might argue that the presence of a melisma on the last, unaccented, syllable of "praeparatio" is unusual, it must be noted that the final syllable of "praeparatio" in the antiphon is set to a melisma of precisely the same length as that in the trope. Second, in Paris 1084, the word "praeparatio" is followed by a long line over which the neumes of the melisma are written. Not only is such a line used throughout the manuscript to indicate a melisma on the preceding syllable, but the line here occupies a space which would have been sufficient to accommodate the additional words "sedis tuae," had the scribe intended to include them.

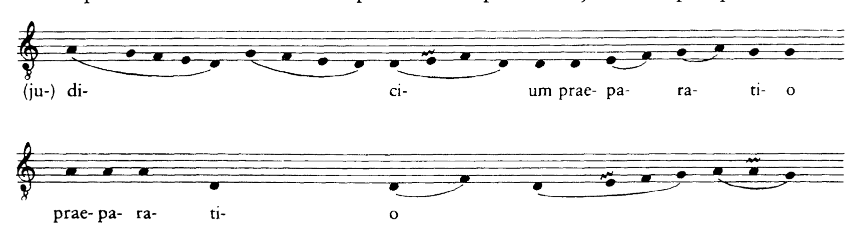
Although the evidence presented above would seem to prove Evans' contention that the "Praeparatio" trope is a one-word insertion preceding the words "praeparatio sedis tuae" of the offertory antiphon, the textual redundancy such an insertion creates is out of character with the other elements of the trope set. In view of the elegance of these additions, is it likely that the "Praeparatio" trope serves simply as an anticipation of the antiphon text? I propose that the trope is, instead, a substitute for the final phrase of the antiphon—"praeparatio sedis tuae"—and furthermore, that it is a substitute which serves as a transition, linking the antiphon both textually and musically with the first verse of the offertory.

The music for the trope condenses the music that sets the words "judicium praeparatio," the two words of the antiphon between which the trope is inserted (Ex. 4).[22] The first part of the trope, setting the first four syllables of "praeparatio," is derived from the setting of "judicium." The remainder of the trope, a melisma on the final syllable of "praeparatio," is an exact quotation of the initial phrase of music that sets "praeparatio" in the antiphon. The musical reference to "judicium" connects the trope organically to the antiphon phrase

[22]Charlotte Roederer makes the same observation in her dissertation, "Eleventh Century Aquitanian Chant: Studies Relating to a Local Repertory of Processional Antiphons" (Yale University, 1971), 1:61. She also remarks that the rest of the trope set, "Qui es sine principio," is stylistically similar to the offertory antiphon. She contrasts this set with the repertory of introit tropes in Paris 903, which are stylistically distinct from their antiphons (1:79–80).

that precedes it, and the exact musical reference to "praeparatio" supports the thesis that the trope functions as a replacement.[23]

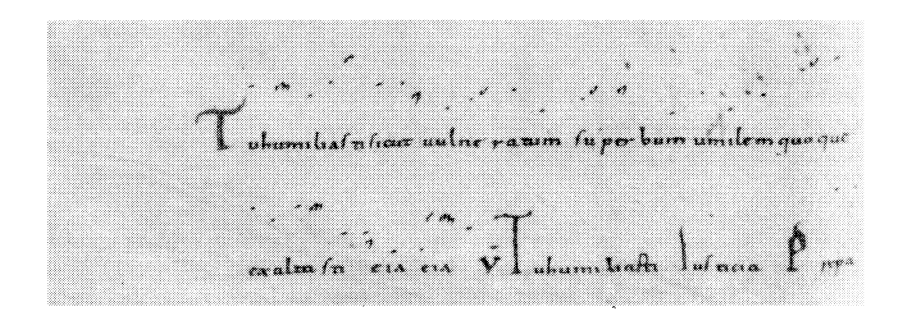
Example 4. Derivation of "Praeparatio" Trope from "judicium praeparatio"



Manuscript evidence also supports the substitution hypothesis. In Paris 1118, tropes for "Tui sunt caeli" are given for both Christmas Day and for the Christmas Octave ("Qui es sine principio" is included only for the Octave Feast). At the end of the verse tropes for Christmas, the offertory response—"Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae"—is given without neumes except over the word "praeparatio" (Plate 2). These neumes provide the music for the trope "Praeparatio," not the music of the response, and offer compelling evidence that the trope was viewed as a substitute for the word "praeparatio" of the antiphon.[24]

A textual connection between the troped antiphon and the first offertory verse also supports the substitution theory. While the meaning of the last phrase of the untroped antiphon is complete and clear—"Righteousness and

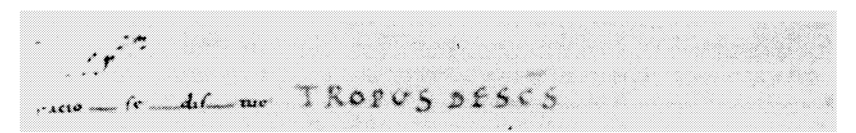
Plate 2. The Verse Tropes and Response for "Tui sunt caeli" from Paris, MS 1118, fols. 15^{v}–16^{r}.



[23]Evans' quotation theory is again called to mind. It is clear that quotation does not act as a musical connection in this case. Instead of preserving the smooth musical line between the two phrases of the antiphon, the quotation here causes the trope to end a fourth higher than the first note of the antiphon phrase "Praeparatio sedis tuae."

[24]Paris 779 provides further evidence of this. At the end of the trope set "Qui es sine principio," a notated cue, "Justitia," is followed by the words "Praeparatio sedis" and then a line (fol. 6^{v}). The trope melody is written over the word "Praeparatio," and "sedis" is left unnotated.

Plate 2, continued



judgment are the preparation of your throne"—the meaning of the substitute text is ambiguous. Since the troped text lacks an object, the response must be read in conjunction with the first verse. The opening line of this verse, introduced by the final phrase of the troped antiphon, now reads: "Justitia et judicium praeparatio. Magnus et metuendus super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt." (Righteousness and judgment are the preparation. Great and feared is he above all who are around him.) Christ is "great" because he is righteous, "feared" because of his judgment.[25] The argument for this interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the "Ab initio" trope separates the main section of the antiphon from the response. The context of the response is therefore provided by the verse that follows it. The textual connection is also reinforced by the similar construction of the two sentences: each begins with an alliterative pair of words, "justitia et judicium" and "magnus et metuendus" respectively. This parallelism becomes obvious in performances of the offertory when the two word-pairs are brought into proximity by the truncation of the antiphon.

If the antiphon comes to an end with the "Praeparatio" trope, a musical difficulty is presented by the trope's cadence. Although the antiphon is in the E-plagal mode and the first three trope elements cadence on E, this trope cadences on G, a rare cadence tone in this mode.[26] Several explanations are possible. First, while the traditional antiphon ends on E, the first verse begins a sixth higher, on C. The trope's cadence on G reduces the leap to the first note of the verse and makes the transition between antiphon and verse smooth.[27]

[25]Again we may consult St. Augustine for proof of the orthodoxy of this interpretation. In his commentary on Psalm 89 (*Enarrationes in psalmos*, Ps. lxxxix), St. Augustine asks how anyone can be around God, who is everywhere. He answers: "Because he who is everywhere chose to be born of the flesh." (Thus this verse is appropriate for Christmas.) Righteousness and judgment he calls the "hidden things of the son." By judgment he means the judgment associated with Christ's first coming, i.e., the judgment that is occurring now, "by which man is either exercised to purification . . . or blinded to damnation." With the aid of this exegesis, the troped offertory may be interpreted as follows: great and feared is Christ, born of the flesh, because of the righteousness and judgment by which he is even now judging men.

[26]For a convenient table of the common cadence tones and alternate cadence tones for each mode, see Bruno Stäblein, *Schriftbild der Einstimmigen Musik*, Musikgeschichte in Bildern, vol. 3, no. 4 (Leipzig, 1975), p. 24.

[27]A number of offertories can be cited in which alterations have been made at the end of a verse and the beginning of the response. An example similar to the "Praeparatio" trope is found in the offertory "In omnem terram." In most graduals the response is the entire antiphon, which begins on E. The verses likewise end on E. In Montpellier H. 159, however, the response is shortened to begin with the words "et in

Another explanation for the trope's cadence on G is supplied by the shift in tessitura that occurs between the antiphon and the first verse.[28] The antiphon rarely rises above A and centers upon F, an alternate reciting tone for the E-plagal mode. The first verse centers upon C, the reciting tone of the E-authentic mode. This modal shift is reflected in the notation of Paris 903. The dry-point line is on F in the antiphon, a placement indicating the E-plagal mode in this manuscript. The dry-point line of the first verse is on G, a placement indicating the E-authentic mode.[29] The modal shift is also indicated in Montpellier H. 159; there the antiphon is labeled plagal, while the first verse is labeled authentic. Since cadences on G are common in the E-authentic mode, the trope cadence may be considered more closely affiliated with the mode of the first verse than with the mode of the antiphon. In fact, the first cadence on G in this offertory occurs at the end of the word "metuendus" in the first verse. Thus, the textual connection between the alliterative last phrase of the troped antiphon—"justitia et judicium praeparatio"—and the alliterative phrase that begins the first verse—"magnus et metuendus"—is reinforced by the use of the same cadence tone for each phrase. The function of the "Praeparatio" trope can therefore be viewed as "transitional." The trope is derived musically from the antiphon, but it anticipates the mode of the first verse, and it allows a smooth melodic and textual flow from antiphon to verse.

It must be recalled at this point that in Paris, n. a. 1871 (Ex. 1) the Praeparatio" trope is followed by the remainder of the antiphon—"Praeparatio sedis tuae"—fully notated. Can this be reconciled with the substitution theory? One possibility, of course, is that the trope was performed differently at different times and in different places.[30] However, another possibility also exists: that both versions were intended to be sung, but at different parts of the offertory—the trope as a transition from the antiphon to the first verse, the other as part of the traditional response ("Justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae") after each of the offertory verses. With respect to this, one final consideration may shed light on the function of the "Praeparatio" trope.

---

fines." The first note of the abbreviated response is C, a sixth higher than the last note of the traditional verse. To accommodate the altered response, the verse has been changed in this manuscript to end on A, only a third below the first note of the response.

[28] Ruth Steiner, "Some questions about the Gregorian Offertories and Their Verses" (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 19 [1966]: 174), observes that changes of tessitura from antiphon to verse occur frequently in offertories.

[29] For a discussion of the significance of dry-point lines, see Dom André Mocquereau's introduction to his edition of *Le Codex 903 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris*, Paleographie Musicale, 13 (Bern, 1925; repr., 1971), p. 160.

[30] Other Aquitanian manuscripts give an unnotated cue, "Praeparatio," after the trope. This does not necessarily conflict with the substitution theory. The cue may have been used simply to indicate the placement of the "Praeparatio" after "Justitia et judicium."

As Joseph Jungmann points out, the purpose of the offertory chant was to accompany the procession of people presenting their offerings. The verse structure of the chant developed, Jungmann suggests, to "give the offertory chant a certain lengthiness, in view of the people's procession." Jungmann also observes that the congregation was expected to make an offering every Sunday as well as on the greater feast days (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost), but that from the eleventh century on, the offertory procession was gradually restricted to the greater feasts.[31] As we have seen, Paris 1118, an eleventh-century manuscript, includes the trope set "Qui es sine principio" only for the Christmas Octave. Since this was not a major feast and generally did not fall on Sunday, it is probable that there would have been no offertory procession. This implies that the offertory verses were not sung and that the antiphon alone sufficed for the offertory chant. It is most interesting, then, that of the four elements of the set "Qui es sine principio," the only one appearing without music in Paris 1118 is "Praeparatio." The scribe copying the trope texts transcribed each of the four elements, but the notator of the music, realizing that the "Praeparatio" trope was not intended to be performed, simply passed over it. That is, in the context of the offertory without its verses, the "Praeparatio" trope was apparently thought to be unnecessary, a circumstance which supports the theory that the trope was used as a link between the antiphon and the first offertory verse.

The relationship between trope and chant is clearly a complex issue. The style of trope melodies may generally be distinct from the style of "Gregorian" chant, and the trope texts may commonly be introductory in character, but these features are not the only possible attributes of tropes. "Qui es sine principio" contradicts each of these rules. Its elements are musically related to the antiphon; the element "Praeparatio" is entirely derived from the antiphon. The trope texts refer to, and belong with, the chant texts which precede them: "Ab initio" concludes the main section of the antiphon, and "Nobis hodie" achieves its symbolism by musical and syntactical links to the preceding chant phrase. "Praeparatio" belongs syntactically with the antiphon phrase that precedes it, but it also links the antiphon both musically and textually to the first offertory verse. It is clear from these results that the liturgical and artistic role of "Qui es sine principio" can be fully appreciated only by studying the music-text relationships between trope and chant. The relationships discovered here suggest how important studies of music and text are likely to be for understanding the musical and liturgical significance of other trope sets.

[31]Joseph A. Jungmann, *Missarum Solemnia* (Vienna, 1949), trans. as *The Mass of the Roman Rite* by Francis A. Brunner (New York, 1955), 2: 29, 20–22.

[7]

The Liturgical Function of the Tropes

Ritva Jonsson

A precious book, bound in sculpted ivory tablets and decorated with a series of remarkable illuminations was laid on the altar in the monastery church of Prüm some time around 995. We have the good fortune to know more about this book than what is usually the case for books of that time. On folio 48 there is a framed, square inscription, inserted in the feast of Ascension, telling us about the book. It gives us the provenance by mentioning the *Cenobium Prumiense,* and the date of origin by telling us the abbot Hildericus, under whose reign the book started to be written and the abbot Stephanus, under whose leadership the book was finished. We are even informed about the monk, Wiking, who paid the costs for the book.

But what sort of a book is it? The dedication inscription calls it "codicem *cantus modulamine plenum*", full of beautiful song, and it is actually an abundantly notated book. It contains series of several types of tropes, for both the proper and the ordinary, and also an abundance of sequences, some few prosulas and even so-called *fractoria,* fraction antiphons. But is it not then a troper-sequentiary? Husmann has not listed it in his catalogue of tropers-sequentiaries in the RISM, classing it as a gradual.[1] To some extent he is right. This precious book from Prüm contains what should be in a gradual: introit, gradual, alleluia with verses, offertory with verses, communion, written out fully and provided with notation. But if it is a gradual, it is defective. It does not contain anything for Advent or for Lent, and nothing for the sundays after Pentecost. It skips from the feast of the Purification to Palm Sunday with its tropes, but it has nothing between Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, nor songs for the Adoration of the Cross nor the *Exultet* for Easter night. We can even find anomalies in it, such as indications for Vespers, difficult to interpret, even sequences for Vespers. There are normal songs for the mass fully written out, that is, introit, gradual etc. for the whole of Easter week, with no tropes except for the first two days.

It is easy to say, and it has been said, that this book is an exception, a book of a quite special ritual character, perhaps a beautiful book made more as a holy sacrifice for special reasons, some gift with a more symbolic function. In that case one would not be astonished by its unusual contents.

But in speaking about liturgical books before, let us say, 1100, what are "usual contents"? A book which happens to have a structure similar to some other contemporary book? For all we know, the Prüm book could have had a lost twin. The more we study liturgy of that period, the more we encounter "exceptions". I think therefore it is wiser to look at this book and at other

books *as they really are* and to try to find some coherent system in what is actually written – and painted – in that book, instead of trying to put it into some system synthesized out of other manuscripts.

I have chosen as an example for such an examination of the Prüm book texts on one feast, Easter Sunday, and I have written down the texts as they are, without changing the spelling or anything else. On this occasion I shall discuss only the texts.[2]

Already the beginning throws us into difficulties, if what we expect is "normal" schemes. One reads in the literature on liturgical drama that there was a twofold use of the short Easter dialogue[3] of which we have here an example: *Quem queritis in sepulchro.* (p. 114) Either it is a trope, belonging to the mass of Easter Sunday and used as an introduction to the introit *Resurrexi,* or it is a celebration text, belonging to Matins, the so called *Visitatio sepulchri,* followed by the *Te Deum,* which is the festive song after the last lesson, in place of the responsory that is used on ordinary days. It is quite clear that in our book, the *Quem queritis* is followed by the*Te Deum.* But it is equally clear that our Prüm book contains the songs of the Sunday mass and not the ritual of the Office. It has nothing of all the texts for the Easter Vigil. In other words, there is no evidence whatsoever that the *Quem queritis* would not have been the introduction to the mass, as we have here the text before our eyes. If for some taxonomical reasons one were to classify this text as an office text, that would be, as I see it, quite irrelevant in this context. Let us rather take things as they present themselves: our mass celebration begins with the *Quem queritis.*

This song starts with a double inquiry: the angel's question about the women's search. This first sentence is concrete, localized at the grave, *sepulchro,* and the women's identity is revealed by the invocation *Christicolae.* The inquiry is repeated, in the form *querimus* in the next sentence; so the change of person *queritis-querimus* underlines the different roles, as does *celicole,* angels, parallel to *Christicole.* The two first sentences simply inquire about the grave. And they simple ask about a man, Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified.

Then comes the peripety in the third sentence, line 1.4. Three short words: *Non est hic.* There is absolutely nothing superfluous. Then comes *Surrexit,* he has risen, the theme of the whole day, and the word *surrexit* is said twice, the first time joined to the promise of Jesus, *sicut predixerat,* the second time to the exhortation directed to the women, the *Christicole,* (line 5), *Ite nuntiate.* The resurrection, now accomplished according to Christ's promise, was announced first by the angels, and now this becomes the women's responsibility: Go and tell. Finally comes the word *surrexit* once again, a third time (line 6), *surrexit dominus,* that is, the antiphon, followed by the jubilant *Te Deum.* I have insisted on looking rather closely at this very famous song: not so much because it is such an important and discussed

text, but because I want us to see how it really functions here to introduce the ritual of the Easter mass.

1) It asks a concrete question:
"Whom do you seek in the grave?"
2) It gives a specific reply:
"Jesus of Nazareth"
3) It gives the *real* answer:
"He is not here,
He is risen."

The gospel of St. Matthew has already been heard during the Easter Vigil and the Gospel of St. Mark will be read at the mass. The *Quem quaeritis* is a condensed gospel, but its point of view is different. If we look at the three synoptic versions of the scene at the empty grave, the angel (or the two angels, if we read the text from Luke) knows already what it is about. In Matthew: "the angel said to the women 'Do not be afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus who was crucified. He is not here: for he has risen, as he said". Mark has nearly the same words: "Do not be amazed, you seek Jesus..." Only in Luke do the angels put a question: "why do you seek the living among the dead?" But this question has no dramatic sense: the angels know already and the form of the question is in fact another expression for "Do not seek the living among the dead".

On the contrary, the *quem quaeritis* text has changed the whole situation and created a dramatic tension: What is it about? Whom do you search in the grave? – Jesus, the crucified. Only then comes the good message, the resurrection.

We have thus a strongly condensed text, dramatic and, if I may say so, a naked, simple version of the gospel without any rhetorical ornaments at all. Yet we have perhaps not underlined the most important function of this text: it introduces the joyful day of victory. But victory, resurrection, comes first after emphasizing the previous struggle. Grave and crucifixion are what dominate the beginning, before the *surrexit.*

This arrangement of the gospel expresses an important theological idea, that of unitotality. Every eucharistic celebration contains the whole economy of salvation, death and resurrection being the very central point. This is not expressed by the introit text, *Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum* etc. However, the *Quem quaeritis* gives by its dramatic dialogue this fundamental total unity from the very beginning of the mass; whether we class it as trope or as drama does not matter.

But let us look at the continuation, at what are doubtless tropes. Generally considered, we can find the same themes also in the tropes: victory over death, resurrection. But the tropes have a more complicated text. Now, first

a parenthetical remark on method: most often one speaks about the tropes on one hand and about the antiphon on the other, and then about the relations between those two different kinds of texts. On the text example (p. 115) the introit text is printed in italics so that it is easy to identify – the antiphon consists of parts of the verses 18 and 5–6 of Psalm 138. But let us here look at the chant text as it stands, without distinguishing between introit and trope.

The opening word is *Christus* (line 7) followed by the ablative absolute: after death has been overcome. This is the day's message. Subsequently comes what is technically an introduction to the word *Resurrexi,* the reported sentence: *personet voce clara dicens* "Christ will sing in a clear voice to his father, saying: I have risen." This division of roles continues: *Filius,* line 9, anew followed by the father: *Filius ad patrem,* and another variation of the death suffered. Literally it is "with the true body of flesh prostrate, the son says to his father: behold I come and still I am with you." A strange Easter song – how should we understand these words?

The most important thing is in fact how the relation between father and son is pointed out. The trope and antiphon represent the son speaking to the Father and his words describe a movement. "I rose from the prostrate body, I come and I am still with you." The last paradoxical statement is explained in the two following sentences: "When the wild crowd of Jews surrounded me, thou laidst thy hand upon me." This is the first concrete allusion to the historical situation. We can see that in every new statement hitherto, it has been a contrasting of death and cruelty on one side, and the union with the father on the other. "I come to thee, thou laidst thy hand upon me." All this is now gathered in a *quia* (line 14), "because, to the eyes of thy majesty, all things new and old are revealed," that is, everything is present to the father and even death and suffering are in his presence.

"Thy knowledge has been made wonderful." At that place in the text, the long sentence pronounced by the Son has come to an end and the text moves over into the first person plural (line 17): to us, *Et nos,* we, the celebrating community, followed by three praising words in the indicative. This is not an exhortation, it is a statement: we worship, we love, we admire *because* – and observe that the text here does not speak about the resurrection explicitly, but says: "because he shines as a man (or a human being) through our body." I think we should keep in our memory the *corpore* some lines higher up (line 10), the prostrate body. He has our body, he is man. But only one word, the verb *fulget,* gives a radically different meaning to those words: the body prostrate, our body, is the body which shines.

It is worth the labour, I think, to read the whole text as it stands there, carefully, without seeking external explanations. If we do so, we see clearly a theological message. It is not a pious paraphrase or only an exultant Easter chant, it is a condensed christological treatise, treating the relation father-

son and the nature of Christ's body. Even the praising formula is bound to a christological sentence.

However, this troping is a way of explaining an introit, made, as we saw, from different parts of psalm 138. This psalm is entirely about the Lord's knowledge "Thou knowest when I sit down and when I rise up". *Resurrexi* and *adhuc tecum sum* is in the Revised Standard Version: "When I am awake, I am still with thee," and it is a description of how man is always with God, who knows everything about him.

Like most psalms, it has been given a christological interpretation by the patristic commentators, for example by Bede, who follows Cassiodorus.[4] However, the reason for chosing this text as the introit for the Resurrection day is merely because of its verbal allusion, the word *Resurrexi.*

Thus one could quite simply say that this awkward and badly chosen introit has been saved by the trope author who made something new of it, where the original text appears only as small bricks in a building, made mainly of other bricks.

One could also underline the clarifying function of the trope text, giving exact information about who is speaking by the verbs indicating speech, *personet dicens* and *sic ait.* One could point out the concrete New Testament situation (line 12), *Saeviens Iudaeorum turba,* putting the strange Old Testament text in its new context. One could further underline the function of the trope to create bonds between the mystery celebrated, Christ's resurrection, and the actual celebration, the singing community.

All this might be true, but I think that one of the most important things is perhaps to bring harmony between the Easter drama and the whole of psalm 138. One must not forget that this trope was sung by a community where the psalms were the very ground of all knowledge from childhood. If the monks who sang the tropes had not had any other instruction, at least they knew all the psalms by heart. Thus, the whole psalms' context must have been present in their minds: the theme of God's knowing everything, before any word is on man's tongue, of God's presence in heaven and hell, penetrating through all darkness. This is the normal background, conscious or subconscious, for a medieval monk, even if he heard only a few words of the whole psalm. The trope is therefore also interpreting the whole psalm from the perspective of Easter. The Lord's omniscience and omnipresence are pronounced in the line *Cuncta quia oculis,* which is even taken from the psalm: *tu cognovisti omnia, novissima et antiqua* (verse 5).

Before continuing the analysis of the introitus trope, we should, however, first take in three "external" points of view.

1. No one of the trope texts we have seen is unique for the Prüm ms. We can then compare their textual versions with others. There are many smaller variants. For example, *Christus devicta morte* (line 7) has *personat* or *resonat* in other mss[5] instead of *personet,* that is, the indicative, which can seem

more fitting: Christ *says,* not "*will say*". Not all the mss have the expression *novissima et antiqua* of the 14–15th line, where our ms follows the psalm source more closely.[6] In the line *Et nos in terris* (17), there is in some mss a different order of the words, *miramur amamus.*[7] But, the significant variant is in the *Filius ad patrem* (9–10). The other mss have:

Filius ad patrem carnis pro parte locutus
corpore cum vero sic ait en venio[8]

This is probably the original version, as it forms the same kind of verse as the others in the same series, an elegiac disticon, and its meaning is much clearer: "The son, speaking to his father, for the part (side) of the flesh, says so: Lo, I come with my true body." In the Prüm version, the interpretation becomes difficult, and a normal philologist would certainly have preferred to skip this text as erroneous. However, I think that we must try to understand the clumsy Latin as it is here, because the author wanted to say something important, even if he broke down the verse. He wanted really to have the expression *prostrato corpore,* in order to underline much more than did the original version the utmost humiliating of Christ's body.

2. I have said that those trope elements are not unique. Let us look somewhat at how they figure in the other trope mss!

It is first of all clear that some of them figure most frequently in firm combinations. That is the case for

Christus devicta morte
Cum saeviens Iudeorum
Cuncta quia oculis

They figure in S.France (Pa 1118), Regensburg (Ka 15) and in 8 Italian mss.[9] *Filius ad patrem,* on the contrary, is most often in another combination, made up of

Postquam factus
In regno superno
Laudibus angelorum
Cui canunt
Filius ad patrem

So it is in Saint Gall 381, 378, 382, and except the last element, this series is frequent: we encounter it in Mainz, Winchester, Northern France and Germany.

Et nos in terris comes in a different combination in the SG mss. *Morte tuo iussu* is in Mainz sung after the series from *In regno superno.*

Postquam factus figures in many mss immediately after *Quem quaeritis,* and in two mss, it is the only trope element existing for this feast.

Hodie resurrexit leo finally has different combinations in two S French mss (Apt 17, Pa 1118), in the Nonantola group and in the Beneventan family, and often it belongs to the *Quem quaeritis* block.

All this, which can seem tedious, becomes thrilling when one grasps all of the intricacies. It shows one fundamental phenomenon: almost every particular manuscript forms its unique combination of trope elements. There is a great number of trope texts and it seems even as though it had been a conscious desire to create local trope series that were unique. This is in fact the principle of local independence set in system.

3. The third and last "external" argument is, as one can easily observe, that these trope texts do not exist in a vacuum. We have already seen how closely the *Quem quaeritis* follows the gospels. In the collect prayer of the day[10], the *devicta morte* is common with the first trope element, *Christus devicta morte* (line 7). The passage of the pascal preface[11], *Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit* echoes in the trope *Postquam factus* (line 28). In the same trope, there is also the same expression as in the Credo, *et homo factus est,* and further, one of the Easter antiphons,[12] "*et mortis Erebum superando triumphasti*" has its parallels as we can see (line 29) – "you triumphed over death's reign by the victory".

One can find much more of such similarities, but it is not possible to clarify the real genetic relation: which text influenced the other directly? This is scarcely important, but I think that the interesting thing is to see how the tropes function through all these similarities and allusions to create a coherence, to tie together the different parts – songs, lectures and prayers – of the mass but also to create links between mass and office for one day.

For the rest of our texts we will not go into detail as carefully as we have done; but let us look at some of the features:

The troping of introit actually contains two series of tropes, and it also contains repetitions and "repetendum"-verses. All this troping can of course be used for one mass, with all the festive repetitions of the antiphon. We can see how the same themes are repeated: the son speaking to his father in the *Pater alme,* Amiable father (line 25), on whose order, *tuo iussu,* death is suffered – a parallel in different words to lines 7–8. The *repetendum* (line 26) verse evokes the actual feast: "This is the day", and then follows a new variation of the son speaking. "I became man, obeying thy commands, father, I overcame the reign of death by my death on the cross" (line 28–29).

Death which has been vanquished has greater place in these texts than the victory itself. In these two hexameter lines, we should especially notice the effect of *morte mea,* placed at a caesura, against *mortis herebum* (line 29). *Adhuc tecum sum* is given its christological meaning by Christ being *coaequalis,* equal with the father, as well as immortal (line 30–31). We may se how strongly this is pointed out by several words: *iam ultra* and *in aeternum* "now further and forever". This heavenly sphere continues in the two following

trope elements both containing the praise of the angels (line 32–33). After the last repetition of *Resurrexi,* finally comes the well-known text from the Easter Antiphon with its allusion to the Apocalypse, and which echoes in several antiphons: *Hodie resurrexit leo fortis* (line 34), Today the strong lion... We should notice the very important word *Hodie,* parallel to the expression *Haec dies,* which fixes the celebration in the present.

In our manuscript follow the words of *Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison* and twice *Kyrie eleison* without tropes and without notation. It is typical, if I may say so, to find "anomalies" of that kind in early manuscripts as ours: if we lack both its usual number and instructions how to perform *Kyrie eleison*, we should, I think, be careful to draw any conclusions how it was really sung during the particular Easter celebrations. This is one of the many examples which reminds us of the living oral tradition that we scarcely will be able to recover.

Gloria in excelsis (p. 115), on the other hand, is adorned with tropes, and the first trope element takes up exactly the same theme as the introit tropes in their beginning. "Thou hast boken infernal fetter and hast wished to arise and to dissolve the bonds of death through thy death." Also here one word, *surgere,* is placed as the only clear resurrection word, against the majority of words expressing pain and death. It is noteworthy how this first trope element of Gloria is paschal: then follow three Gloria elements interspersed with tropes which are paraphrases of the base text, taking up the cosmic sphere in their praising expressions. Observe how the words *benedicimus* and *adoramus* have literal equivalents in the tropes! Only the last trope element is again paschal: *qui nobis.* "Thou who hasten to open for us the doors of life which were close because of sin, through the death of thy son." However, all these trope elements of the Gloria are very tightly bound together by their regular form: a series of five elegiac distichs, all forming relative clauses except one. The last trope element, (line 22), has therefore a different form and is an addition by a later hand to the words *Iesu Christe:* "The king of kings whose reign lasts forever".

The gradual text is the *Haec dies,* the joyful statement of the day, and the Alleluia has taken its verses from the first epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 5, the same text which is used as the epistle of this day: *Pascha nostrum immolatus est.* Alleluia is then followed by a sequence, probably composed by a disciple of Notker Balbulus of Saint Gall.[13]

The first part of the sequence is an exhortation, beginning with the first person plural in the subjunctive. It thus continues formally the alleluia verse: *Epulemur* by *Laudes ... modulemus.* The object of the praise is Christ, *Christo,* and the praising subject, the *we,* thus the singers, is marked as *redempti.* This is the allusion of the day, when redemption is celebrated, and it is important to bring this as a signal in the beginning of the sequence and together with the *we,* the celebrating community. But also the day,

already apostrophed in the *ad repetendum* verse and in the gradual, comes forth here once more *in hac die.* See then how the same verb, the same form, *personet* as in the first trope line sounds here!

The exhortation to praise has the same character as the Glopria trope: we have even the nine orders of heavenly hierarchy, *ordines noveni,* as in the Gloria trope we had the *ter ternus apex.* What is underlined in this part in particular is how unity is formed by men and angels, seen for example by the words *concives* and the *adunate,* a very common feature in sequences.

After the laudatory section of the sequence follow six strophes containing the whole salvation story: *deus homo nascitur,* God is born as a man. The divinity is hidden in frail flesh, *fragili carne.* God radiated as a true earth-born, *terrigena* (5 b), in the condition of our body, *corporis nostri.* Then there is an allusion to the temptation in the desert, and, as its counter-strophe, a very dense theological explication of that, *ars artem delusit:* art deluded art until he cut the cord of the old sin.

Then we have the sacrificial death on the cross with the wellknown paradox, *morte sua nostra mortificans crimina* – by his death making our sins dead. The *Victor Christus,* having conquered hell and the prince of hell, goes back from the lower regions in noble pomp. Notice the words *barathro* and *vinculato* – we have them literally in the Gloria trope (line 3–4).

The final common strophe where the very essential *Haec est dies; resurrexit* appears, here the fourth time in this Mass, is the magnificent conclusion. We should observe how the resurrection, *resurrexit,* follows immediately after a sentence of the overcome horror, and it is also placed together with the incarnation, *cum carne qua sumpsit de Maria virgine.* The triumphant final of the sequence is a biblical image: the shepherd carrying the lost sheep on his shoulder: but observe the expression *cum gaudio,* as a joyful addition to the gospel allusion.

If we make a swift summary of this song following the alleluia we can thus see a line: laudatory section, then the object of the praise; Christ who took flesh, lived as true man, his divinity hidden, his death and his triumph, and finally, all this focused in this joyful day now, when all this is present, and which is now the important day for mankind: the *redempti* of the first line of the sequence comes back in the last lines as the lost lamb carried with joy to the father.

The offertory block contains antiphon, trope, offertory verses and even an offertory prosula (p 117).

It starts with mighty expressions of the Lord's power. "At the rebuke and the furious anger of the Lord, the earth feared. Sing, o companions, eia, the earth feared and was still. The tombs were opened and many bodies of the saints were raised when God arose to make judgement. Christ rose from the death, come let us adore him with one voice proclaiming alleluia."

It is a strong and apocalyptic vision, twice interrupted by praising exhorta-

tions: first to the *socii,* followers or companions, then in the first person plural: It is the well-known formula of invitatory from psalm 94, beginning Matins.

If we lay this text block and psalm 75 side by side, we can follow the exact process of composing. The offertory antiphon is made from verses 9–10. The first trope element is composed of parts of verses 7 and 8. The second trope element comes from the New Testament, Matt. 27, 52 and its relation with the psalm is clear: when Jesus died, the earth quaked, which gave the psalm allusion *terra tremuit.* Only as the third trope element after these texts about Christ's death come the words *Christus surrexit a mortuis.* This resurrection statement goes over to the laudatory invitation and to the threefold alleluia. Then follow three verses which are made of the five verses beginning our psalm, no. 75. The fourth offertory verse, *Jesus stetit,* comes from the walk to Emmaus, Luke 24, 36. It has a new text set to its melisma, in other words a so-called offertory prosula, from the words *Sicut dixi* up to the final *quia ego,* where the offertory verse takes up again. Normally, this verse *Jesus stetit* belongs to the following day, Easter Monday.

If we analyse these texts, we can class them technically as antiphon and verses on one hand, because we recognize these texts from several other manuscripts and can thus know with certainty that they are so-called liturgical base-texts, and on the other hand tropes and offertory prosula. The second line, *Terra tremuit canite socii eia,* must of course be classed as a trope, despite its beginning which is exactly the antiphon text. There is an addition here, *canite socii eia,* sing companions, eia, but some manuscripts have another variant, *dic domne eia,* say, Lord, eia, which is an exhortation to the presiding celebrant.

But I would ask, is this type of categorization really interesting? The essential thing is rather, I think, the coherent composition of texts, mainly belonging to psalm 75. Three things transform this psalm into a song of resurrection: (1) The praising formulas, and the alleluia. (2) The binding to the exact places in the New Testament, *Monumenta aperta sunt-* and the final offertory verse *Iesus stetit.* (3) Most important of all, in the midst of the whole block, as the third trope element *Christus surrexit a mortuis.*

Let us now go further. For the *Sanctus,* we have not a text but an incipit, a reference which leads us to a trinitarian set of trope elements used for Christmas as the majority of Sanctus tropes in this manuscript. I have supplied the full text here from folio 9.

The communion has two songs, first the *confractorium,* and then communion antiphon with tropes, p. 117.

The *confractorium* or fraction antiphon is a chant accompanying the breaking of the bread, mainly in the Gallican and the Mozarabic rite.[14]

It has, like the previous trope, a *Venite adoremus* form, again the very

important formula from psalm 94. Its first part is the exhortation, *venite communicemus,* the deep reverence before the holy immortal mystery. Then comes the *quoniam* clause, because: *agnus dei propter nos patri sacrificium propositus est,* the lamb of God has for us been set forth as a sacrifice to the father, and then follow adoring formulas, with the angels, that we recognize both from the introit tropes and especially from the Gloria tropes. But this *quoniam* line is the absolute center and it contains the whole theological theme of the day, adapted to communion: The lamb of God is offered, the sacrifice, for us and to the father. It is the same theme we meet in the preface "*cum pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*", when Christ our Passover is sacrificed, (from I Cor., 5): *Ipse enim verus est agnus, qui abstulit peccata mundi, qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit,* He himself is the true lamb who took away the sins of the world, who destroyed our death by dying.

It is also a perfect introduction to the *Agnus Dei,* whether this song is performed with or without tropes. However, we cannot know how one should interpret the *Agnus Dei maiorem,* which is the indication given by the manuscript.

The communion is intercalated by a laudatory trope element that is one of the rather few common tropes capable of being adapted for different purposes, e.g. for the third Christmas mass or for communion of Ascension.

Here, it is associated with Easter by its last words, *qui pretio redemptionis* (line 12), and this leads over to the Communion text *Pascha nostrum.* "He who as a price for redemption was offered, our Easter lamb," the verse from I Cor. 5. The second element expands the antiphon text, but this is done in a way that follows the liturgical base text very closely. We have alitterations and assonances: *Pascha nostrum, peccata nostra, propter scelera nostra,* and further, we have *immolatus est – oblatus est.* All this creates an explaining, deepening link between *Pascha nostrum* and *Christus* of the base text.

The last element contains the special Easter version of the *Leo de tribu Iuda,* the apocalyptic text for the second time in this mass. We can compare the last trope element (p. 115)

We can finally observe that these last words of a chant belonging to this Easter mass echo the first trope line. In the beginning, however, it was Christ singing to his father:

Christus personet voce clara. Now it is an exhortation to the celebrating people to sing to Christ: *in cuius laude celsa voce pertonate.*

Before we begin to discuss more generally the subject of this article, the liturgical function of the tropes, I can imagine at least three objections against my analysis of these texts:

1. Is it not dangerous to assume that every small detail should have such an important function? For example, some of the variants in the Prüm ms

could be mere errors, and many things could have been written at random, without such a complicated purpose given to them.

2. How could we know that these songs were really performed as we have them in the ms? Is it not probable that for every celebration, a different choice could have been made out of what is written down?

3. And, to return to what was said first, is not this Prüm ms and also this Easter mass something very special? Can we really dare to draw general conclusions out of that material?

These objections are reasonable, but I think we must deal here above all with a fundamental question of method. If we do not start our work by having the deepest respect for the text as it has been preserved, that is, in the written manuscript before our eyes, our work will be even more hypothetical than it is now, with a close reading made in what must naturally be a subjective way.

I admit that we can at times see what are clear errors. We have one example in p. 117, line 24, where it is written *Pater lumem* instead of *lumen,* but this text is a rubric, not a sung text, and it has no importance. Generally, this manuscript like most of the tropers, is a corrected one, used for liturgical celebrations. This suggests that these songs were used as they are actually written. Even if some parts of them could have been written at random, they were nevertheless used in a liturgical context. As for the performance, we cannot know anything about the single occasions. Every liturgical celebration is a sort of happening. I think that Leo Treitler's research has shown how strong the oral tradition was inspite of written sources.[15] It is likely that our manuscripts were used as examples: a mass can be sung like this, as in the Prüm book, but it can also be different. Still, the example is there, the existing possibility, and we must respect it.

Now the question is: can we draw any general conclusions about the tropes as a genre from the example of the Prüm manuscript? I have analysed parts of other tropers before, and I know that every trope book is individual. This belongs to the very system. How often do we not exclaim when studying trope manuscripts – but this is enigmatic! This is puzzling! This must be a curious exception! On a lower level we shall certainly always come to different results.

For example, I can admit that some tropers contain texts which are nearly hopeless to interpret, visibly destroyed texts, badly understood by the writers, e.g. the Beneventan tropers.

There are tropers more sophisticated than the Prüm one, with an even more complicated theological system, e.g. some of the Regensburg tropers. There are trope books where rhetorical ornamentation seems to have a large place, especially the English tradition. At the same time, I am convinced that every time we look carefully at tropes, in their liturgical context, we find all sorts of interesting phenomenea, all of which have a direct liturgical

function. My own principal objection against what we do most often, as in this article, is that our analysis is too swift and too superficial. There is much more to discover from those Prüm texts than we have mentioned here, and there are many things to discover in a larger context of patristic tradition and of contemporary culture.

It may seem shocking to write so much about songs as if they were not sung. I think that a musical analysis, which I am not capable of giving, should be joined to and compared with the textual analysis – this is self-evident. It seems by studies made hitherto that music generally underlines all the important things expressed by the words and by the way the words were put together. I think therefore that it is useful to say what I have said, especially to musicologists: this close work on the texts must be done, and we must begin this way when we try to treat our problem about the liturgical function of the tropes.

Several scholars have approached this question by placing the tropes in their ritual and cultural environment. Tropes figure in a highly illiterate period when the monasteries are the only learned islands, shelters of enthusiasm for literature, for creating new songs. Since the renewal began with the carolingians, as Dom Jean Leclercq has shown so brilliantly, this literary interest and creativity in the monasteries has a religious motivation.[16] Tropes are only one part of a greater flow of creation, including not only sequences but also hymns, processional songs, new antiphons and reponsories for the office, etc.

However, tropes have mostly been studied by musicologists, and it is natural that their function has been explained especially on musical criteria. The genesis of tropes has been interpreted by some as a musical process, and here there is fundamentally no difference between a quite recent, very ingenious and well documented work as that of Michel Huglo, "Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation: le trope méloforme d'introït"[17], and the article by Rembert Weakland, "The Beginnings of Troping" from 1958.[18] According to them, in the beginning there was the melody and its melodic development, the melisma, and this melisma was equipped with words and then, more and more, new free compositions took the place of the original melisma. But even then, tropes have essentially a musical function, expanding the original Gregorian or perhaps the Old Roman chant.

There is beyond all doubt one genre consisting of words underlaid to melodies, the prosulas. Often the texts of prosulas are rather different from other trope genres, less firmly structured, less theologically consious, more loosely paraphrasing the base text in adorning embellishments.

Further, it is evident that a powerful musical development takes its place precisely in the tropes. However, I am sure that this technical explanation of the genesis and the function of the tropes is neither complete nor even the most important. The musical form is tremendously interesting, particularly

in its ritual function, thus subordinated in the liturgical totality. But I think that the music of the tropes cannot itself explain the function of the tropes. Rather, its own function should be explained in the liturgical celebration where it belongs.

There has been a long debate over how the tropes should be correctly understood in a liturgical hierarchy. The opinion of Gautier, Wagner, and others, that we have in tropes an anomaly, something not permitted, not true liturgy, or even paraliturgy is now only a matter of historical interest. Nor is it possible, I think, to regard tropes as an expression of private devotion: they belong to the celebration of a community. They are scarcely secular music and text received into liturgy, though their inspiration may sometimes be secular. Tropes are certainly not a protest coming from below and directed against hierarchic structures. All these theories have been tried. When studying the sources themselves, we find little evidence for such hypotheses.

I think we shall come closer to tropes themselves by studying their function: first of all something most characteristic is their *sollemnitas.* They are created for a feast, already by being additions. This theme is underlined by several scholars. This is evident from our example: the day's theme is expressed in a solemn way by the tropes. But the whole book of Prüm bears witness of this feast thought. It is a book containing what is sung for the solemn feasts, nothing for other periods, and with the Prüm manuscript it is even a beautiful book, as when we wear special feast clothes for particular occasions or decorate our house for a party.

Tropes have often a dramatic element, particularly those containing a dialogue. We are all familiar with the great debate concerning the origin of medieval drama. Tropes thus fill a fundamental function, a natural need of dramatic elements in the cult.

There is also a ritual need for making the mystery present. This is a well-known phenomenon in liturgy, the *hic et nunc.* The object of the rite is present, the celebration makes the worshippers take part to be inside the mystery. We encounter this in Greek liturgy and in several hymns and responsories beginning with *hodie.* Christ has arisen *now, today* – this is expressed in the *Haec dies* in our texts.

In a similar sphere, we can count the role of an invitation to sing, the "Aufforderung". This can be a more general "cantemus" or a direct command to a ritual functionary, *dic domne eia.* – This is old and well-known in liturgy.

The explanatory function of the trope can be defined on different levels. Tropes can function as glosses, and there are in fact some very short tropes that just explain the base-text or simply express it in different words. Tropes also, according to some researchers, have a didactic function, but this area is rather controversial. We must not forget that tropes are composed mainly

by monks, nearly the only persons to know Latin at that time. It is not correct to think that Christian education was given to monks by liturgy, even if its effect of course could serve that end. The explanatory nature can, however, be deepened when we talk of the tropes expressing the theological meaning of an antiphon. The meaning of the antiphon can be quite obscure. The joining of texts from the New and the Old Testament often creates this explanation and thus gives a fecund type of tropes. But tropes are not only edifying from a more dogmatic-theological point of view, they are also by their poetical form spiritual texts, having sometimes an emotional character. In the framework of a highly structural mass they can have a function of expressing personal feelings, to prepare individual devotion, but always in the common rite.

These and similar observations have already been made, and I think there is something true and relevant in all of them. Tropes are a complicated liturgical art and could not easily be characterized with simple formulas.

Nevertheless, in conclusion I would like to present, as material for discussion, two points of view on the liturgical function of the tropes which I consider to be the fundamental ones.

1. Tropes have most often been described as a rather narrowly defined genre, existing together with the liturgical base chants but totally different in function and type. The best objections to that sort of reasoning have in my opinion been raised in the excellent essay by Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis,"[19] where the variated and unstable character of the songs called tropes is shown. I think we should go even further with a different descriptive model: instead of speaking about stable songs and fluid ones, that is, the Gregorian repertory and the newly created additional songs, we should rather work according to a scale. At the one end are firm texts such as the big introits like *Resurrexi* from our mass or *Puer natus* from the third Christmas mass. We find practically no alterations here. At the other end are the most variated things of all, floating trope trope elements. But between these extremes there is a differentiated mass of songs. Even some introits, offertories and communions can be somewhat flexible and show variants. The verses, especially of the offertories but also of introits and communions, differ in number, combination and even in text. The ordinary songs are structured differently and have lots of different melodies. The *confractoria* are unusual texts, having a lot of variants. Tropes can have quite stable combinations. Some tropes are found in manuscripts from all regions, as our offertory tropes, *Ab increpatione et ira.*

Tropes can also be unique for one manuscript. Some of the tropes are biblical quotations, and many are very close to the so-called established texts, as we have seen. Sometimes it is even hard to determine if it is a trope or not.

It has been said that the liturgical creativity with all its variety existed in-spite of the Carolingian efforts to form a liturgical unity. In one sense, that is true.

But my interpretation of the sources as we find them is this. There are firm parts, rather variable parts and very variable parts at the same time, in the same manuscript and in always shifting combinations. This is not due to chance or to failed efforts to impose a standardised liturgy. I think that, on the contrary, this is a conscious expression of a certain freedom, which is itself a theological idea. One and only one mass exists, and every mass is both a re-enactement of this original mass, celebrated by Christ at the Last Supper and a single individual performance and should therefore to certain, well defined extents, be special, should be a real *hic et nunc*. It is highly probable, I think, that a troper was a prepository out of which the actual celebration could be selected and which varied according to the feast. The tropes and also the sequences are, in any case, the most perfect instrument for creating this special action of rite in relation to the one rite.

2. My second point of view is the following: it is important, through different parts of the same mass, to build up a coherent celebration – we have seen by our close reading of the Prüm text how true this can be. The sung parts, prayers, scriptural lessons together with associations of several kinds, especially with the tropes as a binding element, form a coherent rite. But it is more than that. We have spoken about the feast, *sollemnitas,* and the special day's significance. The mystery of one feast is not isolated. When Christ's resurrection was celebrated, this included also the presuppositions: that God's son had become a man, that he suffered and died. It includes the relation between the son and the father. it includes even the consequences for mankind, the redemption; and it includes the celebrating community, inferred in the mystery most of all by its praising God for redemption.

Yet, this should not be understood as an esthetic principle *per se,* and even less as an edifying or didactic help for the community. I think we must see the mass as conceived by medieval man as principally an offering to God, several times expressed as the sacrifice of the son to his father. In other words, it is a unity not for men or for mens' purpose but for God's praise.

This *unitotality* of celebration could not be more efficiently expressed than by tropes which introduce and intercalate from the beginning to the end of the mass.

Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms lat 9448 (Prüm)
f33v "De sancto pascha"
[1] Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Christicole?
Ihesum nazarenum
querimus crucifixum, o cęlicolę.
Non est hic; surrexit sicut predixerat.

5 Ite nuntiate, quia surrexit, dicentes;
"A" *SURREXIT DOMINUS. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.*
Christus devicta morte personet
voce clara patri dicens:
Resurrexi. Filius ad patrem carnis
10 prostrato corpore cum vero sic ait: en venio
Et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia.
Cum seviens Iudaeorum me circumdaret turba
Posuisti super me manum tuam.
Cuncta quia occulis tuae maiestatis novissima
15 et antiqua sunt aperta.
Mirabilis facta est scientia tua.
Et nos in terris colimus, amamus, miramur
  quod sic ex nostro corpore fulget homo
alleluia alleluia
f34 20 "PS" *Domine probasti me et cognovisti me*
tu cognovisti sessionem meam et resurrectionem meam.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper
et in saecula seculorum amen.
25 Morte tuo iussu tolerata iam pater alme
<R>esurrexi "ADR" *Haec est dies quem fecit*
dominus; exultemus et letemur in ea.
Postquam factus homo tua iussa paterna peregi
in cruce morte mea mortis herebum superando. *Resurrexi*
30 In regno superno tibi coequalis, iam ultra in aeternum
semper inmortalis. *Posuisti.*
Laudibus angelorum qui te laudant sine fine.
<M>irabilis Cui canunt angeli. *Alleluia.*
Hodie resurrexit leo fortis, filius dei,
35 deo gratias dicite eia. *Resurrexi.*

Kirie eleyson Christe eleyson
Kyrie eleyson Kyrie eleyson

Gloria in excelsis deo. Et in terra
pax hominibus bone voluntatis
f34v Qui barathri fractis uoluisti surgere claustris
  et mortis uincula soluere morte tua. *Laudamus te*
5 Quem tellus mare quem sidus benedicit et omne
  et nos in terris uocibus ymnisonis. *Benedicimus te*
Quem ter ternus apex diuini numinis index
  laudat glorificat seruit adorat amat. *Adoramus te*
Solus splendiferi stellarum nomina caeli
10 nosti <qui> scis cursum et retines numerum. *Glorificamus te*
Qui nobis portas uitae pro crimine clausas
  festinas nati pandere morte tui
  Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam
  domine deus, rex caelestis, deus pater omnipotens,
15 *domine fili unigenite, Iesu Christe, domine deus,*
agnus dei filius patris, qui tollis peccata mundi
miserere nobis, qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe

116 *Ritva Jonsson*

deprecationem nostram, qui sedes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis, quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus dominus,
20 *tu solus altissimus Iesu Christe* cum sancto spiritu*
in gloria dei patris, amen.
* Rex regum cuius constat sine tempore regnum

[f35] "GR". Haec dies quam fecit dominus;
Exultemus et letemur in ea.
25 Confitemini domino quoniam bonus,
quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius.
Alleluia.
Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus.
V. Epulemur in aximis sinceritatis et veritatis.

1 Laudes Christo redempti
voce modulemus supplici!

2a Omnis in hac die
rerum natura iubilat:

b Personet inmensas
filio dei gratias.

3a Nam nostri concives,
caelesti(s) sanctuarii milites,

b Ordines noveni,
in nostra vos adunate gaudia.

4a Ymnite nunc, superi!
pariter resonate, inferi,

b Ut omnis in domino
spiritus gratuletur enesi.

5a Qui hominis causa
deus homo nascitur,
Et fragili carne
se deitas occulens
probra sustinuit patiens.

[f35v] b Virtutibus, signis
ut deus emicuit,
Et corporis nostri
necessitate fruens
verus terrigena claruit.

6a Ab hoste temptatus
non est agnitus,
neque divinitas patuit.

b Ars artem delusit,
donec veteris
nodum piaculi secuit.

7a In ara crucis
hostiam se pro nobis
Christus obtulit deo patri,
morte sua
nostra mortificans crimina.

b Nam victor Christus
barathro populato
Mortis principe vinculato
ab inferis
pompa regreditur nobili.

8 Haec est dies, quae inluxit
post horrida
regni Aethiopum tempora,
Christus in qua resurrexit
ultra victurus cum carne,
qua sumpsit de Maria virgine.
Qui ovem cum gaudio patris
quam perdiderat,
humero revexit suo.

"TROPI AD OF"
Ab increpatione et ira furoris domini
Terra tremuit canite socii eia
Terra tremuit et quievit
Monumenta aperta sunt
5 et multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt.
Dum resurgeret in iuditium deus.
Dum resurgeret in iuditio deus.
f36 Christus surrexit a mortuis
venite adoremus eum omnes una voce proclamantes
10 *alleluia alleluia (a)lleluia.*
V. *Notus in Iudea deus in Israel*
magnum nomen eius.
V. *Notus in Iudea deus in Israel*
magnum nomen eius.
V. *Et factus est in pace locus eius*
et habitatio eius in Syon.
15 V. *Ibi confregit cornu arcum*
scutum et gladium
et bellum, inluminans tum mirabiliter
a montibus aeternis,
Alleluia.
20 *"ITEM"*
V. Ihesus stetit in medio eorum et dixit
Pax vobis. Videte quia ego ipse sum, sicut dixi
Videte et palpate manus atque pedes.
His potestis credere signis *quia ego.*

"Sanctus." Pater lumem. (sic!)
f9v 25 *Sanctus*. Pater lumen aeternum
Sanctus. Genitus ex deo deus
Sanctus. *Dominus* Spiritus, maiestate consimilis
Deus sabaoth, pleni sunt caeli
et terra gloria tua osanna in excelsis
30 cuius in laude voces dabant pueri
regem Christum conlaudantes in altissimis
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini
osanna in excelsis>

"AD CORPUS DOMINI FRANGENDUM"
Venite populi ad sacrum et immortale mysterium
et libamen sumendum,
cum timore et fide accedamus, cordibus mundis
poenitentiae munus communicemus,
f36v 5 quoniam agnus dei propter nos patri sacrificium
propositus est;
ipsum solum adoremus
ipsum glorificemus,
cum angelis clamantes alleluia

"AGNUS DEI MAIOREM"
10 "CO" Laus honor virtus deo nostro

decus et imperium regi nostro
qui pretio redemtionis nostrae
Pascha nostrum immolatus est.
Peccata nostra ipse portavit
15 et propter scelera nostra oblatus est
Christus alleluia,
itaque epulemur in azimis sinceritatis et veritatis.
Leo de tribu iuda surrexit a mortuis,
alleluia
20 in cuius laude celsa voce pertonate:
Alleluia alleluia alleluia
"AD VESPERAS"
Kyrie eleyson. Alleluia.
Lapis revolutus est "GR" Hec dies
25 Alleluia. Pascha nostrum

Notes

[1] Husmann, H., *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften: Répertoire international des sources musicales (RISM),* München-Duisburg 1964.

[2] The Easter tropes of the manuscript lat. Paris BN 9448 are edited in *Corpus Troporum III, Tropes du propre de la messe 2, Cycle de Pâques,* éd. Björkvall-Iversen-Jonsson, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XXV, Stockholm 1982. The illuminations of this manuscript are treated in an article by Margaretha Rossholm, to be published in the Acts of the symposium on Tropes in Stockholm 1981, by the Royal Academy.

[3] See Johann Drumbl, *Quem quaeritis, Teatro dell alto medioevo,* Biblioteca Teatrale 39, Roma 1981 (with bibliography) and William L. Smoldon, *The Music of the Medieval Church Dramas,* edited by C. Bourgeault, London 1980. Text edition: Walther Lipphardt, *Lateinische Osterfeiern und Osterspiele I-V,* Berlin 1975–76.

[4] Dom Pierre Salmon, *Les "tituli Psalmorum" des manuscrits latins,* Collectanea Biblica Latina XII, Roma 1959, pp 92, 110, 184.

[5] CT III, p. 67.

[6] CT III, p. 79.

[7] CT III p. 97.

[8] CT III p. 103.

[9] Voir la table de Resurrexi, CT III pp 256–258 (numeros 67, 68, 69).

[10] Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Grégorien,* Spicilegium Friburgiense 16, Fribourg, 1971, numéro 383.

[11] *Ibidem,* numéro 385.

[12] René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium officii III,* Roma 1970, numéro 2589.

[13] Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter,* Bern 1948, Darstellungsband p. 260 ss and Editionsband p. 109 s.; Josef Szövérffy, *Die Annalen de lateinischen Hymnendichtung I,* p. 326.

[14] Voir A.G. Martimort, *L'église en prière, Introduction à la liturgie,* Paris 1965, p. 432.

[15] Leo Treitler, *Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant,* The Musical quarterly 60, 1974, pp 333–372; *Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes,* Forum Musicologicum 2, 1982, pp 11–60.

[16] Dom Jean Leclercq, *Initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge,* L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu, Paris 1957, 1963.

[17] Revue de Musicologie 64, 1978, pp 5–54.

[18] Musical Quarterly 44, 1958, pp 477–488.

[19] Musical Quarterly 52, 1966, pp 183–203.

The Resurrection Gospel

SECUNDUM MATTHEUM

28 $^{\text{CCCLII}}_{\text{I}}$ Vespere autem sabbati quae lucescit in primam sabbati
venit Maria Magdalene et altera Maria videre sepulchrum
[2]et ecce terraemotus factus est magnus
angelus enim Domini descendit de caelo
et accedens revolvit lapidem et sedebat super eum
[3]erat autem aspectus eius sicut fulgur
et vestimentum eius sicut nix
[4] $^{\text{CCCLIII}}_{\text{II}}$ Prae timore autem eius exterriti sunt custodes et facti sunt velut mortui
[5]respondens autem angelus dixit mulieribus
nolite timere vos
scio enim quod Iesum qui crucifixus est quaeritis
[6]non est hic
surrexit enim sicut dixit
venite videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus
[7]et cito euntes dicite discipulis eius quia surrexit
et ecce praecedit vos in Galilaeam
ibi eum videbitis
ecce praedixi vobis
[8] $^{\text{CCCLIIII}}_{\text{II}}$ Et exierunt cito de monumento cum timore et magno gaudio
currentes nuntiare discipulis eius

SECUNDUM MARCUM

16 $^{\text{CCXXX}}_{\text{VIII}}$ Et cum transisset sabbatum Maria Magdalene et Maria Iacobi et Salome emerunt aromata
ut venientes unguerent eum
[2] $^{\text{CCXXXI}}_{\text{I}}$ Et valde mane una sabbatorum veniunt ad monumentum orto iam sole
[3]et dicebant ad invicem
quis revolvet nobis lapidem ab ostio monumenti
[4]et respicientes vident revolutum lapidem
erat quippe magnus valde
[5]et introeuntes in monumento
viderunt iuvenem sedentem in dextris
coopertum stola candida
et obstipuerunt
[6] $^{\text{CCXXXII}}_{\text{II}}$ Qui dicit illis
nolite expavescere
Iesum quaeritis Nazarenum crucifixum surrexit non est hic
ecce locus ubi posuerunt eum
[7]sed ite et dicite discipulis eius et Petro
quia praecedit vos in Galilaeam
ibi eum videbitis sicut dixit vobis
[8] $^{\text{CCXXXIII}}_{\text{II}}$ At illae exeuntes fugerunt de monumento
invaserat enim eas tremor et pavor
et nemini quicquam dixerunt
timebant enim
[9]surgens autem mane prima sabbati
apparuit primo Mariae Magdalenae de qua eiecerat septem daemonia

120 *Ritva Jonsson*

SECUNDUM LUCAM

24 cccxxxvi/i Una autem sabbati valde diluculo venerunt ad monumentum
portantes quae paraverant aromata
[2]et invenerunt lapidem revolutum a monumento
[3]et ingressae non invenerunt corpus Domini Iesu
[4]et factum est dum mente consternatae essent de isto
ecce duo viri steterunt secus illas in veste fulgenti
[5]cccxxxvii/ii Cum timerent autem et declinarent vultum in terram dixerunt ad illas
quid quaeritis viventem cum mortuis
[6]non est hic sed surrexit
recordamini qualiter locutus est vobis
cum adhuc in Galilaea esset [7]dicens
quia oportet Filium hominis tradi in manus hominum peccatorum et crucifigi
et die tertia resurgere
[8]et recordatae sunt verborum eius
[9]cccxxxviii/ii Et regressae a monumento
nuntiaverunt haec omnia illis undecim et ceteris omnibus

SECUNDUM IOHANNEM

20 ccviiii/i Una autem sabbati Maria Magdalene venit mane cum adhuc tenebrae essent ad monumentum
et videt lapidem sublatum a monumento
[2]ccx/x Cucurrit ergo et venit ad Simonem Petrum et ad alium discipulum quem amabat Iesus
et dicit eis
tulerunt Dominum de monumento
et nescimus ubi posuerunt eum
[3]exiit ergo Petrus et ille alius discipulus et venerunt ad monumentum
[4]currebant autem duo simul
et ille alius discipulus praecucurrit citius Petro
et venit primus ad monumentum
[5]et cum se inclinasset videt posita linteamina
non tamen introivit
[6]venit ergo Simon Petrus sequens eum
et introivit in monumentum
et videt linteamina posita
[7]et sudarium quod fuerat super caput eius
non cum linteaminibus positum
sed separatim involutum in unum locum
[8]tunc ergo introivit et ille discipulus qui venerat primus ad monumentum
et vidit et credidit

PSALMI IUXTA LXX

138 IN FINEM DAVID PSALMUS
[2]Domine probasti me et cognovisti me
tu cognovisti sessionem meam et surrectionem meam
[3]intellexisti cogitationes meas de longe
semitam meam et funiculum meum investigasti
[4]et omnes vias meas praevidisti
quia non est sermo in lingua mea
[5]ecce Domine tu cognovisti omnia novissima et antiqua
tu formasti me et posuisti super me manum tuam
[6]mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me
confortata est non potero ad eam
[7]quo ibo ab spiritu tuo et quo a facie tua fugiam
[8]si ascendero in caelum tu illic es
si descendero ad infernum ades
[9]si sumpsero pinnas meas diluculo
et habitavero in extremis maris
[10]etenim illuc manus tua deducet me
et tenebit me dextera tua
[11]et dixi forsitan tenebrae conculcabunt me
et nox inluminatio in deliciis meis
[12]quia tenebrae non obscurabuntur a te
et nox sicut dies inluminabitur
sicut tenebrae eius ita et lumen eius
[13]quia tu possedisti renes meos
suscepisti me de utero matris meae
[14]confitebor tibi quia terribiliter magnificatus es
mirabilia opera tua et anima mea cognoscit nimis
[15]non est occultatum os meum a te quod fecisti in occulto
et substantia mea in inferioribus terrae
[16]inperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui
et in libro tuo omnes scribentur
die formabuntur et nemo in eis
[17]mihi autem nimis honorificati sunt amici tui Deus
nimis confirmati sunt principatus eorum
[18]dinumerabo eos et super harenam multiplicabuntur
exsurrexi et adhuc sum tecum
[19]si occideris Deus peccatores
et viri sanguinum declinate a me
[20]quia dices in cogitatione
accipient in vanitate civitates tuas
[21]nonne qui oderunt te Domine oderam
et super inimicos tuos tabescebam
[22]perfecto odio oderam illos
inimici facti sunt mihi
[23]proba me Deus et scito cor meum
interroga me et cognosce semitas meas
[24]et vide si via iniquitatis in me est
et deduc me in via aeterna

122 *Ritva Jonsson*

PSALMI IUXTA LXX

75 IN FINEM IN LAUDIBUS PSALMUS ASAPH CANTICUM AD ASSYRIUM
[2] Notus in Iudaea Deus
in Israhel magnum nomen eius
[3] et factus est in pace locus eius
et habitatio eius in Sion
[4] ibi confregit potentias arcuum
scutum et gladium et bellum
DIAPSALMA
[5] inluminas tu mirabiliter de montibus aeternis
[6] turbati sunt omnes insipientes corde
dormierunt somnum suum et nihil invenerunt
omnes viri divitiarum manibus suis
[7] ab increpatione tua Deus Iacob
dormitaverunt qui ascenderunt equos
[8] tu terribilis es et quis resistet tibi ex tunc ira tua
[9] de caelo auditum fecisti iudicium
terra timuit et quievit
[10] cum exsurgeret in iudicium Deus
ut salvos faceret omnes mansuetos terrae
DIAPSALMA
[11] quoniam cogitatio hominis confitebitur tibi
et reliquiae cogitationis diem festum agent tibi
[12] vovete et reddite Domino Deo vestro
omnes qui in circuitu eius adferent munera
terribili [13] et ei qui aufert spiritus principum
terribili apud reges terrae

AD CORINTHIOS I

[5] [6] non bona gloriatio vestra
nescitis quia modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit
[7] expurgate vetus fermentum
ut sitis nova consparsio sicut estis azymi
etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus
[8] itaque epulemur
non in fermento veteri
neque in fermento malitiae et nequitiae
sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis

ORTN. IN DOMINICA SANCTA AD MISS.

383 Deus qui hodierna die per unigenitum tuum aeternitatis nobis aditum deuicta morte reserasti, uota nostra quae praeueniendo adspiras, etiam adiuuando prosequere. Per eundem dominum nostrum.

384 *Super oblata.* Suscipe domine quaesumus preces populi tui cum oblationibus hostiarum ut paschalibus initiata mysteriis ad aeternitatis nobis medellam te operante proficiant. Per dominum.

385 *Praefatio.* VD et iustum est aequum et salutare. Te quidem omni tempore, sed in hanc potissimam diem gloriosius praedicare, cum pascha nostrum immolatus est christus. Ipse enim uerus est agnus qui 3 abstulit peccata mundi. Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit, et uitam resurgendo reparauit. Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis cum thronis et dominationibus, cumque omnis militia caelestis exercitus 6 ymnum gloriae tuae canimus sine fine dicentes.

386 Communicantes et diem sacratissimum caelebrantes, resurrectionis domini dei nostri iesu christi secundum carnem, sed et memoriam uenerantes inprimis gloriosae semper uirginis mariae genetricis eiusdem 3 dei et domini nostri iesu christi, sed et beatorum apostolorum.

387 Hanc igitur oblationem seruitutis nostrae sed et cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerimus pro his quoque quos regenerare dignatus es ex aqua et spiritu sancto, tribuens eis remissionem omnium pecca- 3 torum, quaesumus domine ut placatus accipias.

388 *Ad completa.* Spiritum in nobis domine tuae caritatis infunde, ut quos sacramentis paschalibus satiasti, tua facias pietate concordes. Per.

389 *Ad sanctum iohannem ad uespr.* Concede quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae sollemnia colimus innouatione tui spiritus, a morte animae resurgamus. Per eundem.

390 *Ad fontes.* Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui resurrectionis dominicae sollemnia colimus ereptionis nostrae suscipere laetitiam mereamur. Per eundem dominum.

391 *Ad sanctum andream.* Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus, ut qui gratiam dominicae resurrectionis agnouimus ipsi per amorem spiritus a morte animae resurgamus. Per.

(J. Destrussez, Le sacramentaire Gregorien, Frib. 1971, pp. 191–193)


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[8]

On the Nature of Transmission and Change in Trope Repertories*

By ALEJANDRO ENRIQUE PLANCHART

For Michel Huglo on his 65th birthday

Among the most important developments in musical scholarship in the last decade has been the increased study of the different chant repertories of the Latin west, be they earlier than, contemporary with, or later than what is still known for lack of a better term as Gregorian chant—that is, the earliest layer of Frankish music for the Roman rite. One of the consequences of recent work on the development and transmission of Gregorian chant is to make us aware that a great deal of this repertory, in so far as it diverges in its individual melodies from Roman, Gallican, or Milanese repertories, cannot be quite as old as it was thought to be. The historical events connected with the adoption of the Roman liturgy in the Carolingian empire and with the development of Frankish melodies for this Roman rite force us to place the origins of Gregorian chant as an independent melodic tradition no earlier than the middle of the eighth century. It is likely that the development of this corpus of music took a certain amount of time, so that the full repertory of Gregorian melodies for the antiphonal and responsorial chants of the Mass found in the oldest notated antiphoners is in all likelihood a product of the third and fourth quarters of the eighth century.[1]

The spread of Gregorian chant appears to have been remarkably swift, since there is evidence that it was used in all of the Frankish Empire as well as in a good portion of Italy, including the Duchy of Benevento, by the second quarter of the ninth century.[2] Further, the early transmission of the repertory was apparently very accurate, as has been shown clearly in Hughes 1987. The cumulative impression given by the variants in early Gregorian sources with neumes is that

*An earlier version of this paper was read at a conference on the transmission of chant held at Rutgers University on 4–5 April 1986. The papers formed a *Festgabe* for Michel Huglo.

[1] The earliest date when a Carolingian ruler could have seen the Roman liturgy is 754, when Pope Stephen II visited King Pepin. See also Levy 1987, 11–12.

[2] Particularly important is the argument for the early date of the arrival of Gregorian chant in southern Italy presented in Levy 1987, 8.

nontrivial differences between the Gregorian chant as sung at Saint Gall, Laon, or Metz around 900 are fewer and often less significant than those found in the Roman chant as sung on the two shores of the Tiber in the late eleventh century.[3]

Thomas Connolly, in a number of important studies of Roman chant (1972, 1980), has charted these variants and their significance, particularly in the case of the Roman Introits, and has presented intriguing evidence that the Roman tradition shows more symptoms of an oral tradition than does the Gregorian one,[4] including a more extensive use of formulas and a loose calendric connection between certain melodic and modal types and some of the seasons of the liturgical year. In seeking to explain the surprising uniformity of the early Gregorian tradition in the context of oral transmission, Connolly also has brought attention to what he calls the "juridical organization" of the chant traditions (1980, 16). In the Roman tradition this seems to have led to the association of certain melodic formulas and even certain modes with a given liturgical season (Connolly 1980, 8–9, 16–18). In the Gregorian tradition these associations were weakened, but Frankish singers seem to have regarded the music itself as something that shared the quality of sacredness associated with the texts imported from Rome. Thus Frankish cantors appear to have made strenuous efforts at first to reproduce the Roman melody of a piece as faithfully as possible. The problems that beset such a wholesale transmission of a large melodic repertory from Rome to the north were obviously considerable, no matter how diligent the Frankish cantors and how well-trained their memories.[5] These problems are hinted at in a number of chronicles that accuse Roman singers of malice in seeking deliberately to mislead the Frankish singers in their attempts to learn the Roman melodies. What Carolingian chroniclers saw as malice may be better understood as incomprehension on the part of Roman musicians as to why the

[3] I find the terms "Gregorian/Frankish," as opposed to "Gregorian/Roman," and the designations "Old-Roman" and "Old-Beneventan" to be cumbersome and unhelpful. For Gregorian/Frankish I shall use Gregorian, for Gregorian/Roman or Old-Roman I shall used Roman, and for Old-Beneventan I shall use Beneventan.

For the variants in Roman chant see Connolly 1975. On the variants in the Gregorian tradition see particularly Graduel 1960, *passim*, esp. 64–89. A similar impression, even though the sources used are limited to manuscripts with diastematic notation, is given by the tables in Van der Werf 1983.

[4] An extended argument for oral transmission in Roman chant appears also in Cutter 1967.

[5] A summary history of the problems that accompanied the transmission of the Roman chant to the north, with copious references to the early commentaries, appears in Bruno Stäblein's introduction to Melnicki 1970, 65–78.

northerners wanted to do something that, in the context of an oral tradition, appears to be so unnatural. Why, they may well have wondered, did the Franks not make up their own tunes, which to some extent is what they ultimately did. In any case, the need for accuracy in transmission, at least as perceived by the Franks, must have been a powerful goad towards the development of musical notation in the early stages of the diffusion of Gregorian chant.[6] And the swiftness and accuracy of the diffusion of the Gregorian repertory in the eight and ninth centuries does seem to be related to the development and spread of musical notation. It is true that some of the earliest surviving musical notations in the West are connected not with practical sources but, as Leo Treitler has shown, with theoretical treatises (1984, 148–49 and 155–56). Still, the subject of these treatises is precisely the new Frankish music, that is, Gregorian chant. And beyond the definition and classification of intervals—a basic prolegomenon to a discussion of a purely melodic repertory—the early theorists are concerned for the most part with melodic taxonomy, including the development of the system of modes, which would allow a singer to assimilate efficiently a large amount of new music even in the absence of any musical notation.

Although theorists were able from very early on to devise musical notations that indicated pitch with absolute accuracy, this is not what the scribes of the earliest surviving practical manuscripts were intent on showing with their notations, which transmit considerably more information than just pitch. Indeed, the notation of the absolute size of intervals in a melody was clearly not a crucial matter for a singer familiar with the modes, the psalm tones, and their differences, and who understood the textual and melodic behavior of the different categories of chant. Thus, as Treitler has argued (1984, 155–78), the early non-diastematic notations are indeed as efficient as they need to be not just to assist singers in remembering a large repertory, but also to ease the teaching of such a repertory to new singers. It is probably no coincidence that in those regions of Europe where Gregorian chant seems to have had its earliest and strongest hold, the East Frankish region, the Rhineland, and parts of northern France—where Gregorian chant can be considered to be a true musical vernacular—neumatic notations devoid of diastematy were used longest in practical sources. In any case, the development and spread of musical notation, diastematic or non-diastematic, seems to have gone hand in hand with the spread of Gregorian chant. Helmut Hucke (1986) made

[6] Levy 1987 underscores this point.

a particularly cogent case for the probable existence of a notated archetype that lay behind many of the early notated antiphoners that have survived. Hucke, together with most chant scholars, has placed the date of this archetype at the beginning of the tenth century, but Kenneth Levy (1987) has recently provided compelling evidence that the archetype may have existed not from 900 on, but as early as 795.

I want here to assert that musical notation is also closely connected with the spread and development of three other repertories that arose not long after the dissemination of Gregorian chant in Carolingian Europe, but which are fundamentally different from it: the new, non-congregational melodies for the ordinary of the Mass, the tropes, and the sequences. These later repertories arose not more than one or two generations after the dissemination of Gregorian chant in the Frankish lands[7]—a point that bears reiteration, though it has been made long since by Richard Crocker (1966, 186–88). The *prooemium* of Notker's *Liber hymnorum* (Crocker 1977, 1–2) indicates that sequences were sung and written down at Jumièges by the time of the Norman raids, either those of 851 or 862 (Duft 1962, 207–9), a dating for the genre that is perfectly compatible with the rubric "cum sequentia," found in the Antiphoner of Mont-Blandin, copied in the late eighth or early ninth century.[8] The earliest manuscripts with tropes, MuB 14843 and Ver 90, date from ca. 900,[9] but peculiarities of their repertory, particularly in the case of Ver 90, indicate that by this time some of these tropes were well known both in northern Europe and in the Beneventan region.[10] This points to an early and swift dissemination of at least part of the oldest layers of the trope and sequence repertories.

[7] The earliest reference, albeit an oblique one, to tropes appears in one of the *canones extravagantes* of the Council of Meaux (845); for the text and a brief discussion of it see Silagi 1985, vii-viii.

[8] Hesbert 1935, cxix-cxx, and no. 199a. The rubrics are in the original hand. The Compiègne Antiphoner has also a few sequences added, according to Dom Hesbert, by around 900 (p. xx).

[9] The date of mid-tenth century for Ver 90 given in Corpus Troporum 3, 41 is surely much too late. Of the three datings of the manuscript cited there, only an unpublished communication of Bernhard Bischoff to the Corpus Troporum suggests that Ver 90 is this late. In this instance I find Bischoff's arguments for a mid-tenth century date unconvincing.

[10] The Gloria tropes in Ver 90 form part of a repertory that seems to have traveled as a whole from the region of Prüm to Benevento, a later occurrence of the possibility suggested in Levy 1987, 11–25, for the Gallican offertory *Factus est repente*. The full argument concerning the Gloria trope transmission will appear in John Boe's introduction to the edition of Beneventan Gloria tropes in *Beneventanum troporum corpus* 2/2 (forthcoming).

In the case of the sequences, and even more in that of the tropes, the use of musical notation and the very nature of the transmission process were different from those which obtain in Gregorian chant. At the root of these differences lies the way in which singers and scribes regarded these repertories. The texts of the basic corpus of Gregorian chant were the texts of the Roman liturgy. Carolingian apologists emphasized this and claimed divine inspiration for texts and melodies of the Gregorian repertory, inspiration expressed both in the many miniatures of St. Gregory dictating the chant that is being sung to him by the Holy Ghost and by a number of prologues to the *Antiphonale missarum*.[11] The chronicles, mentioned above, of the long and arduous transmission of the *Romanum cantum* north of the Alps were also in a sense part of this apologetic program, detailing the effort and care on the part of the Franks to drink from the source rather than from the stream. Thus the Gregorian chant, like its texts, came early to have what amounts to a juridical status and thus the binding force of a law.

This was simply not the case with any of the other repertories mentioned above. In the case of the ordinary, the unchanging text made the multiplicity of melodies for it clearly a matter of choice, and one of the functions of the Latin Kyrie verses and of the tropes to the other ordinary chants was to bring some liturgical hierarchy into this choice by making the calendrically neutral texts of the ordinary into something akin to propers. I shall not try here to deal with the sequences, which present problems of their own. In the case of the tropes, however, we have texts and melodies sung in intimate connection with the Gregorian propers and often derived from the same biblical passage as the propers they ornament, and yet treated by scribes and cantors as being something fundamentally different from the propers themselves. The primary difference concerns the status of texts and melodies: they simply did not have the standing of the propers. This meant that they could be changed at will, as indeed they were time and again.

This difference in the perception of the status of the trope texts and melodies also affected the ways in which they were transmitted. In the case of the propers the text scribes and the singers were apparently intent upon preserving something exactly as received. Here musical notation served the purpose of recording more of the

[11] The best-known and most accessible of these illuminations is that in the Hartker Antiphoner, published in *Paléographie musicale*, Ser. II, No. 1 (Tournai, 1900). On the prologues see Stäblein 1968. Short versions of the prologues were also used as tropes to the Introit for the First Sunday in Advent.

details of transmission that would normally have been the case (though it would appear that all of the details of performance recorded by the notation were not considered equally binding).[12] In the case of the tropes, however, the written text and the notation created an object that could be molded and changed by those who received it. This helped to make the tropes, as I have pointed out in two previous studies (1982, 1985), one of the last repositories of the traditional non-Gregorian chant styles of the locales where the pieces were used. In some instances this applies not only to the melodic style of the pieces but to the text as well, and variants in the trope repertory range from the changes that can be explained as a consequence of transmission, oral or written, to those that reflect deliberate recasting of a work, a recasting that often suggests working from a received model that was itself set down in writing.

The transmission and development of the Aquitanian series of tropes to the Introit *Puer natus est nobis* provides us with a convenient example of the kind of transmission to which tropes were subjected, which included deliberate changes. The earliest source for the series, PaN 1240, transmits it as follows:

TABLE 1
The Christmas Trope Series at Saint Martial,
ca. 936; PaN 1240, ff. 18v–19r, 21r

Trophi in nativitate Dñi		
Gaudeamus hodie quia deus	[Music]	*Puer natus*
—		[Ps. *Cantate*]
Ecce adest de quo prophetae	[Music]	*Puer natus*
—		[*Gloria patri*]
Deus pater filium suum hodie	[Music]	*Puer natus*
—		[V. *Notum fecit*]
Ad aeternae salutis gaudia	[No music]	*Puer natus*
In Octavas Dñi		
Quem nasci mundo docuere	[Music]	*Puer natus*

This seems to be the status of the series in the second quarter of the tenth century at St. Martial de Limoges. I have supplied in brackets the psalms necessary for a complete performance of the Introit with a verse *ad repetendum*, that is, Antiphon (1), Psalm, Antiphon (2), Doxology, Antiphon (3), Verse *ad repetendum*, Antiphon

[12] The transmission of liquescent and rhythmic forms of the neumes, or of the ancillary signs such as episemata and the added letters indicating rhythmic or dynamic nuances as well as melodic position, is not as consistent in the early sources as is the melodic shape and the general neumation.

TABLE 2

The Christmas Trope Series at Aurillac, ca. 975–1050;
PaN 1084b, ff. 53v–55v; PaN 1871, ff. 4r–5r

Trope incipits	Base chant in PaN 1084b ca. 975–1000	Base chant in Pan 1871 ca. 1050
Quem quaeritis in praesepe	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
Gaudeamus hodie quia deus	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	Ps. *Cantate domino*	Ps. *Cantate domino*. ii.
Ecce adest verbum de quo	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	[*Gloria patri*]	*Gloria patri*
Deus pater filium suum	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	[V. *Notum fecit*]	V. *Notum fecit*
Quem nasci mundo docuere	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
Ad aeternae salutis gaudia	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
Hodie super terram	—[1]	*Puer natus*
Quod prisco vates	—[1]	*Puer natus*

[1]This trope is absent in PaN 1084b.

(4). But the series as it appears in PaN 1240 is not performable—*Ad aeternae salutis* has no music—so a singer using this manuscript to trope the four statements of the antiphon would have to turn to the trope to *Puer natus est nobis* copied two folios later for the Octave of Christmas. With this in mind it is then interesting to see the next stage in the evolution of the series, in PaN 1084, this time not from St. Martial, but perhaps from Aurillac, giving us the state of the repertory ca. 975-1000,[13] given in Table 2. I also include in the table the version of PaN 1871, a mid-eleventh century troper from Aurillac, since it gives a straightforward confirmation of the liturgical context of the series by the inclusion of the psalm incipits.[14]

Performance of the series from PaN 1084b, if we begin with *Gaudeamus hodie*, is exactly the performance postulated from the

[13] PaN 1084 has three series of tropes: the first, ff. 39r-51r, will be called 1084a, the second, ff. 53v-90r, will be called 1084b, and the third, ff. 124r-142v, will be called 1084c. PaN 1084b is the main series, copied at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh, most likely at Aurillac. PaN 1084c represents a first supplement to this series, also from Aurillac, copied early in the eleventh century. PaN 1084a is a second supplement added at Saint Martial de Limoges, probably in the second quarter of the eleventh century. The first to call attention to the relative chronology and relationship of the series was David G. Hughes (1966, 3–4). PaN 1084b clearly transmits the Aurillac repertory as it stood in the last quarter of the tenth century.

[14] The indication *Cantate domino*. ii. in PaN 1871 served merely to distinguish the verse *Cantate domino canticum novum, quia mirabilia fecit* (Ps 97:1), from *Cantate domino canticum novum, cantate domino omnes terra* (Ps 95:1), which is indicated as *Cantate domino* .i. The earliest Aquitanian source where this distinction is made in PaN 1118.

TABLE 3

Changes in the Christmas Trope Series, 936–1050

PaN 1240 ca. 936 Trope Verse	Base Chant Cue	PaN 1084b ca. 975–1000 Trope Verse	Base Chant Cue	PaN 1871 ca. 1050 Trope Verse	Base Chant Cue
[1] Ecce adest	*Puer natus*	Ecce adest	*Puer natus*	Ecce adest	*Puer natus*
[2] Quem virgo	*et filius*	Quem virgo	*et filius*	Quem virgo	*et filius*
[3] Nomen eius	*cuius*	Nomen eius	*et vocabitur*	Nomen eius	*cuius*
[4] —	—	Et regni	*et vocabitur*	Et regni	*et vocabitur*
[5] —	—	**Pater futuri**	*magni*	**Pater futuri**	*magni*
[1] Quem nasci	*Puer natus*	Quem nasci	*Puer natus*	Quem nasci	*Puer natus*
[2] Visceribus	*cuius*	Visceribus	*cuius*	Visceribus	*cuius*
[3] Et diadema	*et vocabitur*	Et diadema	*et vocabitur*	Et diadema	*et vocabitur*
[4] **Pater futuri**	*magni*	Emmanuel	*magni*	Emmanuel	*magni*
[1] Ad aeternae	*Puer natus*	Ad aeternae	*Puer natus*	Ad aeternae	*Puer natus*
[2] Rex lumen	*cuius*	Rex lumen	*cuius*	Rex lumen	*cuius*
[3] Qui caelestia	*et vocabitur*	Qui caelestia	*et vocabitur*	Qui caelestia	*et vocabitur*
[4] **Pater futuri**	*magni*	Altissimi filius	*magni*	Altissimi filius	*magni*

Dash indicates the absence of either trope verse or chant.
Boldface indicates verses displaced in the transmission.

notated tropes in PaN 1240, and the psalm and doxology incipits in PaN 1871 confirm this. But a number of things have happened: there is the addition of *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*, one of a number of similar parodies of the famous Easter *versus*, which by its very nature belongs at the start of the series, but the antiphon troped by *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* is not provided with a psalm incipit in either source. Further, *Ecce adest de quo prophetae* has been rewritten slightly: the added word, *verbum*, is accompanied by melodic changes that could well be a simple matter of oral transmission, but may be the result of deliberate recasting to reflect the text change. In addition, the final verses of three of the tropes have been shifted around as shown in Table 3.

The shift is centered upon the verse *Pater futuri saeculi*, and the scribes seem to be trying to avoid duplication of verses in different tropes within a feast. In PaN 1240, *Quem nasci mundo* is copied for Christmas and *Ad aeterne salutis* for the octave. The transference of *Ad aeterne salutis* to Christmas in PaN 1084 would have led to two tropes in the same feast ending with the verse *Pater futuri saeculi*. At some point in the transmission of the conflated series between PaN 1240 and PaN 1084b this verse was transferred to the end of *Ecce adest verbum*, and new final verses were composed for both *Quem nasci mundo* and *Ad aeterne salutis*. Both new verses share exactly the same group of

TABLE 4
The Christmas Trope Series at Saint Martial, ca. 1000–1050

	Chant cues in PaN 1121, ff. 2r–3v ca. 1000	Chant cues in PaN 1119, ff. 4r–6r ca. 1050	Chant cues in PaN 909, ff. 9r–10v ca. 1030
Quem quaeritis	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	—	Ps. *Cantate.* ii.	Ps. *Cantate.* ii.
Gaudeamus hodie	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	Ps. *Cantate.* ii.	—	—
Ecce adest verbum	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	—	*Gloria patri*	—
Deus pater filium	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	—	V. *Notum fecit*	V. *Notum fecit*
Quem nasci mundo	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	—	V. *Viderunt*	V. *Viderunt*
Ad aeternae salutis	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*
—	—	—	—
Hodie orta est	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*	*Puer natus*

sources and PaN 1084b is the earliest witness for them.[15] In trying to trace the further development of the series at Saint Martial itself we are hampered by the absence of a crucial link since PaN 1120, a source from the late tenth century, lacks the folios with the Christmas tropes.[16] But the situation at Saint Martial between 1000 and 1030 can be deduced from the series as it appears in PaN 909, PaN 1119, and PaN 1121.[17] This is given in Table 4.

PaN 1121 is uninformative as to the manner in which the series was sung, except that it still does not assign a psalm verse to the antiphon that follows *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*, as do PaN 1119 and PaN 909. These two manuscripts also assign a second verse *ad repetendum* to the Introit troped by *Quem nasci mundo*, unlikely though

[15] Corpus Troporum 1, 58 and 87. The other new verse added to *Ecce adest verbum* in PaN 1084, *Et regni eius*, also has the same concordance as the two verses discussed above, but it appears also in Ben 34. A study of the manner in which trope series were constructed has never been done, but see the discussion of the Easter *Quem quaeritis* in PaN 1240 below, and also Planchart 1981, 348–49 and 358–61.

[16] A fragment of a source even more interesting than PaN 1120 survives as the flyleaves of PaN 1834. This was a troper copied when additions and changes to different trope series were being made at Saint Martial, and it could have provided us with considerably more information about those changes than either PaN 1120 or PaN 1121. But it was discarded early and only four folios survive. See Emerson 1962, and Planchart 1981, 359–60.

[17] A comparison of the repertories of PaN 1120 and PaN 1121 reveals that PaN 1121 is a partial copy of PaN 1120, at least as far as the proper tropes are concerned. On this see also Evans 1970a, 48, n. 35.

TABLE 5

A Pan-Aquitanian Christmas Trope Series ca. 990; PaN 1118, ff. 8v–12r

1. Quem quaeritis in praesepe	*Puer natus*	
2. Cantate domino canticum novum	[No cue]	[No music]
3. Gaudeamus hodie quia deus	*Puer natus*	
— —	Ps. *Cantate*. ii.	
4. Ecce adest verbum de quo	*Puer natus*	
— —	*Gloria patri*	
5. Deus pater filium suum	*Puer natus*	
— —	V. *Notum fecit*	
6. Quem nasci mundo docuere	*Puer natus*	
7. Ad aeternae salutis gaudia	*Puer natus*	
8. Hodie orta est stella ex Iacob	*Puer natus*	[Partly no music]
9. Ante luciferum et mundi	*Puer natus*	[Partly no music]
10. Puer natus est nobis filius	*Puer natus*	
11. Veneranda trinitas in personis	*Puer natus*	[No music]
12. Hodie super terram canunt	*Puer natus*	
13. Laus honor virtus deo nostro	*Puer natus*	[No music]
14. Laetamini omnes natus est	*Puer natus*	[No music]
15. Natus est altissimi hodie	*Puer natus*	[No music]
16. Quod prisco vates caecinerunt	*Puer natus*	[No music]
17. Adoremus ingenitum patrem	*Gloria patri*	[No music]
18. Glorietur pater in filio suo	[No cue]	[No music]
19. Venite gentes credite lucem	*Puer natus*	

it may appear to us to have yet a fifth performance of the Introit antiphon.[18]

A transitional link in the development of the series between 975 and 1000 is provided by PaN 1118,[19] a problematic source that appears to be an anthology of virtually every trope known in Aquitaine. The immensely long series of tropes to *Puer natus* in this source is given in Table 5.

Several things may be noted about this series. The first seven tropes are the basic Aquitanian series including *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* and the extra trope *Ad aeterne salutis gaudia*. The psalm cues in the manuscript suggest that a complete performance of the Introit included tropes 3–6; moreover, the second trope, given without music, carries the rubric *psalmus* rather than *tropos*, and has no cue.

[18] The early *ordines* call for only one verse *ad repetendum*. See Andrieu 1931–61, 2:159 and 244, but cf. Froger 1950, 8–13. The Aquitanian tropers, however, do provide a large wealth of such verses *ad repetendum* for a number of introits. These have not been studied in detail and may represent alternatives rather than allowing for further repetitions of the Introit antiphon.

[19] This source, although well-known for the widely reproduced illuminations of jugglers in its tonary, has not yet been the object of a careful repertorial study. Even its original provenance remains in doubt.

Even though this piece is used elsewhere as a trope to the psalm verse,[20] its text is a virtual paraphrase of the psalm verse itself. Thus it is not impossible to think that the addition of *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* to the Aquitanian series did not displace *Gaudeamus hodie*, but instead *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*, the entire Introit antiphon, and the paraphrased psalm verse functioned as a kind of extended *versus ante officium* that preceded a traditional singing of the series.

The additions found at the end of the series in most of the manuscripts may represent possible alternatives for some of the pieces in the series or even complete alternative tropings of the Introit.[21] But this can be hardly the case with PaN 1118. Virtually all tropes after No. 7 in Table 5 are unsingable from the manuscript since they have no music. Many are unique conflations of texts taken from the tropes for the first Christmas Mass, the Easter communion, and other feasts, and thus inappropriate as tropes to *Puer natus*. Like many other pieces in this manuscript, they may well be the product of scribal initiative by the compiler of PaN 1118.[22]

The origin of the tropes of the main Aquitanian Christmas series transmitted by all these sources is not always easy to determine. *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* may be an Aquitanian trope composed around 950,[23] but in an earlier study I noted that some of the tropes in this

[20] Apt 18, f. 4v, PaN 887, f. 10r, PaN 903, f. 148r.

[21] Hair (1980) suggests that in PaN 903 the Christmas Introit series consists of three alternative tropings. Her conclusions, however, are based upon a completely mistaken interpretation of the melodic relationship between the trope verses and the chant segments that follow them. The series in PaN 903 is closely related to that of PaN 887: both are anomalous for the Aquitanian tradition, reflecting the influence of northern French traditions and repertories. Alternative tropings of the Introit, however, are clearly indicated in a number of East Frankish manuscripts. Perhaps the clearest rubrics among this group are those of Ber 11, where the scribe tends to use the rubric *Alio modo* almost exclusively to indicate a new troping.

[22] PaN 1118 has a relatively large number of these curious conflationary tropes, often without music. The notator of the manuscript entered marginal comments concerning several of these, often disapproving, e. g., *Ante luciferum* (No. 9 in the series) carries the notation "n[on] s[unt] recip[iendi]." In other series, e. g., the Easter tropes (ff. 40v-44r), the marginal notations indicate a thorough reordering of the series.

[23] The earliest source for it is PaN 1084b, f. 53v, which represents an Aquitanian repertory of ca. 975-1000. But the work must be a bit earlier since it was already known in Mantua by around 1000 (Ver 107), in Nevers by around 1050 (PaN 9449), and in Paris by 1100 (PaN 13252). It did not find its way either to England or the Rhineland, which argues against a northern French origin. See the concordance in Corpus Troporum 1, 174, to which the following sources should be added: Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 7, f. 23r; Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS A 47, f. 16v; Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile, MS 697, f. 45v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *nouv. acq. lat.* MS 1660, f. 15v; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 10645, f. 52r; Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS F.

TABLE 6

Christmas Trope Series in PaN 887 (ff. 9v–11r) and PaN 903 (ff. 147v–48r)

PaN 887 (uncertain) ca. 1030		PaN 903 (St. Yrieix) ca. 1030	
Quem quaeritis in praesepe	*Puer natus*	Quem quaeritis in praesepe	*Puer natus*
Gaudeamus hodie quia deus	*Puer natus*	Gaudeamus hodie quia deus	*Puer natus*
Cantate domino canticum	Ps. *Cantate*	Cantate domino canticum	Ps. *Cantate*
Glorietur pater in filio	*Gloria patri*	Glorietur pater in filio	*Gloria patri*
—	V. *Notum*	—	—
Ecce adest verbum de quo	*Puer natus*	Ecce adest verbum de quo	*Puer natus*
Deus pater filium suum	*Puer natus*	—	—
Quem nasci mundo docuere	*Puer natus*	—	—
Ad aeternae salutis gaudia	*Puer natus*	—	—

series have a clear northern origin (1977, 1:201, 207–8). They may have reached Aquitaine piece by piece, but from the second quarter of the tenth century on they were transmitted within Aquitaine as a unit, and this suggests some form of written transmission. The series remains basically intact even in such peripheral sources as PaN 887, a manuscript of uncertain provenance,[24] and the St. Yrieix Gradual, PaN 903. The Christmas tropes in PaN 887 and PaN 903 are given in Table 6.

The series in PaN 887 is the same as that found in PaN 1084b and PaN 1871, but with the addition of two interpolated tropes, one to the psalm and one to the doxology, that appear already in the series of PaN 1118, though not as a coherent unit. Besides the interpolation, there is a shift in the order of the series. The common Aquitanian series presents *Deus pater filium suum* and *Ecce adest verbum* in that order, but they are reversed in PaN 887. Given the extreme consistency of the series in all other Aquitanian sources,[25] the order inversion

IV. 18, f. 11v; Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnacci, MS L. 3. 39, f. 3v. Many of the additional sources are Italian manuscripts, but these show strong dependence upon Aquitanian sources.

[24] The Aurillac provenance of PaN 887, reported in the various volumes of the Corpus Troporum, following Husmann (1964, 117), is absolutely untenable. Comparison of the different trope series in this source with those of PaN 1084b, PaN 1871, and the important fragment PaN 2826, reveals far too many differences between these and PaN 887. Equally unconvincing is the attribution to Saint-Martial de Limoges by Gaborit-Chopin (1969, 182), on the basis of a single decoration of an initial.

[25] The common order obtains also in PaN 779, ff. 1r-2v, and, despite some interpolations, in Apt 17, pp. 29–33.

in PaN 887 definitely separates this manuscript from the others.[26] The series in PaN 903 shares both the order and the interpolated tropes of PaN 887, but cuts the series short. As in other Aquitanian series, the psalm (and also the doxology in this case) follows not *Quem quaeritis in praesepe* but *Gaudeamus hodie*. Further, in PaN 887 *Deus pater* is followed by the incipit of the verse *ad repetendum*, and the trope that follows carries the rubric *Ad sufficiendum*, indicating it as the trope to the final singing of the antiphon. In all of this the series of PaN 887 has the earmarks not of an oral transmission, worked out as part of the liturgical act and then set down in writing, but rather of the conflationary copying of written texts and music together with bits of contextual incipits and rubrics. Texts, music, incipits, and rubrics have been copied down on parchment by the scribe without thinking that the reordering of the series as presented in PaN 887 makes some of these incipits and rubrics meaningless.

The transmission of the Christmas tropes in the Aquitanian manuscripts suggests the likelihood that trope series for individual feasts may have been transmitted early on through *libelli troporum* not unlike the *libelli* that had served in previous centuries as means of transmitting the prayers of the sacramentary.[27] Reflections of these *libelli* may be seen not only in the relatively orderly transmission of trope series, but in the occasional copies of tropes outside the tropers.[28]

Symptoms of a written transmission can also be observed in the nature of some of the textual variants we encounter. The Easter trope *Quem quaeritis in sepulchro* in PaN 1240, which has given students of early liturgical drama so much trouble, is actually a conflation of two non-Aquitanian pieces, a *visitatio sepulchri* and an Introit trope. This conflation has all the signs of something done by the scribe of PaN

[26] This is only one of the many such shifts and changes that separate PaN 887 from any of the Aurillac tropers. Although Hughes (1966, 8–10) groups PaN 887 with PaN 1084b in a statistical count of the repertory of fifteen feasts, I find that the number of omissions and order inversions in PaN 887 as a whole is far too great to permit us to associate it closely with any of the other Aquitanian manuscripts.

[27] This possibility is first mentioned in Huglo 1979.

[28] E.g., the series for the first Sunday in Advent found in Ber 155, one for a martyr in Reg 974, one for Sts. Gervase and Protase in Reg 466, one for St. Gerald of Aurillac in PaN 2826, the tropes for St. Æthelwold in Al 14, and the tropes for St. Vitalis in Reg 2397.

The tropes from Ber 155 are discussed below but see also Planchart 1977, 1:154–55. On the sets from Reg 974 and Reg 466 see op. cit., 1:186–87. A discussion of the series in PaN 2826 will appear in my forthcoming article, "Palimpsests, Fragments, and Marginalia."

TABLE 7

Conflation of *Visitatio* and Trope in PaN 1240

Hypothetical model Trope	Hypothetical model *Visitatio sepulchri*
Psallite regi magno devicto mortis imperio eia.	
Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum alleluia.[1]	
	Quem quaeritis in sepulchro o christicolae.
	Iesum nazarenum crucifixum o caelicola.
	Non est hic surrexit sicut **praedixerat**[2] ite nuntiate quia surrexit
	Alleluia reurrexit dominus hodie resurrexit leo fortis christus filius dei deo gratias dicite eia.
Dormivi pater et surgam diluculo et somnus meus dulcis est mihi.	
Posuisti super me manum tuam alleluia.	
Ita pater sic placuit ante te ut moriendo mortis mors fuissem morsus inferni et mundi vitam.	
Mirabilis facta est scientia tua.	
Qui abscondisti haec sapientibus et revelasti parvulis.	
Alleluia alleluia.	

[1]Cue omitted by the scribe of PaN 1240.
[2]Copied as *ipse dixit* by the scribe of PaN 1240.

1240.[29] Two of the crucial variants in the piece, the missing cue to the opening line of the Introit and the *hapax legomenon*, "*ipse dixit*," in the third verse of the introduction, are explicable only in terms of someone copying from a written source and losing concentration in one case and guessing at an unreadable word in the other. Hypothetical models for the scribe of PaN 1240 are given in Table 7.

The trope itself is a northern French or perhaps even an English piece that was known in Winchester as early as 978.[30] Its importance

[29] Numerous facsimiles of this folio of PaN 1240 have been published; most accessible are those in Young 1933, vol. 1: plate VI; Smoldon 1980, frontispiece; and Corpus Troporum 3, plate XI.

[30] This date is based upon the mention of King Æthelred (reigned 978-1016) in the litany, and the old date (prior to 980) of the dedication of the Old Minster at Winchester in the tropes of Bod 775 (copied ca. 1050), the assumption being that the late king's name and the earlier dedication date were copied automatically by the scribe from an exemplar usually listed in the secondary literature as Bo[a] (see Holschneider 1968, 24–25). This is, in fact, a conservative dating; some of the tropes

in the early northern repertory may be gathered from the fact that it opens the Easter Mass in the two Winchester tropers (Bod 775 and CC 473) and in the later Canterbury troper (Lo 14). It was known in Aquitaine in this same form, since it appears in PaN 887, f. 19r.[31] The *visitatio* is also the archetypal northern *visitatio*. Its text agrees completely with the first four verses of the Winchester *visitatio* (that is, the Winchester text minus the added office antiphons), and it appears in exactly the same manner in Ang 96, f. 74v (Planchart 1977, 2:37–41). The scribe of PaN 1240 began an attempt to turn the opening verse of the trope plus the *visitatio* into a large-scale introduction to the Introit *Resurrexi*, to be followed by the other verses of the trope as interpolations to the Introit. Thus he suppressed the first Introit cue following *Psallite regi magno* and proceeded to enter the *Quem quaeritis*. He apparently had trouble reading the words "*sicut praedixerat*" and guessed, from the configuration of letters that it was "*sicut ipse dixit*," a sensible guess, especially since it is close to the reading of the Vulgate text read on Easter Eve (Matt. 27:1–7, "*sicut dixit*"). But in fact the result is a unique reading shared by none of the dozens of surviving sources for this passage.[32] At the end of the *visitatio*, the scribe's attention wandered, and since there was no Introit cue following the *visitatio* in his exemplar, he forgot to enter here the cue he had suppressed at the end of *Psallite regi magno*. Therefore the first cue we find in the manuscript is the second Introit cue.

The written document, as opposed to the piece learned by heart, invites a different kind of glossing and reworking than that found in oral tradition. This kind of reworking is, by and large, not found in the older chant repertories, but it is relatively common in the tropes. Still, it would be wrong to regard these differences purely as a matter of oral versus written tradition. The reworking of the tropes is due in part to the lack of juridical status of the received text, a lack that invites what may be called its acclimatization of the text, making it conform to local tastes. One of the most interesting textual examples is provided by the apparently deliberate rewriting of a well-known

in Bod 775 were probably known in England as early as 950. This is particularly true of those which, like *Psallite regi magno*, begin the series at major feasts.

[31] A far more common Aquitanian form of the piece combines the introduction *Ego autem constitutus* with the internal verses of *Psallite regi magno*. As such it appears in Apt 17, PaN 779, PaN 909, PaN 1084b, PaN 1118, PaN 1119, PaN 1120, PaN 1121, and PaN 1871. See Planchart 1977, 2:153–54.

[32] See the text collation in Corpus Troporum 3: 217.

TABLE 8

Transformation of an Aquitanian Trope for Pentecost

A. Aquitanian Trope for Pentecost (PaN 1084b, f. 73v)	B. Anglo-Saxon Paraphrase (CC 473, f. 34r)	Introit Cues
AL̄	AD REPETENDUM	
[1] Paraclitus sanctus postulans pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus hodie.	[1] Dulcia favorum verba inclitaque miracula sanctorum atque inenarrabili fatu protendamus.	*Spiritus domini*
[2] Immensus et aeternus.	— —	*replevit orbem terrarum*
[3] Gloriam suae dans praesentia beatis	[2] Per quadratum mundi cardinem suam persolvens clementiam beatis.	*et hoc quod continet omnia*
[4] Terrestria atque superna.	[3] Lucida culmina stelligeri caeli nec non et fundamina terrae sicque refrenans caerula fluctivagi ponti.	*scientiam*
[5] Sanctorum charismatum.	[4] O mirum dictu sanctorum charismatum.	*habet vocis*
[6] Praestans notitiam linguarum.	[5] Salvator clemens cui tonant vocibus caelestia agmina praestans ex omni gente notitiam linguarum.	*alleluia alleluia*

Aquitanian trope in England. Table 8, column A, gives the Aquitanian work, consisting of six essentially independent verses that were recombined in different centos all over Europe.[33] This combination of six verses was restricted to Aquitaine; its earliest source is PaN 1084b, f. 73v, which suggests an origin for it between 950 and 975. Each of the lines, however, was known in England as early as the middle of the tenth century, and a version very close to the Aquitanian trope must have been known as well, since it is paraphrased in all the English tropers in the manner shown in Table 8, column B.[34]

[33] See Planchart 1977, 2:162–65, and 1985, 14–15.

[34] In the carefully organized troper CC 473, f. 34r, this is the last trope of the series, precisely the place where one finds most of the local additions to the received repertories in this source.

The English trope, although more ornate than the Aquitanian piece, preserves much of the diction of the latter. If we take the Introit cues as our guide, we can assume that the English writer was imitating a form of the Aquitanian piece that lacked the second verse. The closest textual relationship between the two tropes appears in verses 2, 3, and 5 of the English piece, corresponding to verses 3, 5, and 6 of the model. In each case, the language of the English trope is stylistically close to what Michael Lapidge (1972, 86–89) characterizes as the Anglo-Latin poetry of the Winchester school in the tenth century. The most interesting changes, however, occur in verses 1 and 3 of the English trope. In the first verse the English writer has gone to the account of Pentecost in Acts 2, rather than using, as the Aquitanian trope does, the language of Romans 8:26: "*sed ipse spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus*." This is the *locus classicus* of Biblical support for glossolalia, something that would not be welcome in the rational world of Dunstan and Æthelwold. In the case of the third verse, the English writer has replaced the bare antithesis of the model, *terrestria atque superna*, with an equally conventional triad, *caelum*, *terra*, *pontus*. But each noun carries with it a cluster of words that are the verbal equivalent of the decorative swirls one finds in English illuminations of the period. Here, more than anywhere in the trope, the writer reveals his English background, for his reworking of the Aquitanian verse is heavily indebted in its diction to the opening of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate*:

> Omnipotens genitor mundum dicione gubernans,
> Lucida stelligeri qui condis culmina caeli,
> Necnon telluris formans fundamina verbo,
> Pallida purpureo pingis qui flore virecta;
> Sic quoque fluctivagi refrenans caerula ponti.
> (Aldhelm, 352).

The tropes to the Christmas Introit in England were subjected to the same treatment. Some of these Christmas tropes seem to have originated in northern France, and spread north to England and south to Aquitaine at about the same time. In fact, the earliest Aquitanian copy of some of them, PaN 1240, still transmits the textual and melodic versions found in northern French sources (See Evans 1970a). In Aquitaine, as Ellen Reier has shown (1981, 1:17–68), they were subjected to some textual revision and sometimes to a wholesale melodic revision as well; the Aquitanian melodies for such tropes as *Ad aeterne salutis gaudia* are far more ornate than the northern French melodies.

In England, part of *Gaudeamus hodie* was elaborated in a manner similar to what has been described above concerning *Paraclitus sanctus*. In *Gaudeamus hodie* the trope verse found in the French tropers, *Hunc a patre iam novimus advenisse in mundum*, became in England the far more alliterative *Quem a patre omnino novimus esse missum in mundum* (Planchart 1977, 2:141). In the case of *Ad aeterne salutis gaudia*, the French trope was dismembered and its component verses used as tropes to the psalm and the doxology. This led to the rewriting of the middle verse. In French and Aquitanian sources it reads:

Rex lumen de lumine regnat in iustitia.

But in the English tropers, where it introduces the psalm, *Cantate domino*, it has been expanded as follows:

Rex lumen de lumine eia regnat in iustitia
cantate eia de virginis fecundia.

And it has been provided with a new melody that echoes not the psalm tone that is to follow but rather the modal structure of the Introit antiphon that has just been finished.[35]

A further example both of the transmission of tropes as complete series and of the acclimatization of such a series as it reaches "foreign" territory is provided by the northern French tropes for the First Sunday in Advent, one of the groups that appears to have been transmitted as a *libellum troporum*.

Table 9 below gives the series of tropes for Introit, Offertory, and Communion, as it is transmitted in such a *libellum* of the tenth

TABLE 9
Advent Trope Series in Northern France ca. 1000; Ber 155, f. 42v

[No rubric]	
[IN] O benefida tuis adsis protectio servis.	*Ad te levavi*
[OF] Spes pia suffragium virtus defensio Iesu.	*Ad te domine*
Tu via dux ductor tu summa scientia vera.	V. *Dirige me*
Tu miseris miserans tu mitis miseratio iam nunc.	V. *Respice*
[CO] Terrigenae cuncti laetentur munere tanto.	*Dominus dabit*

[35] Transcriptions in Planchart 1977, 1:207–9 (northern French and Aquitanian versions) and 302 (English version of verse 2).

TABLE 10

The Advent Trope Series in England ca. 978–1000; CC 473, ff. 10r–10v

[No rubric]	
O benefida tuis adsis protectio servis.	*Ad te levavi*
—	Ps. *Vias tuas*
—	*Gloria patri*
ITEM ALII.	
Almifico quondam perflatus flamine david	
—Clarisonas christo prompsit his vocibus odas.	*Ad te levavi*
Sed virtute tua rutilans in honore triumphi.	*neque irrideant*
Qui temnunt sibimet sua subdere colla superbis.	*etenim universi*
AD OFFERT.	
Spes pia suffragium virtus defensio Iesu.	*Ad te domine*
Tu via dux ductor tu summi scientia veri.	V. *Dirige me*
Tu miseris miserans mitis miseratio iam nunc.	V. *Respice*
AD COMMUNION.	
Terrigenae cuncti laetentur munere tanto.	*Dominus dabit*
—	Ps. *Remisisti*

century.[36] In northern French sources of the eleventh century (e.g., PaN 13252, f. 3r), it is preceded, in a development similar to what happened in Aquitaine with *Quem quaeritis in praesepe*, by one of the classical statements of the Gregorian legend, *Gregorius praesul*. But in the last quarter of the the tenth century, and possibly earlier, it had been copied in England and expanded with the addition of a second Introit trope as shown in Table 10.

The new trope was added to the final repetition of the antiphon and given the rubric *Ad repetendum*. Its language differs from that of the other tropes in using a good deal of alliteration in the opening verse and a number of words that are not frequently found in continental trope poetry but are common coin in Anglo-Latin poetry of tenth-century Winchester. About a century after its composition, when the series was recopied at Canterbury,[37] the now venerable English piece took first place, and *O benefida tuis adsis* was sung for the *repetendum*. This has a tradition of its own: in German and northern French tropers from centers closely associated with England the final trope of an Introit series is often a single-verse piece.

[36] Ber 155, f. 42v is a self-contained group of tropes in a *collectanea* of lives of saints copied in northern France in the late tenth century. The Advent tropes have no music, but a trope to the Introit of the second Christmas Mass shows a fine neumatic notation of the late tenth century.

[37] Lo 14, f. 1r. The Canterbury origin of this manuscript is now generally accepted. Because of a missing folio the trope now begins in Lo 14 with the second line of the opening verse.

The process of adaptation of a trope series to local use and local taste involved not just the composition of new pieces, as shown in the Advent series, but also the textual and/or melodic reworking of tropes received from elsewhere. For example, the Anglo-Saxon reworking of an Aquitanian trope shown in Table 8 above involved not only textual revision but also the composition of a new melody.[38] Similar examples appear frequently in the troper Apt 17. Gunilla Björkvall (Corpus Troporum 5, 50–53) has called attention to the many tropes subjected to textual revision in that source, and Günther Weiss (1970, xxiv-xxv) has noted similar melodic revisions in the same manuscript. John Boe has noted a number of cases where Montecassino scribes and poets edited, rewrote, and altered the texts of the Latin Kyries and the Gloria tropes they received from Rome and Benevento,[39] and Ellen Reier (1981, 1:15–17) has called attention to the revising of the melodies of northern French tropes that were transmitted to Aquitaine.

As a rule, melodic transformation of a trope, like the textual revisions discussed above, tends to occur when the piece travels across a major regional boundary, but this is not always the case. Like a number of other pieces, the Ascension Introit trope *Quem creditis super astra* retained its melodic identity in all regions. Example 1 gives three versions of the international melody for this piece, one from Nevers, one from Nonantola, and one from Aurillac.

The sources that transmit this work not as a trope but as a *versus ante officium*, Lo 14 (from Canterbury) and PaN 13252 (from St. Magloire or from St. Germain des Prés), have a variant opening of the text: *Quem cernitis ascendisse super astra*. In most cases a textual variant in the opening of a piece also carries with it a melodic variant, but in this case the melody, as far as we can tell from the neumes in Lo 14 and PaN 13252, stays very close to that of Nevers, except in a few cases where it aligns itself with some of the Nonantola readings.

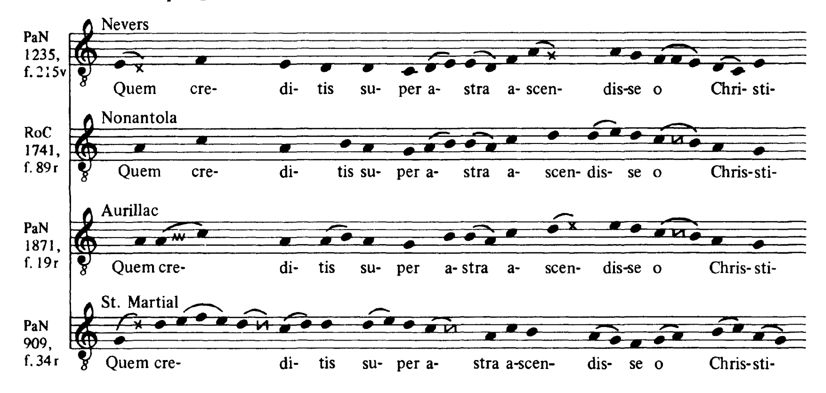
A closed group of manuscripts, however, transmits a different melody, given on the bottom staff of each system in Example 1. The main sources for this melody are PaN 909, PaN 1119, PaN 1120, PaN 1121, and PaN 1834, all of which reflect the trope tradition of a single institution, St. Martial de Limoges. The only other source for this second melody is PaN 1084a, that is, the section of PaN 1084 that was appended to it when the manuscript reached the library of St.

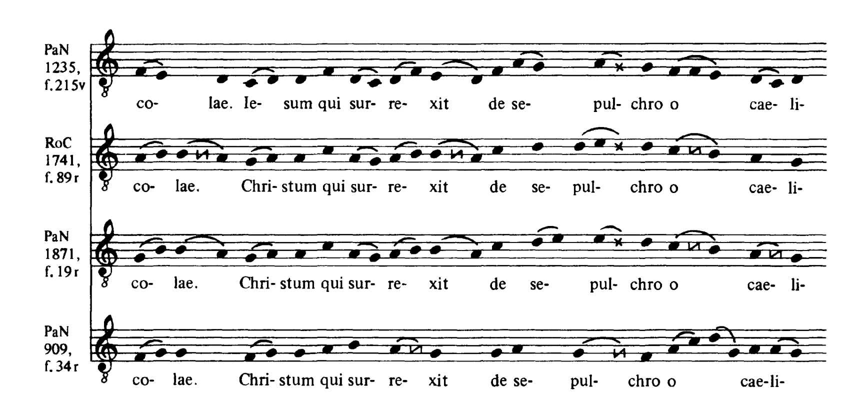
[38] This is not the only instance found in the Anglo-Saxon repertory of the reworking of received tropes.

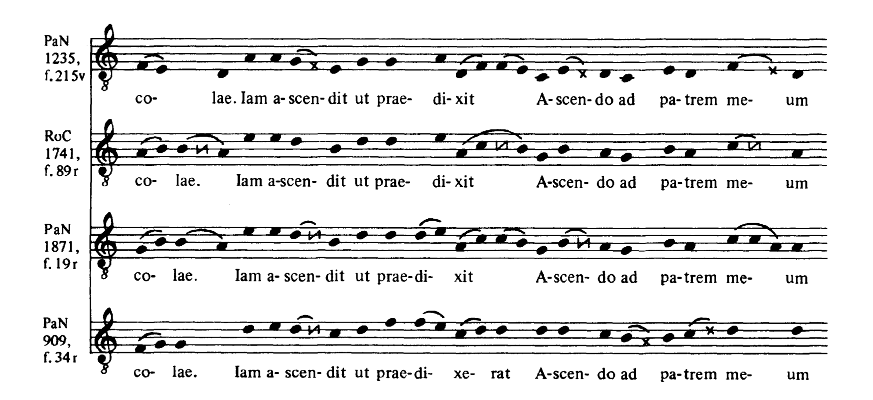
[39] *Beneventanum troporum corpus* 2/1–2 (forthcoming).

Example 1

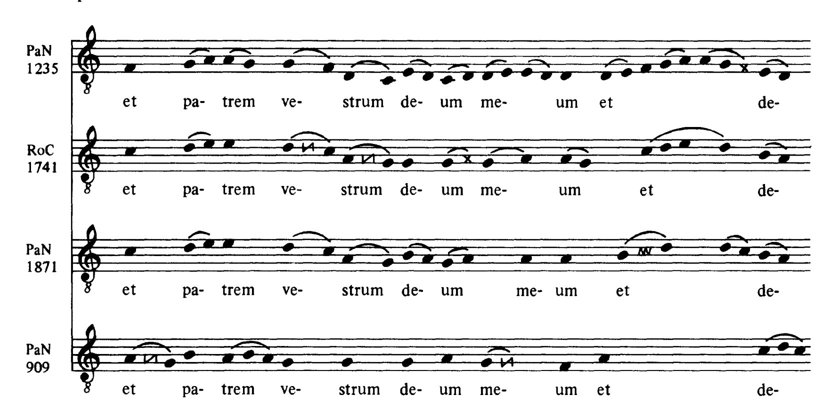
Ascension Trope *Quem creditis* in Four Traditions

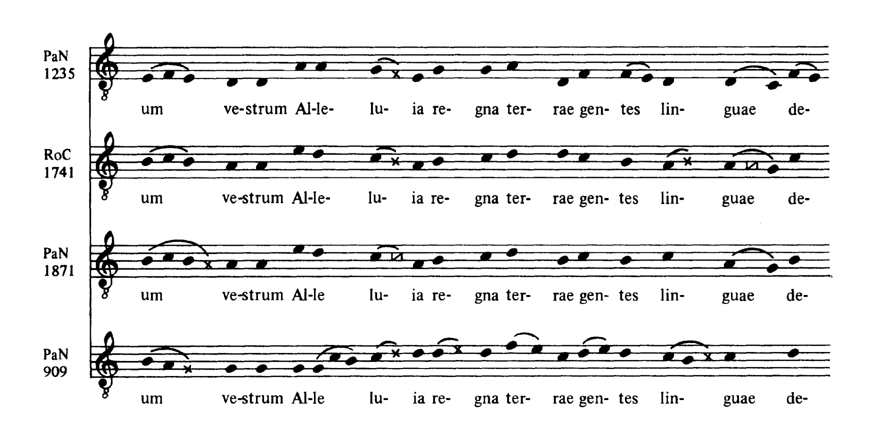


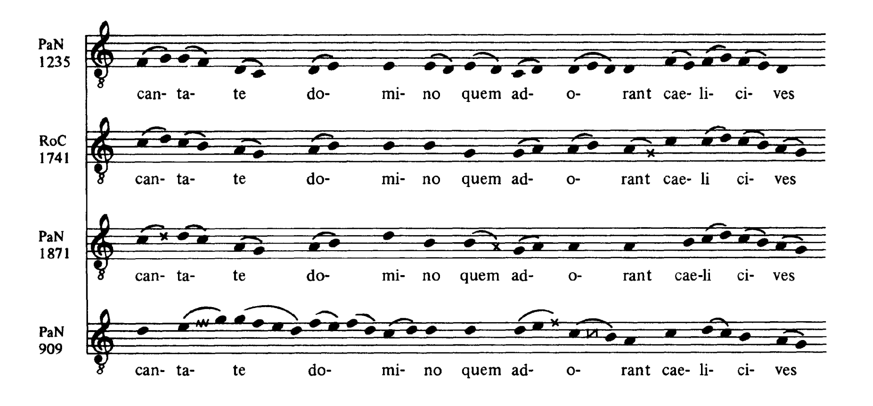




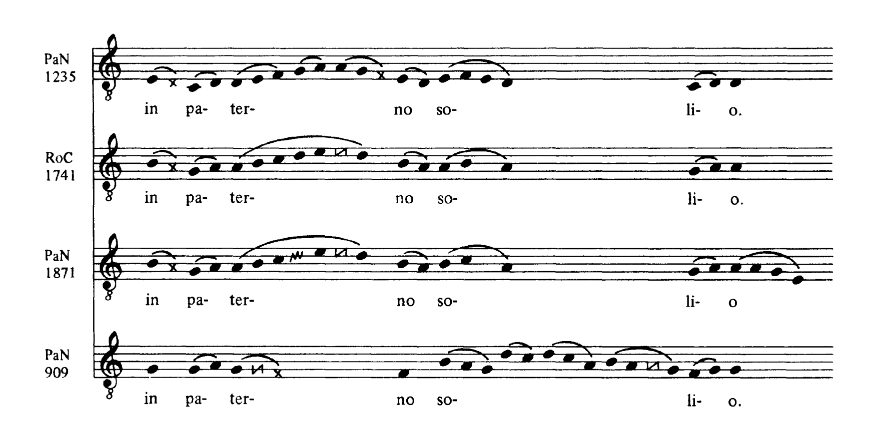
Example 1, continued

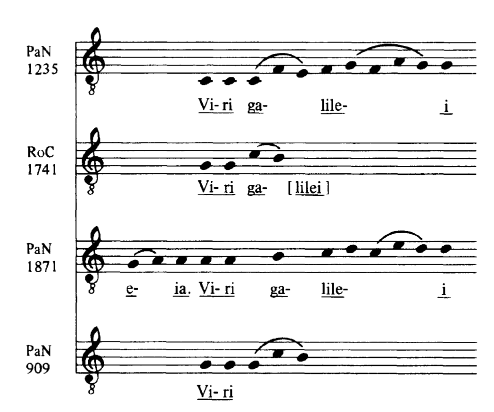






Example 1, continued





Martial. It is interesting to note that PaN 1084 already had the trope in its main section, but there it carried the international melody, which was clearly not used at St. Martial.

The different readings in the three versions of the international melody are for the most part matters of different ornamentation, though the different melodic ductus of the opening in PaN 1235 can actually be traced to ambiguity in the staffless neumes found for this passage in PaN 9449.[40] Like a large number of tropes to Introits in mode 8, *Quem creditis super astra* cadences consistently on *A* instead of *G*. This is an efficient connection with the Introit antiphon, melodically close and tonally distant, and it is probably no coincidence that

[40] On the relationship between PaN 1235 and PaN 9449 see Van Deusen 1980, 1:7–58.

a similar connection exists between the *ouvert* and *clos* endings of a great deal of music of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But it does look odd in its written form in a purely monophonic work, and in a number of cases the recasting of the northern French melodies in Aquitanian sources altered the tropes to end on the same final as the Introit. It appears to me that the majority of such modally-oriented revisions occurred at St. Martial itself—the revisions found in Apt 17 are of an entirely different nature—for it is in the St. Martial manuscripts that we encounter them most often. The *A* final of the trope still bothered the scribe of PaN 1871 enough so that he changed the opening of the Introit itself, but at St. Martial the melody was recomposed entirely and made into a mode 7 tune, though it belongs not to the melodic family of *Viri galilei*, but rather to that of *Puer natus est*.

This acclimatization of the melody of a trope may be observed working in a different manner in the case of an Italian trope to the Easter Introit *Resurrexi*. The trope, *Mulieres quae ad sepulchrum*, is given in Example 2. The transmission of the piece, its melodic style, and its literary form indicate that it is a southern Italian trope.[41] As in the case of numerous other Introit tropes from southern Italy, the text of the trope does not interact at all with that of the Introit—in fact, it makes absolutely no sense when read together with the Introit. But read as a continuous independent text it has a strong resemblance to the kind of texts used in the Beneventan *ingressae*. The melody for all verses of the trope consists of a six-fold repetition of a single melodic pattern, something that is never found in the Gregorian Introits, and rarely found in the Introit tropes, but that is quite common among the *ingressae* of the Beneventan rite.

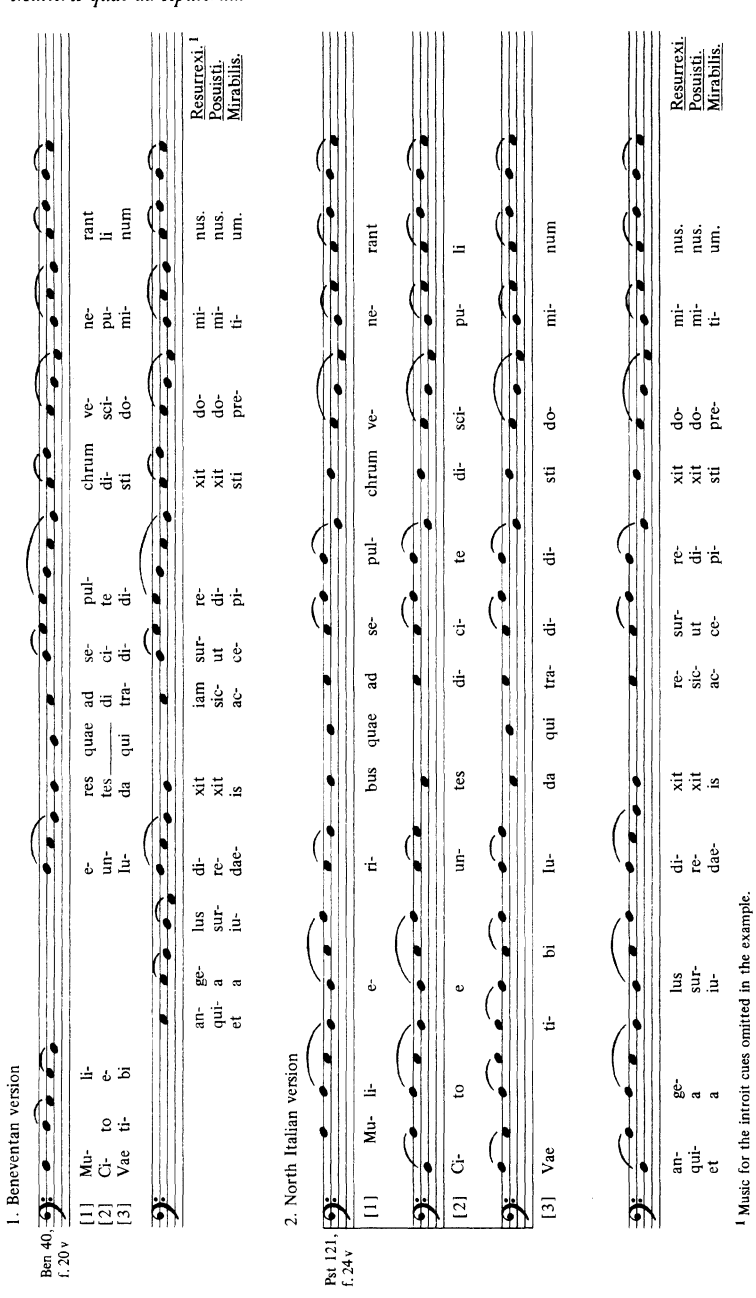
In the course of the eleventh century this trope found its way to the north. Fragments of it appear in a confused version in a central Italian missal, Vat 4770, and it is to be found in Pst 121, cast in a melody that, even though clearly related to the southern Italian one, shows a pair of crucial differences: the use of wide leaps, something entirely absent in the southern melody, and a set of progressive variants in the opening of each of the three verses.

In John of Afflighem's terms for melodic description, as cited by Ritva Jacobsson and Leo Treitler in their study of medieval music and language (1983, 8–9), the northern Italian and the Beneventan melo-

[41] See Planchart 1982, 132–33, for a discussion of the piece from a different perspective. An edition of the Beneventan trope with a full commentary will appear in *Beneventanum troporum corpus* 1: No. 61.

Example 2

Mulieres quae ad sepulcrum



dies are one and the same, that is, they deal with the grammatical structure of the text in identical fashion. But the intervallic surface of the two tunes is simply not the same. Although the melody in Pst 121 deals with the text exactly as does its Beneventan model, it uses just enough large intervals at crucial places to make it familiar to ears attuned to the Gregorian repertory rather than to the music of Rome or Benevento, and to this extent it shows itself as a product of the north. Here we cannot properly speak of recomposition, and John of Afflighem would be correct if he called both melodies the same composition, for they both compose, that is, read and interpret the text, in exactly the same manner. But the stylistic difference between them is important in that it tells us about very different attitudes to tonal and intervallic vocabulary in the north and the south of the peninsula.

Example 3, an Introit trope for the feast of St. John the Baptist, presents a more complex instance of several of the manners of acclimatization mentioned above. The five-verse combination of this trope is found only in the five graduals from the city of Benevento. Indeed, verses 4–5 appear nowhere else.[42] Verses 1–3 were known by 950 in the Rhineland and England, and by 1000 are found in sources from northern France and northern Italy. The nature and distribution of the sources points to an origin for the three-verse form in northern France around 900 or even before.

By 936 the three-verse form of the trope was known in Aquitaine where it was provided with a fourth verse:

> Formans me ab utero servum sibi. *Posuit me.*[43]

By the eleventh century the trope was known in northern Italy, where it appeared in a number of different versions, in which the first verse, *Quem prophetae caecinerunt*, is either preceded by one of three introductions: *Audite insulae*, *Clara iam nobis*, or *Hic est vir magnus*, or is simply replaced by *Audite insulae.*

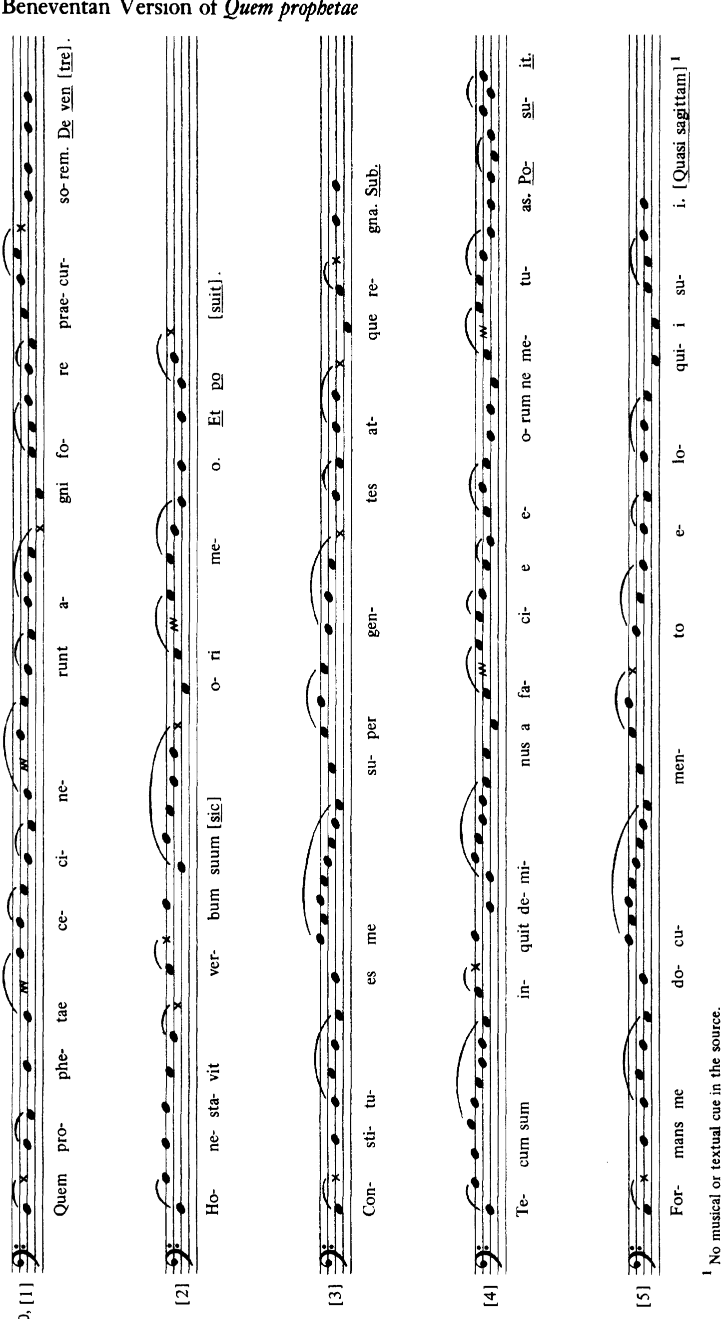
The earliest Beneventan source for it, Ben 40, dates from before 1050 and has a number of pieces that were by then clearly very old; but on the basis of a confused copy of the trope in Ben 35, I suspect that the piece did not reach Benevento much before 1050. Which form did reach Benevento? Most likely the Aquitanian one, since verse 5 of

[42] Ben 34, f. 197v; Ben 35, f. 123r; Ben 38, f. 107v; Ben 39, f. 112r; Ben 40, f. 86v. A full edition of all Beneventan versions, with a detailed concordance will appear in *Beneventanum troporum corpus* 1: No. 14.

[43] Edited in Weiss 1970, No. 14.

Example 3

Beneventan Version of *Quem prophetae*



1 No musical or textual cue in the source.

the Beneventan trope is derived textually from the Aquitanian verse 4 in much the same manner as the English glosses of French tropes discussed above.

In producing the music for the two extra verses, the Beneventan cantors also acclimatized the trope to the Beneventan melodic tradition. As the example of *Mulieres quae ad sepulchrum* shows, for a southern Lombard musician a trope to the Introit is a piece that resembles closely the formal and melodic shape of their own *ingressae*, which are built on the repetition of extended segments of melody. For verse 4, *Tecum sum*, the Beneventan cantor did not compose a new melody but simply duplicated the melody of verse two of the Aquitanian trope, *Honestavit verbum suum*, as far as it went, and when he ran out of music he added a cadential *torculus* and reiterated the entire second phrase of the verse from his model, creating something akin to the kind of internal repetition found in each verse of *Mulieres quae ad sepulchrum*. For verse 5, *Formans me documento*, he repeated exactly the music of the Aquitanian verse 3, *Constitues me*. Therefore, after the first verse, the Beneventan form of the trope can be heard as two repetitions of an immensely long melodic pattern consisting of the music for verses 2 and 3 of the Aquitanian piece. In this manner the trope becomes then melodically self-referential and quite independent of the Introit antiphon. To this extent, therefore, the trope has become assimilated to a melodic style that has its roots neither in Gregorian chant nor in whatever melodic tradition lies behind the music of the trope as received from Aquitaine, but rather in the non-Gregorian repertories of Lombard Italy south of Rome.

As Helmut Hucke has pointed out in a recent paper (1986), *Formans me documento* is clearly dependent not upon oral transmission but upon written transmission of the neumation of *Constitues me*, which was in any case completely foreign to the Beneventan repertory.

Similar dependence upon written transmission is illustrated by the case of the Palm Sunday trope, *Intonant ecce*, as transmitted in Beneventan manuscripts. This piece shows signs of a singularly tortured transmission; no surviving source has an entirely believable version, though it is not difficult to reconstruct such a version from the *membra disiecta* that have come down to us.[44] The Beneventan version of the trope, like the Aquitanian one, divides what were clearly the

[44] See Planchart 1977, 1:89–90. The edition of the text of the first verse in Corpus Troporum 3: 127, is correct as far as the text itself, but it obscures the rhythmic structure of the stanza by printing it as prose.

two original verses into four, placing two extra Introit cues at singularly implausible points within the sentence structure of the trope.[45] The trope appears in three of the Beneventan graduals: Ben 38, copied before 1050 for an unidentified establishment that was probably a nunnery and later used at the cathedral; Ben 39, copied at the end of the eleventh century at the nunnery of San Pietro *intra muros* in Benevento; and Ben 35, an early twelfth-century book that was copied by two scribes over a very long period of time, and that has all the earmarks of being the personal book of the first scribe, before eventually being passed on to the second scribe.[46] Ben 35 is something of a collector's book, in that both scribes apparently sought pieces that were not part of the normal liturgy of the city, and had access to independent sources for much of what they copied.[47] The scribe of Ben 39, probably one of the nuns at San Pietro *intra muros* and an unusually careful and intelligent scribe, was preparing a manuscript for her own establishment, and one that reflects very accurately the local traditions of the city. It is clear that, among other sources, she used Ben 38—which may have been at San Pietro *intra muros*—and Ben 40, which belonged to Santa Sofia, as sources for the tropes of her gradual. The diastematy of Ben 38 and Ben 40, both of which are notated in staffless neumes, is not absolutely accurate, but they are generally well copied. Nevertheless, in verse three of *Intonant ecce*, given in Example 4, the scribe of Ben 38 made a bad adjustment in the diastematy that produced an absurd melody for the verse and leads to an Introit cue at the wrong pitch.

The scribe of Ben 38 was aware of this and even changed the first pitch of the Introit cue. The scribe of Ben 39 clearly did not believe the melody that she saw in Ben 38, and guessed that the interval between the final pitch of the previous cue and the beginning of the verse was not a sixth but a fifth, a logical guess but the wrong one—

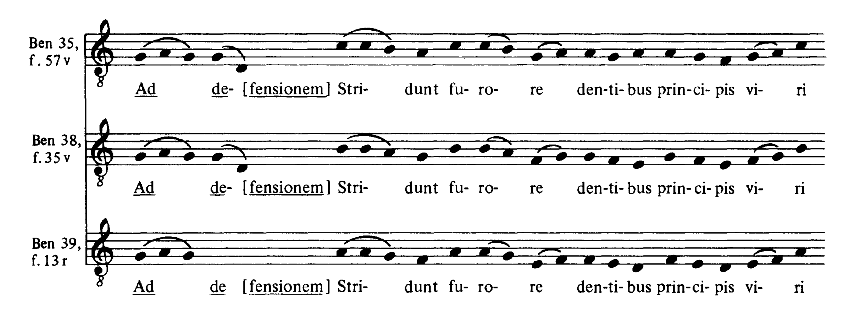
[45] See Planchart 1977: 2, 63–64, and *Beneventanum troporum corpus* 1: No. 16.

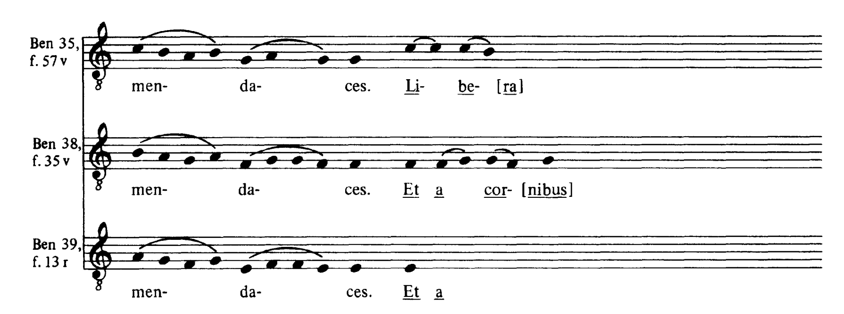
[46] All presently available descriptions of the origins of the five Beneventan graduals are far too schematic and inadequate. More detailed descriptions will appear in the second volume of Mallet 1984, as well as in the general introduction to *Beneventanum troporum corpus*. I am indebted to John Boe, who has prepared the descriptions of Ben 38 and Ben 39 for *Beneventanum troporum corpus*, for the information on the origins of Ben 39.

[47] This is made particularly clear by the trope repertory for proper and ordinary alike, which transmits a considerable number of pieces not found elsewhere in southern Italy, but it applies as well to a number of the Gregorian propers contained in the Gradual itself, which do not follow the liturgical customs of the city of Benevento.

Example 4

Beneventan Readings of Verse Three of *Intonant ecce*





the interval in question is indeed very unusual, a seventh.[48] This guess led to copying all of verse three a step down from where it appears in Ben 38, and only at the next cue did she realize that something was still drastically wrong since the cue begins now on *E* instead of *G*. She then aborted the cue, copied the following verse, this time at the correct pitch, and changed the final Introit cue so that the phrase of Introit sung at the wrong pitch would be as short as possible.[49] She was here obviously dependent upon the written version of the melody

[48] Since Introit cues in the tropes do not give the entire phrase of the Introit to be sung at that point, in actual performance the interval between the end of the Introit phrase and the beginning of the trope would be, of course, a different one: in this case a fifth, between the final note of *leonis*, an *F*, and the beginning of the trope verse on *C*. Nevertheless the written interval of a seventh is odd-looking enough in chant that the scribe's guess in the other direction makes sense. This, in fact, further reinforces the view that the scribe of Ben 39 was working from a written model, in this case Ben 38.

[49] The cue of verse 3 in Ben 38 and Ben 39 is *et a cornibus*, that of verse 4 is *humilitatem* in Ben 38 and *unicornuorum* in Ben 39. This shortens the Introit phrase sung at the wrong pitch in Ben 39 considerably, but at a severe cost to the syntactical unity of the last two Introit phrases.

as set down in Ben 38 and did not "know" the tune except from what she saw in her exemplar. The version of the trope in Ben 35 presents the entire piece at the correct pitch, but it shows a different set of Introit cues that bespeak an independent version of the entire trope.

Oral and written transmission seem to have gone side by side in the trope repertory, but the evidence of written transmission is far more plentiful than we had suspected. Symptoms of it appear not only in the wholesale transmission of ordered trope series in the Aquitanian manuscripts,[50] but also in the occasional revisions to which the series were subjected, which indicate by their nature that trope series had been received in written form. Since tropes did not have the juridical status of the Gregorian chant, new tropes composed in a given locale served often as an outlet and a repository of local chant traditions that probably preceded the imposition of Gregorian chant at many places.[51] By the same token, tropes imported from elsewhere could be tinkered with and adapted to local taste and traditions whenever it seemed desirable. These adaptations often show an interaction of oral tradition, in the form of the local chant dialects,[52] with a written-down object, the imported piece. The latter was contemplated, examined, and transformed in order to bring it closer to local traditions and tastes and thus make it meaningful and useful in its new context as a proper expression of worship.

University of California at Santa Barbara

List of Works Cited

A. Manuscripts Cited in Alphabetical Order by Sigla

Al 14	Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 14.
Apt 17	Apt, Basilique de Sainte Anne, MS 17 (5).
Apt 18	Apt, Basilique de Sainte Anne, MS 18.
Ang 96	Angers, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 96 (88).
Ben 34	Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 34.
Ben 35	Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 35.
Ben 38	Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 38.

[50] The evidence from other regions—northern France, England, the St. Gall area of influence, and various Italian centers—is very similar, although the larger number of surviving Aquitanian tropers makes the picture clearer in Aquitaine.

[51] A more detailed study of this aspect of the style of the tropes will appear in my forthcoming essay, "Old Wine in New Bottles," in the *Festschrift* for Helmut Hucke.

[52] In this sense "oral tradition" goes beyond the mere transmission of melodies and implies an entire way of singing and of hearing, an aesthetic and stylistic viewpoint that need not always be a conscious one.

Ben 39	Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 39.
Ben 40	Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 40.
Ber 11	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS theol. 4°. 11.
Ber 155	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. 8°. 155.
Bod 775	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775.
CC 473	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473.
Lo 14	London, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A. xiv.
MuB 14843	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 14843.
PaN 779	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 779.
PaN 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 887.
PaN 903	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 903.
PaN 909	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 909.
PaN 1084	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1084.
PaN 1118	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1118.
PaN 1119	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1119.
PaN 1120	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1120.
PaN 1121	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1121.
PaN 1235	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., MS 1235.
PaN 1240	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1240.
PaN 1834	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 1834.
PaN 1871	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat., MS 1871.
PaN 2826	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 2826.
PaN 9449	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 9449.
PaN 13252	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin, MS 13252.
Pst 121	Pistoia, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS C 121.
Reg 466	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 466.
Reg 974	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 974.
Reg 2397	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Reg. lat. 2397.
RoC 1741	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1741.
Vat 4770	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 4770.
Ver 90	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS XC (85).
Ver 107	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS CVII (100).

B. Modern Editions and Secondary Literature

Aldhelm. *Aldhelmi opera*. In *Monumenta germaniae historica, Auctores antiquissimi* 15, ed. Rudolf Ehwald. Berlin, 1919.

Andrieu, Michel. *Les ordines romani du haut moyen âge*. Spicilegium sacrum lovaniense, études et documents. 5 vols. Louvain, 1931–61.

Connolly, Thomas H. "Introits and Archetypes: Some Archaisms of the Old Roman Chant." This Journal 25 (1972): 157–74.

———. "The *Graduale* of S. Cecilia in Trastevere and the Old Roman Tradition." This Journal 28 (1975): 414–58.

———. "Musical Observance of Time in Early Roman Chant." In *Studies in Musicology in Honor of Otto E. Albrecht*, ed. John Walter Hill, 3–18. Kassel, 1980.

Corpus Troporum 1. Ritva Jonsson, ed. *Corpus troporum* I, *Tropes du propre de la messe* 1, *Cycle de Noël*. Studia latina Stockholmiensia, no. 21. Stockholm, 1975.

Corpus Troporum 3. Gunilla Björkvall, Gunilla Iversen, and Ritva Jonsson, eds. *Corpus troporum* III, *Tropes du propre de la messe* 2, *Cycle de Pâques*. Studia latina Stockholmiensia, no. 25. Stockholm, 1982.

Corpus Troporum 5. Gunilla Björkvall. *Corpus troporum* V, *Les deux tropaires d'Apt, mss. 17 et 18: Inventaire analytique des mss. et édition des textes uniques*. Studia latina Stockholmiensia, no. 32. Stockholm, 1986.

Crocker, Richard L. "The Troping Hypothesis." *Musical Quarterly* 52 (1966): 183–203.

———. *The Early Medieval Sequence*. Berkeley, 1977.

Cutter, Paul F. "The Old Roman Chant Tradition: Oral or Written?" This Journal 20 (1967): 167–81.

Duft, Johannes. "Wie Notker zu dem Sequenzen kam." *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Kirchengeschichte* 56 (1962): 201–14.

Emerson, John A. "Fragments of a Troper from Saint-Martial de Limoges." *Scriptorium* 16 (1962): 369–72.

Evans, Paul. *The Early Trope Repertory at Saint Martial de Limoges*. Princeton Studies in Music, no. 2. Princeton, 1970. (1970a)

———. "Northern French Elements in an Early Aquitainian Troper." In *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann*, ed. Heinz Becker and Reinhard Gerlach, 103–10. Munich, 1970. (1970b)

Froger, Jacques. *Les chants de la messe au VIIIe et XIe siècles*. Tournai, 1950.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle. *La Décoration des manuscrits à Saint Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IXe au XIIe siècle*. Mèmories et Documents 17. Paris, 1969.

Graduel 1960. *Le Graduel Romain, édition critique* 4, *Le texte neumatique* 1, *Le groupement des manuscrits*. Solesmes, 1960.

Hair, Greta Mary. "Problems and Solutions in Editing Introit and Communion Tropes and Chants from the Eleventh Century Manuscript Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin* 903." *Musicology* [Journal of the Australian Musicological Society] 4 (1980): 66–89.

Hesbert, René-Jean, ed. *Antiphonale missarum sextuplex*. Brussels, 1935.

Holschneider, Andreas. *Die Organa von Winchester*. Hildesheim, 1968.

Hucke, Helmut. "Problems of Transmission in Gregorian Chant." Paper read at the University of California at Santa Barbara, 8 January 1986.

Hughes, David G. "Further Notes on the Grouping of the Aquitanian Tropers." This Journal 19 (1966): 3–12.

———. "Evidence for the Traditional View of the Transmission of Gregorian Chant." This Journal 40 (1987): 377–404.

Huglo, Michel. "The Origins of the Troper-Proser." *Journal of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society* 2 (1979): 11–18.

Husmann, Heinrich. *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*. Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, Series B, vol. 5:1. Munich, 1964.

Jacobsson, Ritva, and Leo Treitler. "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship." *Music and Language: Studies in the History of Music*, no. 1, 1–23. New York, 1983.

Lapidge, Michael. "Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester." *Anglo-Saxon England* 1 (1972): 85–137.

Levy, Kenneth. "Charlemagne's Archetype of Gregorian Chant." This JOURNAL 40 (1987): 1–30.

Mallet, Jean, and André Thibaut. *Les manuscrits en écriture bénéventaine de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Bénévent*. Vol. 1. Paris, 1984.

Melnicki, Margareta Landwehr, and Bruno Stäblein, eds. *Die Gesänge des altrömischen Graduale, Vat. lat. 5319*. Monumenta monodica medii aevi, no. 2. Kassel, 1970.

Planchart, Alejandro Enrique. *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*. 2 vols. Princeton, 1977.

———. "The Transmission of Medieval Chant." In *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Iain Fenlon, 347–63. Cambridge, 1981.

———. "About Tropes." *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft*. New series. no. 2 (1982): 125–35.

———. "Italian Tropes." *Mosaic* 18/4 (1985): 11–31.

Reier, Ellen. "The Introit Trope Repertory at Nevers: MSS Paris, B.N. lat. 9449 and Paris, B.N. n.a.lat. 1235." 3 vols. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1981.

Silagi, Gabriel. "Vorwort des Herausgebers." In *Liturgische Tropen. Referate zweier Colloquien des* Corpus Troporum *in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, ed. Gabriel Silagi. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung, no. 36, vii-x. Munich, 1985.

Smoldon, William. *The Music of the Medieval Church Drama*. London, 1980.

Stäblein, Bruno. "'Gregorius praesul,' der Prolog zum römischen Antiphonale." In *Musik und Verlag* [Festschrift Karl Vötterle], ed. Richard Baum and Wolfgang Rehm, 537–61. Kassel, 1968.

Treitler, Leo. "Reading and Singing: On the Genesis of Occidental Music-Writing." *Early Music History* 4 (1984): 135–208.

Van der Werf, Hendrik. *The Emergence of Gregorian Chant*. Rochester, 1983.

Van Deusen, Nancy. *Music at Nevers Cathedral: Principal Sources of Mediaeval Chant*. 2 vols. Musicological Studies, no. 30. Ottawa, 1980.

Weiss, Günther, ed. *Introitus-Tropen I: Das Repertoire der südfranzösische Tropare des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*. Monumenta monodica medii aevi, no. 3. Kassel, 1970.

Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1933.

ABSTRACT

Recent reinterpretations of the evidence on the early transmission of Gregorian chant point to a larger role for written sources than had previously been thought. Evidence for the trope repertories—the ordered transmission of entire trope series for a number of feasts over a considerable period of time—points to similar conclusions. Variations in trope series from one region to another point to the existence of general regional traditions. Since tropes did not possess the authority of Gregorian chant itself, they were

acclimatized in each region in order to make them conform to local traditions, which seem to have their roots in the chant sung in each locality before the adoption of the Roman liturgy and Gregorian chant.

The nature of the acclimatizations, both textual and musical, indicate that the tropes were often received in written form and then changed and manipulated in ways that in themselves suggest dependency upon a written text and music.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[9]

Zum Verständnis des „klassischen" Tropus [1]

BRUNO STÄBLEIN (ERLANGEN)

Vorbemerkung. „Klassisch" nennt der Verfasser jenes stilistisch einheitliche, in seiner textlichen und melodischen Beschaffenheit ausgewogene Tropen-Corpus, das die Handschriften des späten 10. und des 11. Jhs., z. T. auch noch später, überliefern und das den ersten, und doch wohl auch einzigen Höhepunkt dieser Kunst darstellt. Beiseite bleibt die Frage nach der Entstehung und den Uranfängen des Tropus, beiseite bleiben auch die instrumentalen, bzw. textlosen, wohl erst nachträglich textierten Zwischenspiele, wie sie in einzelnen Handschriften, vor allem St. Gallens, sich finden [2], die als Früh- oder Vorstufe einer gesonderten Behandlung vorbehalten bleiben. Sehr schwierig ist es, eine Zeitspanne zu nennen, wenigstens was den Anfang betrifft, da die Handschriften bereits in die große Zeit fallen und die Erscheinungen der frühen und der klassischen Stufe unvermischt nebeneinander enthalten. Ich möchte meinen, und das mit allem Vorbehalt und nur als Vermutung, die allerdings auch nicht unbegründet ist, daß das Auflaufen zu der genannten großen Höhe der Klassik vor die Mitte des 10. Jhs. anzusetzen ist (vielleicht eine Idee später als die parallele Entwicklung der Sequenz). Ihren Höhepunkt dürfte sie nach den 30er Jahren des 11. Jahrhunderts schon überschritten haben. Doch zur Sache:

Sobald in den Anfangszeiten der abendländischen Musikgeschichte (rund 850 bis 1030) das erstemal geschlossene Repertoires von erheblichem Umfang erscheinen, treten uns diese in deutlicher Scheidung entgegen: zunächst der altüberlieferte so-

---

[136] La présence à Saint-Amand, centre de notation paléofranque, d'un fragment de graduel breton permet de poser la question. L'origine de ce fragment est mystérieuse ...

[137] Voir le Capitulaire de 825 dans *Monum. Germ. Historica*, Capitul. I, 327.

[1] Die vorliegenden Untersuchungen sind hervorgegangen aus einem Referat des Verfassers auf dem 2. Internationalen Kongreß für Kirchenmusik in Bern 1962 (eine Zusammenfassung des Referates im *Kongreßbericht* S. 35—37).

[2] Vor allem St. Gallen 484, aber auch 381, Wien NB 1609, London BM Add. 19768, Rom Bibl. Angel. 123 u. a.

genannte gregorianische Choral, der von den 50er Jahren des 8. Jh. an im karolingischen Frankenreich die heimischen gallikanischen Melodien verdrängte. Zu diesem Bestand, der altes Traditionsgut ist, tritt ein kaum weniger umfangreiches Corpus von neugeschaffenen Gattungen, die Sequenzen und Tropen. Von ersteren, den Sequenzen „klassischen" Stiles, liegen, beginnend mit der zuverlässigen und heute noch brauchbaren Ausgabe von Schubiger (1858), eine Anzahl guter Melodien-Editionen vor[3], so daß wir uns ein Bild von ihrem Wesen und ihrer stilistischen Eigenart machen können. Ja, seit Neuestem sind wir sogar in der Lage, genauere Differenzierungen und verschiedene Strömungen, die im karolingischen Sequenzen-Repertoire sichtbar sind, erkennen zu können[4]. Eines muß aber dabei festgehalten werden: der grundlegende stilistische Unterschied zwischen der Sequenz und den antiphonischen und responsorialen Propriumsgesängen des alten römischen Chorals, d. h. eben dem „gregorianischen" Repertoire.

Und wie steht es mit der zweiten der für die Musik der karolingischen Ära repräsentativen Gattungen, dem Tropus? Mangels umfangreicherer Veröffentlichungen[5] herrscht hier noch weitgehend Unklarheit. Keinesfalls darf das Begriffspaar „Sequenz und Tropus" den Gedanken aufkommen lassen, der durch dieselbe Funktion einer Ausweitung der Liturgie nahegelegt wird, es handle sich bei beiden auch stilistisch um etwas Ähnliches — wenigstens soweit es den Tropus der eigentlich gregorianischen Gesänge betrifft. Denn es muß beim Tropus wohl unterschieden werden: Die Ordinariumsgesänge dürften in der Mehrzahl Neukompositionen sein; ihre Tropen (bzw. Textierungen) stehen z. T. stilistisch den Sequenzen näher[6] und mögen hier beiseite bleiben. Die vorliegende Untersuchung will sich allein mit den Tropen zu den echten gregorianischen Gesängen, den Proprien, beschäftigen. Hier stoßen die alten und neuen Bestandteile unmittelbar und wiederholt aufeinander, und zwar innerhalb eines Stückes. Denn der Tropus ist ja eine Ein- und Umkleidung, eine Durchsetzung des Altüberlieferten mit dem Neuen. Die alten und neuen Bestandteile müssen sich arrangieren, wenn sie diese Verbindung eingehen[7]. Um nicht ins Uferlose auszuschweifen, möge aus praktischen Gründen das Thema nochmals eingeschränkt werden. Von allen Proprien in der Karolingerzeit spielt der Eröffnungsgesang der Messe, der Introitus, eine bevorzugte Rolle. Er steht liturgisch an der exponiertesten Stelle, hat die Aufgabe, die Atmosphäre zu schaffen. So hat sich das Bemühen der Tropierung vorwiegend auf ihn konzentriert. Kein Gesang ist so häufig tropiert wor-

---

[3] Näheres im Artikel *Sequenz* in MGG.

[4] *Festschrift K. G. Fellerer*, Köln 1962, 491 ff.

[5] Ein geschlossenes Repertoire ist bisher noch nicht veröffentlicht worden, so daß Untersuchungen, wenn überhaupt, immer nur an mehr oder weniger zufälligen Einzelerscheinungen angestellt werden konnten, die dann leicht als für die Gattung typisch angesehen werden. Diese Lücke soll der bereits in Herstellung befindliche Band III von *Monumenta Monodica* (Bärenreiter) schließen helfen: *Die Introitus-Tropen. 1. Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Handschriften* (die übrigen Repertoires sollen in Bälde folgen).

[6] Georgiades konnte deshalb das neue Musizieren gerade an einem Kyrie-Tropus exemplifizieren (*Musik und Sprache*, 1954, 23 ff.).

[7] Weil sie sich gleichsam vermählen, hat der Verfasser in verschiedenen Artikeln bei Zitieren von tropierten Gesängen das Zeichen ∞ verwendet, also: Quem nasci mundo ∞ Introitus Puer natus est (Notenbeispiel 5).

den und, darf man gleich hinzufügen: so hervorragend. Ich beschränke mich also aus guten Gründen (auch noch anderen, als den erwähnten) auf den Introitus, um an einem konkreten Fall, und zwar am günstigst gelagerten, zu greifbaren Ergebnissen zu gelangen.

Als bekannt darf vorausgesetzt werden, daß die gregorianische Introitus-Antiphon eine Art Kehrreim zu einem Psalm ist, ein Refrain, der den Psalm-Versen vorausgeht, sich zwischen die einzelnen einschiebt und das Ganze beschließt:

Antiphon		Ant.		Ant.		. . . Ant.		Ant.
	Vs. 1		Vs. 2		Vs. 3		letzter Vs. (Doxologie)	

Schon geraume Zeit vor dem Einsetzen der schriftlichen Überlieferung war der Psalm auf den 1. und den letzten Vers, die Doxologie, zusammengeschrumpft:

Ant.		Ant.		Ant.
	Vs. 1		Doxologie (Gloria patri etc.)	

Wurde die Antiphon tropiert, schoben sich die einzelnen Tropenabschnitte bei den Zäsurstellen ein (s. die Notenbeispiele auf der Tafel nach S. 94).

Literarische Äußerungen über Sinn und Wesen, Bedeutung und Zweck sowohl der Sequenz wie des Tropus haben uns die Zeitgenossen nicht hinterlassen. Wir sind allein auf die Sache selbst angewiesen, die allerdings auch der unbestechlichste und tendenzloseste Zeuge ist.

Befragen wir zunächst die Texte. Ihre Form variiert, ganz im Gegensatz zur Sequenz. Auffallend ist, daß sich Prosa und, bei entwickelterem Können, das v. d. Steinen ab 830/840 annimmt, der gehobenere (vielfach leoninische) Hexameter etwa zur Hälfte in den Bestand teilen[8]. Vermieden werden Sprachformen, die schon anderweitig von der Liturgie oder der geistlichen Dichtung (Hymnen) in Anspruch genommen sind. Doppel-Versikel wie bei der Sequenz finden sich nicht, und wo sie in den *Analecta Hymnica* 49 auftauchen, sind sie willkürliche Konstruktionen, die auch durch die Musik nicht bestätigt werden. Eine Ausnahme bildet nur die Hymnenstrophe, die einige Male vorkommt, aber auch nur als Introductio, eine sozusagen besonders feierliche (und auch z. T. sehr ausgedehnte) Intrada, in einigen Fällen geradezu ein Introitus zum Introitus.

Nun zum Inhalt der Tropen. Überliest man die etwa 800 Stücke in Analecta Hymnica 49, so fallen zwei Dinge als besonders wesentlich sofort ins Auge. Die Sprache ist weitgehend von musikalischen Anschauungen beherrscht. Immer und immer wieder wird zum Bewußtsein gebracht, daß hier gesungen wird, daß es sich um Musik handelt. Eine reiche Fülle von Synonyma für „singen" steht den Dichtern zu Gebote. Am meisten wird natürlich gebraucht: *Canere*, auch *decantare* und *concinere*, ferner *psallere*. Daneben finden sich auch: die Komposita von *sonare:*

[8] Die in *Analecta Hymnica* 49 vorgelegten Texte ergeben, da die prosaischen ausgelassen sind, kein treues Gesamtbild; sie machen gegenüber der Gesamtheit knapp die Hälfte aus.

insonare, resonare, personare, ja *sonos dare,* dann die verwandten *tonare,* bzw. *intonare, boare* und *reboare* (hier auch *plaudere boatu*), *clangere, pangere* (*pangere laudes; laudes* ist der häufigste Terminus für Tropen, denn immer handelt es sich um etwas Gehobenes, Frohes, Feierliches, von Glanz, Jubel und Entzücken Erfülltes). Allgemeiner ist das viel gebrauchte *proclamare,* im Sinn von feierlicher Verkündigung, *promere* (gern in Verbindung mit *vocibus* u. a.) oder *depromere,* dann *jubilare.* Wieder präziser erscheint uns *modulare.* Aber auch das einfache *dicere* (meist in Verbindung mit *odas* oder *carmina*) heißt natürlich singen, was bei *concentu dicere* sofort klar ist. Auch *cantica ferre* liest man, sowie *cantica solvere* oder *persolvere.*

Diese mehr als 20 Begriffe sind nun in mannigfacher Weise angewendet. Der Cantor, der mit dem ersten Tropus-Stück beginnt, fordert in direkter Rede, ganz realistisch und wirklichkeitsnah, seine singenden Mitbrüder auf[9] (so in Rheinau zum Fest des Klosterpatrons Fintan): „Ad missae laudes laeti procedite[10], fratres" (235)[11], oder am Kirchweihfest: „Psallite, laude cantate deo, fratres, gratulantes, tempus adest, hora instat, psallite jam nunc dicentes" (26) und der Chor läßt sich das nicht zweimal sagen, sondern beginnt sofort mit dem Kirchweih-Introitus Terribilis est. Andere Beispiele: „promite carmen", und zwar „angelicis modulis" (128) oder „vocibus altissonis" (32); man hat also hoch intoniert und, wie aus anderen Beispielen zu ersehen, gar nicht zimperlich, sondern vital-kräftig gesungen. Oder der Cantor spricht seine Sänger an mit: „Plebs subiecta deo, voce attolle canendo" (171) und sie beginnen sofort den Introitus zu Mariä Lichtmeß (2. Februar): Suscepimus. Neben den Imperativ tritt der Optativ: „Concinat plebs" (39) oder „Cantica nunc reboent" (218), „cantorum jubilet chorus" (64), „Jam philomelinis promat fibris chorus instans" (111). Von dramatischer Lebendigkeit ist die rhetorische Frage: „Dicite, quid colitis, fratres, quid statis in hymnis?" (52). Kaum inniger kann die Verbindung von alt und neu hergestellt werden als durch Gerundium und Partizip; der Tropus wird Nebensatz, zum Hauptsatz der Antiphon: „Eia, canendo sonos supplici modulamine dulces Gaudeamus" (mit diesem Wort *Gaudeamus* beginnt die Introitus-Antiphon (36)[12]. Gerne fühlt sich der Cantor selber als Glied der Sängerschaft, und dann heißt es: „iubilando canamus" (75), „laudemus voce boantes" (82), „pulsando canamus" (59/60). Die Beispiele lassen sich leicht vermehren. Daß solche Ausdrucksweisen nicht bloß rhetorischer, phraseologischer Schmuck oder symbolisch gemeint sind, sondern durchaus real und wirklichkeitsnah aufgefaßt werden müssen, ersieht man daraus, daß sie bisweilen auf technische Einzelheiten des Gesanges und des Vortrages eingehen. Es werden z. B. Chor und Solisten

---

[9] Die Aufforderungs-Funktion des Tropus hat HUSMANN besonders herausgestellt (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16, 1959, 135 ff.).

[10] *procedite* ist deutlicher Hinweis auf den Processions-, Marsch-Charakter des tropierten Introitus. Dazu neuerdings JAMMERS, *Musik in Byzanz, im päpstlichen Rom und im Frankenreich,* Heidelberg 1962, 302 ff.; doch muß bei der Annahme tänzerischer Bewegungen wiederum differenziert werden: *tripudiare* z. B. kommt in Sequenztexten oft vor, aber selten in Tropen; und hier (*Anal. Hymn.* 311, 372 u. auch sonst in prosaischen Texten) kann es sich nicht auf eine Aufführungspraxis beziehen. Bleibt als einziger aus dem Text genommener Beleg *pulsando canamus* (59/60) übrig.

[11] Die Ziffern in Klammern bedeuten die Nummern (nicht die Seiten) in *Analecta Hymnica* 49.

[12] Weitere Beispiele: 181, 231.

unterschieden: „concentu dicant supplici *omnes atque singuli*" (9), was auch mit „laudibus alternis" (41) oder „alternis sonis" (174) gemeint ist. Beachtenswert ist, daß unterschieden wird, ob es sich um das Tropus-Stück vor dem Introitus-Anfang handelt mit der Aufforderung, ihn zu beginnen, oder um ein Stück aus der Mitte oder vom Ende. In letzterem Falle heißt es *re-cinere* also wieder-singen, wieder-einsetzen. So heißt es z. B. einmal zu Anfang: „Dulcibus en omnes modulis resonemus ovantes" und später, vor dem letzten Introitus-Teil: „*recinentes* voce sonora" (136)[13]. Handelt es sich um die Wiederaufnahme des Introitus nach dem Psalm, wird logischerweise *repetere* gebraucht. So heißt es bei der Wiederholung des aus Psalm 63 genommenen Introitus Protexisti zum Fest des hl. Georg: „Quod psalmista bonus cecinit, carmen *repetamus*" (237), oder bei der Wiederaufnahme des Introitus Mihi autem aus Psalm 138: „Quod cecinit psaltes, carmen *repetamus* ovantes" (214). Wird der Introitus ein drittesmal angestimmt, wie es das Reichenauer Tropar aus Bamberg (Staatl. Bibl. Lit. 5) beim Fest des hl. Clemens vorsieht, heißt es bei der ersten Wiederholung: „Dulcia nunc summi *repetamus* verbula Christi." Mit diesen *verbula Christi* sind die Worte Gottes in Isaias 59, 21 gemeint, die dem Introitus Dicit dominus: Sermones mei zugrunde liegen. Die Aufforderung zur zweiten Wiederholung heißt dann: „Carmen adhuc *iterum*, confratres, volvite mecum" (227). Über das laute Singen sind im Vorausgehenden schon Beispiele beigebracht worden. Man darf sie durch das gegensätzliche *psallamus dulciter* oder ähnliche ergänzen. Auch das Atemholen wird nicht vergessen: „noster sermo canat *vastis cum flatibus*" (119)[14]. Solche und ähnliche Beispiele mögen zeigen, daß wir gut daran tun, die Texte der alten Tropatoren und Prosatoren sehr real aufzufassen, so, wie sie laut gesungen und von allem vernommen wurden, und nicht die unüberhörbaren Tatsachen, von denen sie künden, wozu auch die deutlichen Zeugnisse über das mehrstimmige Singen und über die Mitwirkung von Instrumenten bei Sequenzen gehören, als Symbolismen oder Rhetorik beiseite zu schieben, wie es heute noch bisweilen geschieht.

Diese musikalisch-realistische Atmosphäre beschränkt sich aber nicht nur auf die anwesenden Sänger, sondern sie greift gleichsam über auf die Persönlichkeiten des alten Testamentes, denen die liturgischen Introitusworte in den Mund gelegt sind. Auch sie werden singend, wie die Anwesenden, ja komponierend dargestellt. Es sind Patriarchen, wie Jakob, und Propheten wie Isaias, in erster Linie natürlich David, der *Psalmista* oder, wie er einmal gräzisierend heißt (207), *psalmographus*, von dem ja die meisten Texte stammen. Diese Persönlichkeiten werden aufgefaßt, als ob sie die Introitusworte selber gesungen hätten, z. B.: „Quem patriarcharum voces, *propheticus atque praecinuit* coetus" (71), und was sie vor-gesungen haben, ist hier der Weihnachts-Introitus Puer natus est. Zum selben Introitus: „Quod prisco vates *cecinerunt* tempore sancti" (69). Der Rorate-Introitus ist Isaias entnommen, des-

[13] Ähnlich vor dem zweiten Stück des Introitus: „Dulcifluis digne *recinendo* odas" (174) oder (in 111) vor dem Anfang: „promat chorus" und vor dem letzten Teil: „aethereis *re-tonantes* clangite vocibus odas".

[14] Derselbe Text fährt fort: „dulciter egregias laudes et clangat in altis" (!). In 233 heißt es „celsa voce".

halb: „Esaias *voce resultat*“: Rorate caeli (163). Die Worte Jakobs nach dem Traum von der Himmelsleiter „Terribilis est locus iste“ bilden den Kirchweih-Introitus. Deshalb heißt es im vorausgehenden Tropus: „Jacob hos dedit *sonos*“: Terribilis est (146)[15]. Besonders zahlreich sind die Belege für den Psalmensänger David, aber auch Engel werden singend dargestellt.

Diese Aktualisierung der Gestalten der Vorzeit, dieses Hereinziehen in die gegenwärtige musikalische Atmosphäre ist so konsequent, daß der Unterschied zwischen Tropus und Antiphon auch terminologisch aufgehoben ist. Nie kommt es vor, daß der Introitus *antiphona* genannt wird, wie es in den gleichzeitigen Lehrschriften (Aurelian, Regino) ständig der Fall ist, nein: alles wird ausnahmslos *carmen* oder *canticum, oda* oder *laus* bzw. *laudes* genannt, gleich ob damit der neue Tropus oder der alte Introitus gemeint ist. Alt und Neu sind gleichgesetzt, beide sind gegenwärtig.

Ein zweites Moment der Aktualisierung ist folgendes: Keine sonstige Tropengattung stellt so intensiv auf das Festgeheimnis oder auf den zu feiernden Heiligen ab, wie gerade der Eröffnungsgesang der Messe. Sind die Introitus-Texte an und für sich schon auf den konkreten Festgedanken hin ausgewählt (z. B. Puer natus est, Resurrexi, Spiritus sanctus für die drei großen Hauptfeste, um nur diese zu nennen), wird durch die Tropierung dieser Zusammenhang noch lebensvoller und wirklichkeitsnaher.

Im ganzen, so kann man sagen, wird durch die Tropierung der alte gregorianische Gesang neu „in Szene gesetzt“, er wird „modern inszeniert“. Das ist viel mehr, als das Glossieren oder Kommentieren oder Präzisieren, das man bisher als das Wesen des Tropus gesehen hat[16]. Die Texte der Psalmen oder sonstiger Bücher der Bibel sind dadurch, daß sie in einer gänzlich anderen Umgebung und vor vielen Jahrhunderten entstanden sind, doch irgendwie etwas Fremdartiges. Durch den Tropus soll dieses überlieferte Gut in die gegenwärtige Sphäre, in unmittelbare Lebensnähe gebracht werden. Deshalb auch der in vielen Stücken entstehende Eindruck des Tropus als einer in Musik gesetzten Rubrik. Von den Steinen, der vielfach einen feinen Instinkt für solche und ähnliche Dinge zeigt, formuliert den Tropus sehr glücklich als den Antrieb, *„sich das Ererbte wahrhaft zuzueignen, ja es sich traulich zu machen“* (*Karolingische Kulturfragen*, 165[17]).

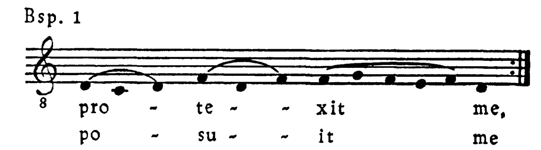
Daher kommt es auch, daß fast nie vom Tropus als von etwas Neuem geredet wird. Den Dichtern fehlt anscheinend das Bewußtsein, hier etwas Neues geschaffen zu haben, ganz im Gegensatz zur Sequenz, die als wirklich neu empfunden wird. Wir begegnen allein schon im südfranzösischen Sequenzen-Repertoire, wie es Analecta Hymnica 7 vermittelt, den Ausdrücken: *prosa nova, carmina laeta ac nova, nova cantica* (dies am häufigsten, wohl zusammenhängend mit denselben Worten im Psalter, z. B. 39, 4), *nova affamina, hymnum novum* (in der Terminologie Notkers), ja sogar *nova melodemata* taucht einmal auf. Demgegenüber fehlen in

[15] Andere Beispiele sind 145, 148, 149, 151, 153.
[16] Auch die Annahme von didaktischen und liturgischen Gründen sagt zu wenig.
[17] *Welt als Geschichte* X, 1950, 156 ff.
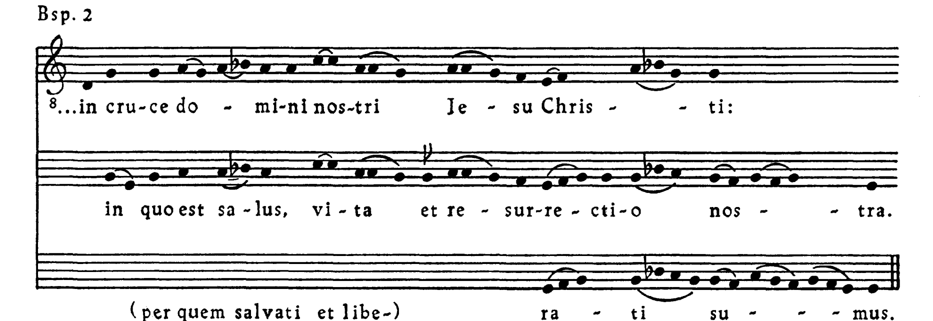
den Tropen solche Hinweise fast völlig[18]. Man ist fast versucht anzunehmen, die Tropatoren glaubten, hier etwas den alten Gesängen Fehlendes zu ergänzen[19].

Dasselbe Bild wird uns bestätigt, wenn wir die Musik der Tropen befragen. Auch wenn die übliche Koppelung der Namen „Tropus und Sequenz" die Versuchung nahelegt, beide seien Verwandte, stellt sich bei näherem Zusehen bald heraus, daß prinzipielle Unterschiede beide trennen. Die Tonsprache der Sequenz, auch die der standardisierten kirchlichen Sequenz, ist eine grundlegend andere. Sie steht dem römischen Choral ferner, während der Tropus als ein Bestandteil des Chorals empfunden wird.

Es ist hier nicht die Aufgabe, den Unterschied zwischen Sequenz einerseits und choralen Proprien und Tropus andererseits herauszuarbeiten. Doch möge auf eine Erscheinung hingewiesen sein, die das Verhältnis der beiden Stile besonders instruktiv zu erhellen erscheint, nämlich die Wiederholung derselben Gestalt. Freilich, auch die normale Introitus-Melodik kennt gelegentliche Wiederholungen. Im Introitus De ventre matris vom Fest Johannes des Täufers (24. Juni) kommt eine Wendung unmittelbar hintereinander vor:



Hier ist es offensichtlich der Parallelismus der Worte *protexit me* und *posuit me*, der den Redaktor der Melodie zur selben Wendung veranlaßt hat. Dasselbe läßt sich vom Introitus Mihi autem (Gründonnerstag) nicht sagen:



Die ersten beiden Zeilen sind gleich. Auch die dritte Zeile bedient sich derselben Schlußwendung (man könnte bei diesem Stück eher an griechische Vorbilder denken). Aber die Wiederholung ist hier, wie überhaupt bei den gregorianischen Proprien, nicht Bauprinzip. Man hat den Eindruck, die weiterströmende Linie nimmt wie zufällig, eben wieder einmal

[18] Wenn gelegentlich von *nova cantica* (159) oder *nova laus* (271) die Rede ist, ist hiermit nicht der Tropus gemeint.

[19] Dabei waren sie sich wohl bewußt, daß sie diese Dinge ergänzten. Einmal wird nämlich der Kantor, der den Tropus gemacht hat, direkt angesprochen. Nach dem Psalm wird er aufgefordert, die Wiederaufnahme der Antiphon zu intonieren: En iterum, cantor, qui stas modo *carminis auctor*, dulcissonis modulis primordia dicito laudis: Os iusti ... (singulär aus Mantua San Benedetto, zum Rufinus-Fest, in Verona Cap. CVII leider in unlesbaren Neumen, AH 49, 148).

die Gestalt von etwas schon Dagewesenem an[20]. In der Sequenz dagegen ist die Wiederholung ein konstitutives Element der Melodiebildung. Hier sind Wiederholungen nicht zufällig, die sein oder nicht zu sein bräuchten, die in dem großen Verlauf da und dort eingebettet sind, sondern sie sind bewußt und absichtlich, notwendig, sind ein primäres Element der Melodiegestaltung. Schon Dreves ist das aufgefallen, und er hat im Vorwort zu seinem Band 7 der *Analecta Hymnica*, in dem er das erstemal Sequenzen edierte, einige Beispiele geboten, die sich durch unzählige, und auch noch schlagendere vermehren ließen.

Der Tropen-Komponist bemüht sich also, in der Tonsprache des überlieferten Chorals zu singen. Während die Sequenz im Prinzip syllabisch ist, also jeder Ton seinen Platz hat, strömt die Linie des Tropus mehr gemischt syllabisch-melismatisch dahin, eben dem Stil der Meßantiphonen entsprechend[21].

Das zweite gleich stark in die Augen fallende Moment ist die kräftige Herausarbeitung des modalen Charakters der Melodik. Jeder Modus hat sein bestimmtes Melodie-Gerüst und seine bestimmten bevorzugten Wendungen, ja manche gehören nur ihm an. Und so bemühen sich auch die karolingischen Kantoren in den Tropus-Ergänzungen dieselbe Sprache zu reden. Auch sie bedienen sich dieser typischen Wendungen. Sie komponieren aus dem modalen Geist der jeweiligen römischen Melodie heraus. Wir werden das bei den praktischen Beispielen zur Genüge sehen. Bisweilen greift der Tropus direkt Wendungen der choralen Melodie auf.

Doch wenn auch die karolingischen Musiker, wie mir scheint, glaubten, gregorianisch zu komponieren, so schaut doch nur zu oft der Musiker des 10. oder 11. Jhs. heraus. Man konnte (das war damals so wie heute und immer) nicht vollkommen im Stil einer zurückliegenden Epoche, noch dazu in dem eines anderen Volkstums, musizieren. Diese Verschiedenheiten liegen nicht so offen da und sind nicht so leicht zu beschreiben. Aber sie sind vorhanden. Bisweilen kann der Tropator der Versuchung nicht widerstehen, mehr syllabisch zu singen, sich mehr dem vertrauten Sequenzenstil zu nähern, als die Koinzidenz mit dem Choral es zuläßt. Auch Wiederholungen sind verräterisch. Die Verwendung von modal-typischen Wendungen geht nicht immer so natürlich und ungezwungen vor sich, wie im römischen Choral. In manchen Beispielen merkt man eben doch, daß es eine Pseudo-Gregorianik, eine Neo-Gregorianik ist (wir kennen dieses Festhalten an traditionellen Stilen aus späteren Epochen der Musikgeschichte). Nur gregorianisierend und nicht gregorianisch ist auch die nicht seltene Überschreitung des Ambitus gegenüber dem des Introitus; die Tonsprache der karolingischen Zeit, besonders des beginnenden 11. Jhs., war von Haus aus, wie man an den Sequenzen, den Ordinariums- und anderen Melodien sieht, weiträumiger, als die der gregorianischen Proprien[22]. Und schließlich sind die

[20] Ausnahmen kommen am ehesten in der F-Melodik vor; ein besonders auffallendes Beispiel einer dreifachen Wiederholung ist der Schluß des Offertoriums Sicut in holocausto: *ut placeat tibi / quia non est confusio / confitentibus in te domine.* — Ein Spezialfall sind auch die gregorianik-fremden Alleluia.

[21] Ja dieses Prinzip wird so feinfühlig gehandhabt, daß in manchen Stücken eine Neigung zu mehr Syllabik im Introitus sich auch im dazugehörigen Tropus wiederspiegelt.

[22] Siehe Notenbeispiel 5.

Tropen auch rhythmisch abwechslungsreicher[23], als die gregorianischen Melodien. Dehnungen gehören zum Wesen mancher Tropen, während die gregorianischen Melodien ihrer nicht bedürfen. Aber das alles sind nur Nuancen. Im Grunde bleibt der gregorianische Charakter der Tropen-Musik. *„Stilistically, the music of the trope is hardly distinguishable from that of the chant it embellishes"*, sagt so Evans mit Recht[24].

Bei dieser Lage der Dinge ist es auch nicht verwunderlich, daß mehrstimmige Ausführung bei Tropen nur sehr selten erwähnt wird, ganz im Gegensatz zur Sequenz (d. h. der westfränkischen), wo immer wieder von *organum* und seinem Synonymum *symphonia*[25] die Rede ist. Mir sind nur sechs Texte zur Hand, bei denen vom Gesang des Organum die Rede ist.

Merkwürdigerweise gehören fünf davon zu einer Introitus-Melodie: vier zu Gaudeamus, und zwar jedesmal zum Allerheiligen-Fest, und einer zu Statuit (Fest des hl. Martin), das bekanntlich dieselbe Melodie hat:

187: „Dulcia corde pio resonantes *organa* Christo" / Gaudeamus[26]

194: Gaudeamus . . . domino / „*Organa* nunc laxis resonemus in ordine fibris" / Diem festum . . .[27]

195: Gaudeamus . . . domino / „Nunc sanctis juncti resonemus *organa* cunctis" / Diem festum . . .[28]

—: „Iam resonant voces in excelso iam perstrepunt *organa* devota" / Gaudeamus (Verona Cap. CVII, 23).

300: „Dicat in aethra deo laudes haec contio sacra / Marinoque melos decantent *organa* vocis" / Statuit . . .[29] Hier ist charakteristisch, daß der zweite Hexameter, der den Begriff *organa* enthält, in den beiden Spätquellen des 12. Jhs. durch einen anderen ohne dieses Wort ersetzt ist. Darf das so interpretiert werden, daß man im 12. Jh. auf das primitive Organum (denn nur um dieses handelt es sich selbstverständlich) verzichtete, wenigstens in den Zentren liturgisch-musikalischer Pflege? noch dazu, wo wir einen Parallelfall beim organalen Sequenzen-Singen kennen (*Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 18, 1961, S. 33, Anm. 2)? Das 6. Beispiel einer organalen Ausführung betrifft den Tropus Organicis zum Kirchweih-Introitus Terribilis est. Daß er in *Anal. Hymn.* fehlt, wird dadurch mehr als aufgewogen, daß er mit der Melodie in der Facsimile-Ausgabe der Beneventaner Hs. VI 34, *Paléographie Musicale* XV, 172' zu finden ist[30]. Seine, durch überreiche Verwendung von Formeln für unsere Begriffe etwas altertümlich steif wirkende Melodik könnte eher, als die vorgenannten Beispiele, an eine primitive organale Ausführung denken lassen. Ich setze deshalb die Melodie hierher:

---

[23] Siehe Notenbeispiel 5 und 6.

[24] *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV, 1961, 130.

[25] Durch Theoretiker-Aussagen häufig und ausdrücklich belegt.

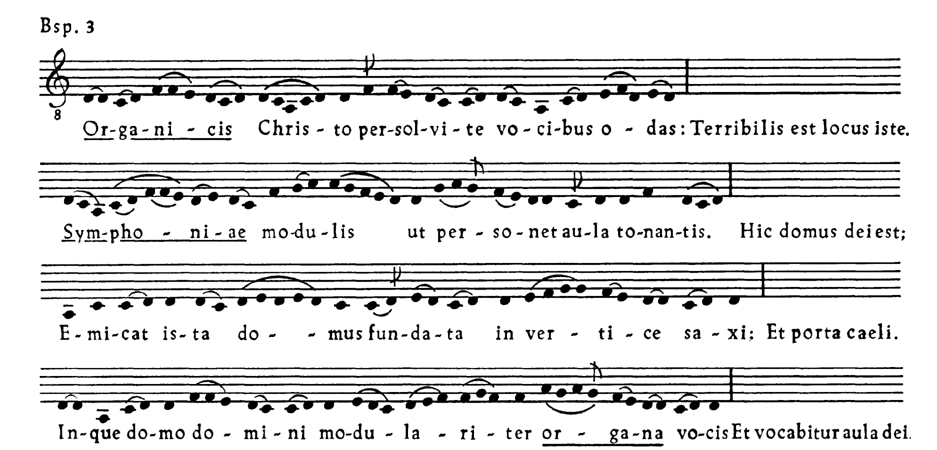
[26] 187. Mit Melodie u. a.: Oxford Bodl. 775 (54'), Cambridge Corpus Christi College 473 (50—50'), Vaticana Reg. 222 (100'), Paris Arsenal 1169 (16'), Paris BN lat. 9449 (55), Verona Cap. CVII (22'—23), Paris BN lat. 13252 (15—15'), Paris BN n. a. lat. 1235 (224).

[27] 194. Melodie: *Monumenta Monodica* III, Nr. 51 (dort auch der Quellenapparat).

[28] 195. Melodie: *Mon. Mon.* III, Nr. 53.

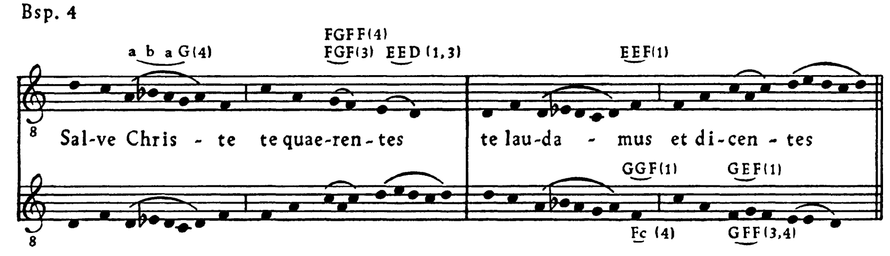
[29] 300. Melodie: *Mon. Mon.* III, Nr. 83.

Bsp. 3



Zum selben Kirchweih-Introitus ist aus später Zeit ein auf Stimmtausch beruhender zweistimmiger Tropus überliefert (Innsbruck UB 457, 81'—82, 15. Jh., aus der Kartause Schnals in Südtirol):

Bsp. 4



(Auch in London BM add. 27 630, 4' aus Indersdorf in Oberbayern; s. A. Geering, Die Organa und mehrstimmigen Conductus, Bern 1952, 14.) Die Strophen 2—4 gehen auf dieselbe Melodie: die zweite („Corde pio, fide voto / psalmum dicat plebs devota") vor dem Psalm, die dritte („Unus trinus in personis / glorietur nostris sonis") nach dem Psalm vor der Doxologie, die vierte („Ergo domum dei pia / veneremur *symphonia*") vor der Wiederaufnahme des Introitus. Ein Weg von den genannten Organa der Frühzeit zu diesem Spätling ist nicht zu sehen.

Wie die Gregorianik und mit ihr der klassische Tropus, der ja ein Stück Gregorianik sein will, nur schwer eine mehrstimmige Ausführung im primitiv-organalen Sinne verträgt, so auch eine Mitwirkung von Instrumenten. Und auch das wieder im Gegensatz zu den Sequenzen, wo das Instrument eine wichtige Rolle spielt[31]. Soweit ich die Situation übersehe, ist instrumentale Ausführung im Kontext nur einmal erwähnt. Und auch hier nicht in einem das ganze Stück durchziehenden Tropus, sondern in einem Sonderfall, in einer jener isolierten ausgedehnten Introductiones, wie sie an besonderen Festtagen gleich feierlichen Intraden das Hochamt in den großen Abteien eröffnen, hier in Moissac[32] am Fest des Schutzpatrons St. Peter: Petri

[30] Außerdem Benevent Cap. VI 35 (104'), 38 (84—84'), 39 (80'), 40 (62'). Dieselbe Melodie auch zu Hic caelum (nur in VI 34, 172).

[31] Dazu neuerdings JAMMERS, a. a. O. (Anm. 10) 293.

[32] oder, wie man neuerdings annimmt, in Aurillac (?) (HUSMANN in Festschrift H. Besseler 65, Anm. 12).

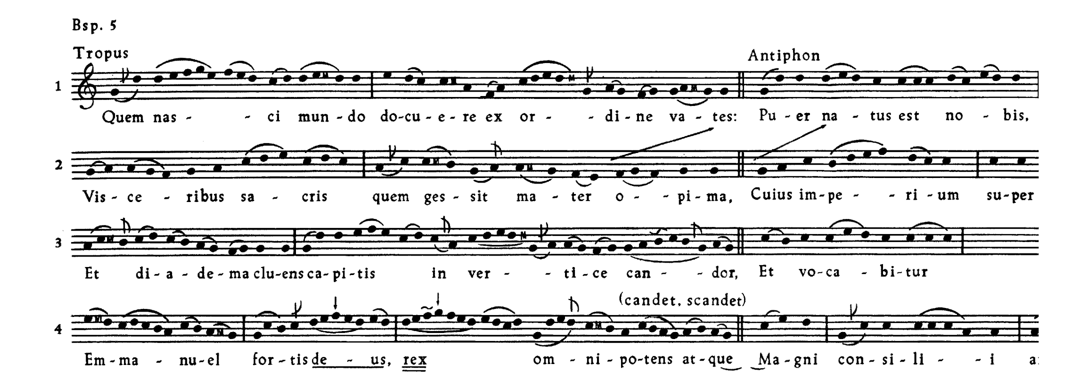
clavigeri (55). Der Text ist durchkomponiert im bekannten antiphonalen Stil[33]. Die betreffenden Textworte lauten: „At nunc *plectro* ... solvamus ... odas; *fidibus musicis, symphoniae sonis* ..." Die letzten beiden Worte lassen an eine Mitwirkung von Instrumenten im organalen Sinne denken[34]. —

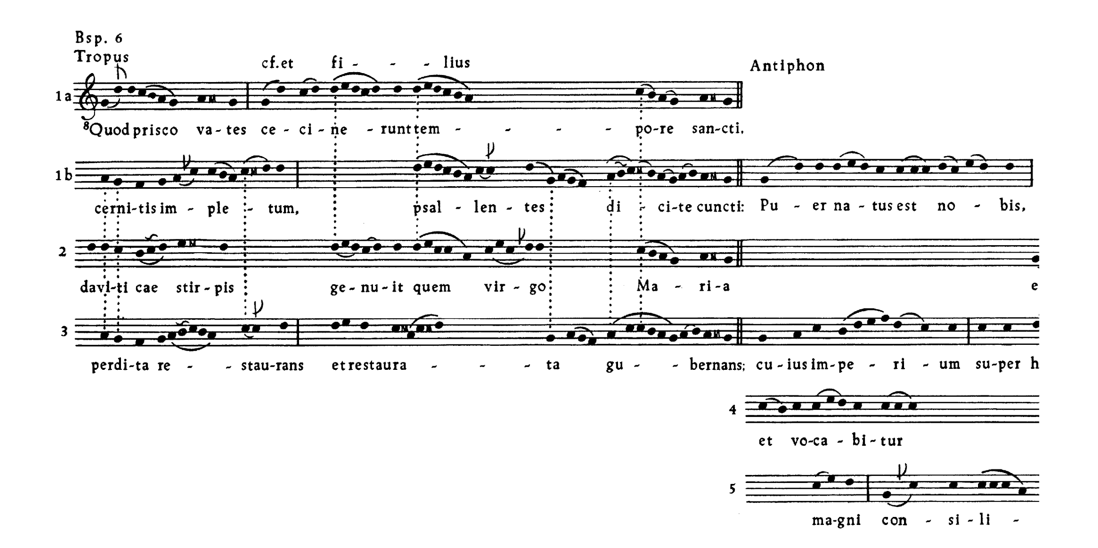
Zum Schluß mögen zwei Musikbeispiele[35] das Gesagte illustrieren und darüber hinaus zugleich zwei verschiedene Verhaltungsweisen aufzeigen. Beide Male handelt es sich um hexametrische Tropen zum Introitus Puer natus est der dritten Weihnachtsmesse, dessen Text aus Isaias (9, 6) entnommen ist. Die Antiphon (auf der rechten Spalte) weist die typischen Züge des authentischen G-Modus (7. Kirchenton, mixolydisch) auf: Finalis ist G, Haupt-Stütztöne sind die Quinte d (besonders zu Anfang) und die Quarte c (fast das ganze Stück hindurch); daneben spielt noch der Kadenzton a eine Rolle.

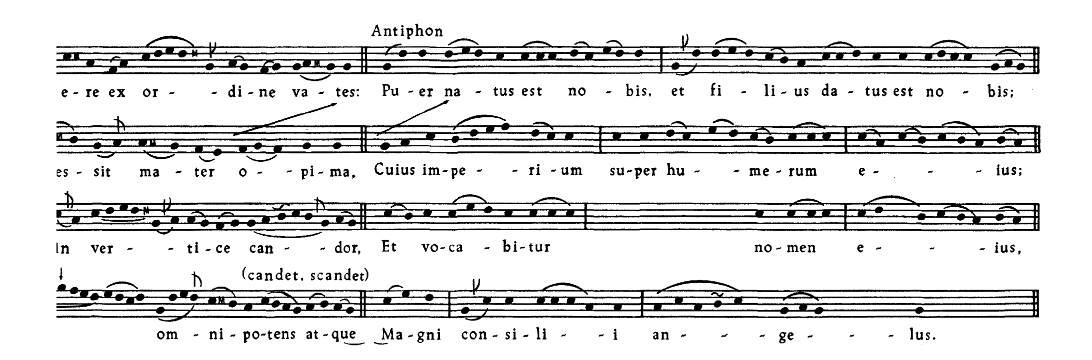
1. *Beispiel: Quem nasci mundo* (72).
(Siehe Beispiel 5 auf nebenstehender Tafel)
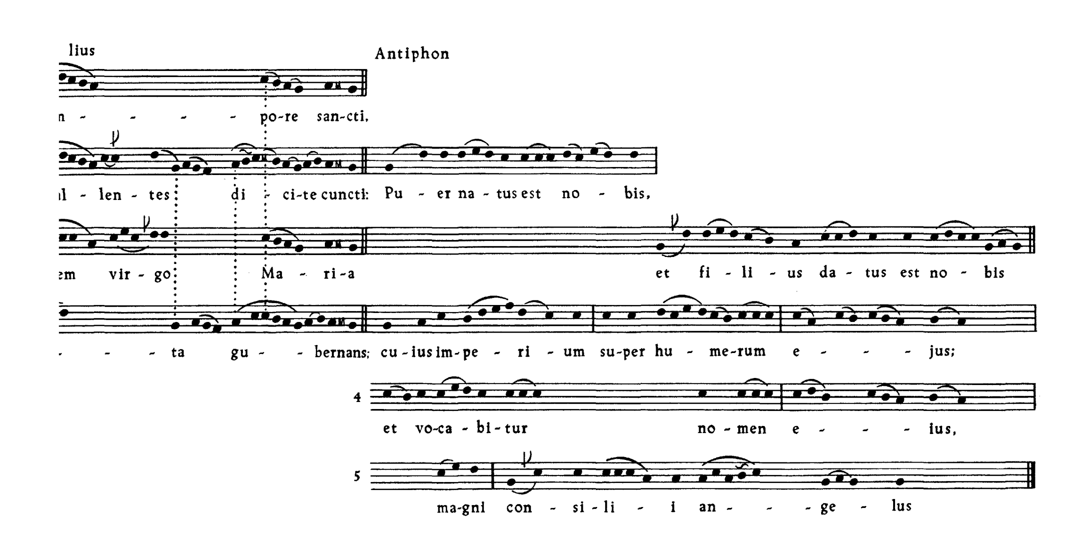
Der Tropus zeichnet sich durch besonders enge Verbindung mit der Antiphon aus: (1) die Tropen- und Antiphonen-Abschnitte sind alternierend in einigermaßen ausgeglichenen Längenverhältnissen verteilt; linke und rechte Spalte entsprechen sich ungefähr, der Tropus gleicht sich den Maßen seiner Antiphon an; (2) der Anfang des Tropus ist melodisch aus dem Anfang der Antiphon entwickelt, ja, man kann sagen, es ist eigentlich dieselbe Gestalt, nur reicher, gleichsam solistisch aus-improvisiert; (3) die melodische „Einpassung" des Tropus in die Antiphon läßt sich an einigen Stellen besonders gut studieren: der Aufstieg bei *Cuius imperium* im 2. Introitus-Satz wird durch das vorausgehende *opima* schon eingeleitet (siehe die aufwärtsweisenden Pfeile): die Klausel geht von unten nach oben, sie ist abgestellt auf das folgende, also nicht primär eigenständig, wie die anderen Klauseln, die ausnahmslos von oben nach unten kadenzieren. Vielleicht noch schöner läßt sich die „Einpassung" am letzten, dem 4. Tropus-Satz, beobachten: das vorausgehende *Et vocabitur* (Satz 3 der Antiphon) wird beherrscht von den Tönen *c* und *e*. Dies wird im folgenden, dem 4. Tropus-Satz, aufgenommen. Aber nun wird es Ausgangs-Position für das Folgende: bei dem wichtigen Worte *deus*, das hier der Tropus ausspricht und das damit das erste und einzige Mal erscheint, wird das noch höhere *f* erreicht; ferner ist der „puer" auch noch König, „rex", also nochmals höher: g. Von diesem letzten und schwerwiegendsten Substantiv auf der höchsten Höhe blickt der Cantor schon bis zum Ende des Introitus. Er bereitet den Abstieg dorthin schon langsam vor: prächtig disponiert senkt sich die Linie ohne gewalttätigen Ruck und ohne

[33] Die teilweise parallele Gliederung in *An. Hymn.* entbehrt der musikalischen Begründung, aber auch textlich ruhen die Parallelen auf schwachen Füßen.
[34] Die Erwähnung *voce duorum* am Ende könnte, wenn der dunkle Text so richtig interpretiert ist, wiederum auf Mehrstimmigkeit hindeuten.
[35] Sie gehen zurück auf Seminarübungen im Winter-Semester 1960/61, bei denen die Herren Breig, Schlager und Weiß den Verfasser in dankenswerter Weise unterstützten. Herrn Weiß, dem Herausgeber der Tropenbände *Monumenta Monodica* III und VI, bin ich darüber hinaus noch für Bereitstellung von Material zu Dank verpflichtet.


Bsp. 5
Tropus
Antiphon
1 Quem nas - - ci mun - do do-cu - e - re ex or - - di - ne va - tes: Pu - er na - tus est no - bis,
2 Vis - ce - ribus sa - cris quem ges - sit ma - ter o - - pi - ma, Cuius im - pe - - ri - um su - per
3 Et di - a - de - ma clu-ens ca - pi - tis in ver - - ti - ce can - - dor, Et vo - ca - bi - tur
(candet, scandet)
4 Em - ma - nu - el for - tis de - us, rex om - ni - po - tens at - que Ma - gni con - si - li - - i a


Bsp. 6
Tropus
cf. et fi - - - lius
Antiphon
1a [8]Quod prisco va - tes ce - ci - ne - runt tem - - - - po - re san - cti,
1b cer - ni - tis im - ple - tum, psal - len - tes di - ci - te cuncti: Pu - er na - tus est no - bis,
2 da - vi - ti cae stir - pis ge - nu - it quem vir - go Ma - ri - a e
3 perdi - ta re - - stau - rans et restaura - - - ta gu - - bernans; cu - ius im - pe - ri - um su - per h
4 et vo - ca - bi - tur
5 ma - gni con - si - li -


Antiphon
e - re ex or - - di - ne va - tes: Pu - er na - tus est no - bis, et fi - li - us da - tus est no - bis;
es - sit ma - ter o - - pi - ma, Cuius im - pe - - ri - um su - per hu - - me - rum e - - - ius;
In ver - - ti - ce can - - dor, Et vo - ca - bi - tur no - men e - - - ius,
(candet, scandet)
om - ni - po - tens at - que Ma - gni con - si - li - - i an - - - ge - - - lus.


lius
Antiphon
n - - - - po - re san - cti,
il - len - tes di - ci - te cuncti: Pu - er na - tus est no - bis,
em vir - go Ma - ri - a et fi - li - us da - tus est no - bis
- - - ta gu - - bernans; cu - ius im - pe - ri - um su - per hu - me - rum e - - - jus;
4
et vo - ca - bi - tur no - men e - - - ius,
5
ma - gni con - si - li - i an - - - ge - lus

Hast vom hohen g bis zum tiefen Finalton G, nicht ohne durch den Quintsprung *omni- (potens)* die ganze Sache nochmals fest in das Gefüge des 7. tonus einzuspannen. Was der Tropus begonnen, bekräftigt dann der letzte Antiphonen-Satz, endgültig und beruhigend. Zusammenfassend muß man sagen: hier haben wir enge Verknüpfung der Tropus-Melodik mit der Antiphon unter Verzicht auf Eigenständigkeit.

Das ist anders im

2. *Beispiel: Quod prisco vates* (69).
(Siehe Beispiel 6 auf vorstehender Tafel)

Hier vermissen wir die harmonische Verteilung von Tropus und Antiphon. Der Tropus steht der Antiphon selbständiger gegenüber. Er drängt sich auf den Anfang zusammen und läßt die zweite Hälfte des Introitus ungeschoren. Die musikalische Gestalt des Tropus betont diese verhältnismäßige Selbständigkeit. Sieht man genauer hin, erkennt man, daß seine vier Sätze mehrfach zusammenhängen: (1) Der allererste Anfang des Tropus betont, wie das Quem nasci von Beispiel 1, den modalen Charakter *G—d* (sogar zweimal). Die Anfänge der folgenden drei Sätze des Tropus, auf *cernitis* (1b), *daviticae* (2) und *perdita* (3) sind gleich. (2) Desgleichen die Schlüsse. Es entsprechen sich, wie aus der Untereinanderstellung ersichtlich: *(ceci-) nerunt tempore sancti* (in 1a)[36] *psallentes dicite cuncti* (in 1b; länger ausgesungen, weil acht gegen vorher nur fünf Silben), *genuit quem virgo Maria* (in 2) und *et restaurata gubernans* (in 3). Überspitzt ausgedrückt: alle vier Sätze gehen auf ein Ur-Modell zurück, sind Ausprägungen ein- und derselben Ur-Gestalt. Im Einklang mit dieser damit gegebenen engen Zusammengehörigkeit in sich steht (3) die Verteilung von Tropus und Antiphon. Die Tropus-Sätze sind so wenig als möglich von einander getrennt: lediglich durch die beiden kurzen Teil-Sätze Puer natus est nobis und et filius datus est nobis. Nur diese beiden Introitus-Teile „stören" den Tropus. Es sieht fast so aus, als ob der Tropus die Hauptsache wäre und der Introitus die Dazwischen-Schaltungen. Wir haben also einen eigenständigen, einen „gebauten" Tropus. Er ist so selbständig, daß er eine Verteilung auf den ganzen Introitus nicht verträgt, sondern nur eine Verklammerung mit seinem Anfang duldet. Also eine entgegengesetzte Verhaltungsweise zum Beispiel 1.

Solche Stücke sind Beispiele für das, was ich unter hoher Tropenkunst verstehe, unter klassisch, „gereinigt" von allem Archaischen (womit dessen ästhetischer Eigenwert nicht angetastet werden soll; jeder Stilwille kann Höchstes leisten!). Damit sind wir zum Ausgangspunkt unserer Untersuchungen wieder zurückgekehrt.

---

[36] Der Zusammenhang mit „et filius datus est nobis" (in Satz 2 des Introitus) ist unüberhörbar.

Part II
Aquitaine and the West


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[10]

NORTHERN FRENCH ELEMENTS IN AN EARLY AQUITAINIAN TROPER

PAUL EVANS · PHILADELPHIA

One of the manuscripts described by Professor Husmann in his invaluable bibliography of tropers published in RISM[1] will perhaps always remain something of a problem for 20th-century scholars. This is the famous St. Martial troper preserved at Paris in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds latin* 1240.

The manuscript's notoriety and its claim to historical importance rest on the assumption, widely held since at least H. M. Bannister's time,[2] that it must be numbered among the very earliest full tropers that we possess. The traditional dating of Paris B. N. lat. 1240, based on the Acclamations on f. 65, has been between 933 and 936, although this date has been questioned by a number of scholars, both as being too early and as being too late. Professor Husmann himself is inclined to date it "around 1000."[3]

Whatever conclusions one may eventually reach about its precise date, the importance of this troper must ultimately depend upon its contents. After all, the date of the actual copying down of a manuscript is less important than the antiquity of the repertory it contains and the historical state of affairs which that repertory reflects. And in this connection, we find in Paris B. N. lat. 1240 a number of peculiarities which, it seems to me, are of considerable significance for the early history of troping.

Most scholars have agreed that Paris B. N. lat. 1240 originated at the abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges, or at least under its influence, and certainly the points of correspondence between this troper and the other Aquitainian manuscripts are numerous. But the divergencies are extensive, too, and it is striking to note that they often show a very direct and explicit connection with the north of France. Not only are there melodic variants which are also to be found in northern tropers, but also there are some pieces in Paris B. N. lat. 1240 which are actually notated in northern French neumes. It is this surprising and unique appearance of northern French ele-

---

1 Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, Munich, 1964.
2 See especially H. M. Bannister, "The Earliest Troper and its Date," in: *Journal of Theological Studies*, II (1901), pp. 420–429.
3 Husmann, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

ments in an Aquitainian troper which I should like to consider in some detail.



The make-up of the manuscript as a whole is very complex, containing as it does many sections and additions in various hands. But there is a basic, unified troper, the text of which appears to be largely the work of two principal scribes, with most of the musical notation divided between two or perhaps three hands, as we shall see. This central troper is found on ff. 17–61v and consists of a small, concise collection of Proper tropes, arranged according to the Church calendar, for each of the major feasts of the Church year (ff. 18v–38). This is followed by a collection of Ordinary tropes, almost exclusively for the Gloria in excelsis (ff. 38–43), and a group of prosulae, headed *Congregatio Prosarum,* for various Offertory verses and Alleluias (ff. 43v–45v). Chants for Palm Sunday and Holy Week occur on ff. 21v–30, and the Major Litany is found on ff. 31v–34, and they thus fall in their proper calendar position within the section of tropes. The troper begins and ends with proses (ff. 17–18 and ff. 46–61v).[4]

There are Proper tropes for the following feasts[5]:

Christmas – f. 18v
St. Stephen – 19v
St. John the Evangelist – 20
Octave of Christmas – 21
Epiphany – 21
Purification – 21v
Easter – 30v
Feria II – 31
Ascension – 34v
Pentecost – 35
St. John the Baptist – 35
St. Peter – 35v
St. Martial – 36
Dedication of a Church – 36v
Assumption – 37
St. Martin – 37
All Saints – 38

This compressed list of feasts in itself suggests an early date for the troper, or at least for the exemplar from which it was copied. Even a compact Aquitainian troper like that from St. Yrieix, contained in Paris B. N. lat 903, has a more extensive list of troped feasts. Indeed, this basic list seems

[4] See Professor Husmann's discussion, *op. cit.,* pp. 137–139, for a description of the full manuscript.

[5] Tropes for the feast of St. Michael occur on a small fragment of parchment which has been inserted in the manuscript between folios 36 and 37 and which bears the folio number 36 *bis.* The hand of the addition is considerably later than the main hand of the troper.

quickly to have been augmented, and all other Aquitainian tropers, of whatever date or provenance, expand the list in various and consistent ways.[6]

In other words, this brief list could well correspond to the primitive corpus of feasts around which the practice of troping must have arisen at St. Martial, rather than a later compression of it. One gets some support for this hypothesis in the nature of the list itself. The feasts contained in this list are basically those which, according to the *Capitulare Monasticum* issued by the Council of Aachen in 817, were to be considered as *praecipuae sollemnitates* and were thus to be celebrated with special formality at all monastic houses following the Benedictine rule.[7] This *Capitulare,* which adapted the Benedictine rule to contemporary use, was drawn up under the guidance of St. Benedict of Aniane (c. 750–821), from whose monastery in southern France – and with the support of Louis the Pious – the concept of monastic renewal spread throughout Europe. St. Benedict was much concerned throughout his career with the ceremonial elaboration of liturgical worship, and his "principal feasts" thus provide a framework within which troping might well have developed in the course of the ninth century.[8]

The absence of certain important feasts, such as St. Andrew and the Nativity of St. Mary, from both the troper and Benedict's list suggests an early state of affairs. But certain troped feasts contained in Paris B. N. lat. 1240 which are not on the Aachen list are also instructive. The presence of St. Martial in the troper is not surprising, since he would qualify as a saint "cuius honor in qualicumque parrochia specialiter celebratur," as the *Capitulare* states. His appearance as the sole local saint in the troper certainly supports the attribution of the manuscript to Saint-Martial de Limoges.[9]

More significant is the presence of tropes for the feast of All Saints in Paris B. N. lat. 1240. The feast is not found, of course, in the Aachen list, since it was only introduced in the course of the ninth century.[10] But although

[6] So, for example, most Aquitainian tropers will contain tropes for Holy Innocents, other days in Easter Week, Holy Cross, Nativity of St. Mary, and SS Michael (an insertion in 1240), Benedict, Laurence, Paul, and Andrew.

[7] See *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Capitularia regum francorum, vol. I, p. 346: c. 46. The list of feasts in the *Capitulare* is identical to that in Paris B. N. lat. 1240, given above, with the following exceptions: the Aachen list omits Feria II, St. Martial, Dedication, and All Saints; the list, however, does include Holy Innocents, St. Laurence, and St. Benedict, which are without tropes in 1240. The absence of tropes for St. Benedict is particularly interesting in a manuscript presumably intended for a Benedictine house.

[8] For the historical position of St. Benedict of Aniane, see A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église,* vol. 6, pp. 259 ff., and my discussion in *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint-Martial de Limoges* (to be published).

[9] The Dedication of a Church can also be considered here as a local feast, although its position in the calendar directly after St. Martial is not the usual one in the Aquitainian tropers, and it thus raises certain questions of its own. See Bannister, *op. cit.,* pp. 425 ff.

[10] One finds it listed as a major feast in later manuscripts, such as, for example, the Tours Capitulare dating from 858. See *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 121, col. 768.

there are tropes for the feast in Paris B. N. lat. 1240, they are, interestingly enough, out of order in the main sequence of tropes, coming as they do at the end of the Proper tropes rather than before the feast of St. Martin, which would be the correct place in the calendar. Indeed, we might call these tropes "primary hand" additions, since there is no change of hand at this point in the manuscript. This practice of adding new material at the end of a section rather than in its correct place is, of course, a standard procedure for making additions in medieval manuscripts, and we can only conclude once again that the troper, or its exemplar, reflects an early stage in the development of the trope repertory.

The occurrence of a trope intended specifically for the Octave of Christmas in Paris B. N. lat. 1240 also supports this hypothesis. This feast, although a major solemnity in the Aachen list, soon ceased to hold a prominent position in the development of troping at St. Martial. Among the Aquitainian tropers, tropes for the Octave of Christmas are found again only in Paris B. N. lat. 1118 and Paris B. N. lat. 779. In the other Aquitainian manuscripts, the specific tropes involved are used for the Nativity itself.

*

Whatever conclusions we may reach about the antiquity of the repertory of Paris B. N. lat. 1240, one major question still remains – namely, the whole problem of the relationship of the troper to northern France, both in its repertory and in the notational peculiarities which it displays.

A detailed study of the contents of the troper shows that, in a number of ways, its repertory stands not only outside of the particular tradition of St. Martial but also outside of the general Aquitainian tradition as well. This is not primarily a question of a completely different group of trope texts, since there is relatively little variation in this respect from one Aquitainian manuscript to another. Rather it is a question of significant melodic variants and even of completely different melodies to one and the same text.[10a] What is even more unusual in this respect is that a number of these melodic variations which distinguish Paris B. N. lat. 1240 from the other Aquitainian tropers are to be found again in various tropers from the north of France!

One example from among several which might be cited will help to make this relationship clear. The opening of the Christmas Introit trope, *Gaudeamus hodie,* is given in four versions (see musical example): (1) the version of Paris B. N. lat. 1240; and (2) that of Paris B. N. lat. 13252, an 11th-century troper from Paris, representing the northern French tradition. These are

---

[10a] Cf. G. Weiss, "Zum Problem der Gruppierung südfranzösischer Tropare", in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* XXI (1964), pp. 163–171.

both given in their original neumatic notation, since precise pitch transcription is problematic in each case. However, comparison of the two melodies can be made neume by neume.

These versions are then followed by (3) a transcribable northern French version as contained in the 12th-century Nevers troper, Paris B. N. lat. n. a. 1235; and (4) the *standard* St. Martial – and Aquitainian – version, transcribed into staff notation from Paris B. N. lat. 1121. From this comparison, it can readily be seen that the melody of Paris B. N. lat. 1240, although written in Aquitainian neumes, agrees almost exactly with the northern French tradition (versions two and three) and thus presents a striking contrast to the melody as preserved in all the other Aquitainian tropers known to us (version four).

Another point of interest is the relationship between the Aquitainian and northern French traditions as this is reflected in a comparison of versions three and four. The standard Aquitainian version appears to be a melodic embellishment or elaboration of the northern French version – the version also preserved in our early St. Martial troper, Paris B. N. lat. 1240. Compare, for example, the two settings of "hodie," where Paris B. N. lat. 1121 presents a more ornate version of the same cadential formula. I would be inclined to conclude once again that Paris B. N. lat. 1240 represents an early stage in the evolution of the Aquitainian repertory – a stage when its connections with its sources in the north were still very close, and when the process of melodic elaboration was still incomplete.

Such a comparison as this gives a striking illustration of the connections of the 1240 repertory with the north, but other relationships involving notation emphatically underline this point. For one thing, the actual Aquitainian notation of Paris B. N. lat. 1240 shows certain marked characteristics which suggest a northern French notational influence. For another, there are actual melodic additions made to the troper in French neumes.

A general description of the make-up of the troper may be helpful here. In paleographic terms, as suggested above, the troper falls into two basic sections corresponding to the work of the two principal text scribes. The point of juncture between the two text hands is not, however, entirely clear, because of their basic similarity, and one may suspect that the text of the troper was the product of a single scriptorium, although more than one scribe was involved.[11] The division of the troper in terms of the musical notation is far more clear-cut. The whole first part of the troper, up to but not including Ascension Day (f. 34v), is almost completely notated and is in one basic neume hand, a second hand occurring for the proses and in certain parts of the Holy Week music. From the Ascension tropes to the end of the troper, the manuscript was left without notation by the original neume

[11] The first text hand may well continue through the Litany, and it is quite possible that it recurs again in the texts of the tropes for St. Martin.

scribe, although it must have been intended for musical notation from the first, since the text scribe often spaces his syllables in such a way as to allow for the addition of melismas. A third Aquitainian scribe – or perhaps the "prosa" scribe of the first half – has added melodies to a few of the texts, but the large majority of the pieces in this section remain without neumes.[12]

The neume forms of the principal musical scribe of the manuscript are particularly interesting from a notational point of view, since they strongly suggest a northern influence. The primary characteristics of Aquitainian notation are certainly present, including the diagonal ascent and vertical descent of the neume forms and the typical Aquitainian quilisma ( ) and oriscus ( ), although the neumes lack the careful heightening of later manuscripts.

Nevertheless, certain elements of the notation are not distinctively Aquitainian. Thus, for example, the French form of the oriscus ( ) occurs along with the Aquitainian and sometimes side-by-side with it, as in *Lux indeficiens* on f. 19v. The single-element clivis ( ) of Paris B. N. lat. 1240 is more characteristic of French than Aquitainian notation, the latter commonly using two puncta. Furthermore, there are certain resemblances to Breton or "Chartres" notation in the strophicus ( ), the porrectus ( ), and so forth, and in general the heavy *ductus* of the hand and the curved punctum ( ) might even suggest possible relationships with Paleofrankish notation.[13]

The primary notation of Paris B. N. lat. 1240 thus has a very distinctive character which sets it off sharply from such other early St. Martial tropers as Paris B. N. lat. 1084 and Paris B. N. lat. 1118, although certain important elements of it are found again in Paris B. N. lat. 1120.

The French influence in the Paris B. N. lat. 1240 troper becomes entirely explicit in the various additions made to the manuscript in French neumatic notation. These French additions are of two kinds: melodies added to texts which were originally left without neumes in the troper, and additions of both text and music, either as complete additional pieces or as alterations to existing tropes.

Added melodies, of course, occur only in the second section of the troper, which was left without music by the original neume scribe. There are six such pieces: an Introit trope for St. Peter, *Angelico fretus dixit* (f. 35v); a trope "ad sequenciam" for St. John the Baptist, *Sancte Iohannes precursor* (f. 35v, first words only with neumes); three Gloria tropes, *Laus tua Deus*

[12] This analysis considers only the *principal* Aquitainian neume hands. Others of lesser importance do exist.

[13] See Michel Huglo, „Le Domaine de la Notation Bretonne," in *Acta Musicologica,* XXXV (1963), pp. 54–84, especially his theory of a „notation de transition" in the Limousin in which Breton elements are mixed with Aquitainian. Note also his reference to Paris B. N. lat. 1240 on p. 79. See also Jacques Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint-Martial de Limoges,* Paris, 1960, p. 80, where he refers to the non-Aquitainian notation of Paris B. N. lat. 1240.

resonet (f. 38), *Rex tibi laus* (f. 42v), *and Laus tibi Domine* (f. 40, only partially notated); and the Sanctus trope *Sanctus Deus omnipotens pater* (f. 38v, last two lines only). These French melodies agree by and large with the parallel Aquitainian versions, although there are some variants. It should be noted, too, that French neumes occur in other parts of the manuscript besides the basic troper itself.

The textual additions with accompanying French neumes occur in both sections of the troper. There are two new pieces added to the manuscript, both Introit preface tropes for the feast of All Saints, *Eia canendo sonos* and *Sanctorum sancto cunctorum,* and both found marginally on f. 38. The need to supplement the meager list of All Saints tropes – which were themselves "primary hand" additions, as we have seen – with these French additions once again suggests to me a repertory in the process of development.

There are also two alterations of existing tropes involving French neumes, both occurring for the feast of St. Stephan. The one-line Communion trope *Intuitus celum beatus Stephanus* (f. 20) has been given a second trope line *Grandine lapidum mox moriturus.* And the original fourth line of the Introit trope *Hodie Stephanus martyr* (f. 19v) has been replaced by a new line with French notation.

The original text of this trope is as follows:

1. Hodie Stephanus martyr celos ascendit quem propheta dudum intuens eius voce dicebat: *Etenim sederunt*
2. Insurrexerunt contra me Iudaeorum populi inique: *Et iniqui*
3. Invidiose lapidibus oppresserunt me: *Adiuva*
4. Letus ut in dubio flagret certamine martyr: *Quia*

Only the first three lines have been given a melody in Aquitainian neumes by the principal neume scribe. The space above line four remains blank, while a signum refers to the margin where the following line is given with French neumes:

4. Suscipe meum in pace spiritum: *Quia*
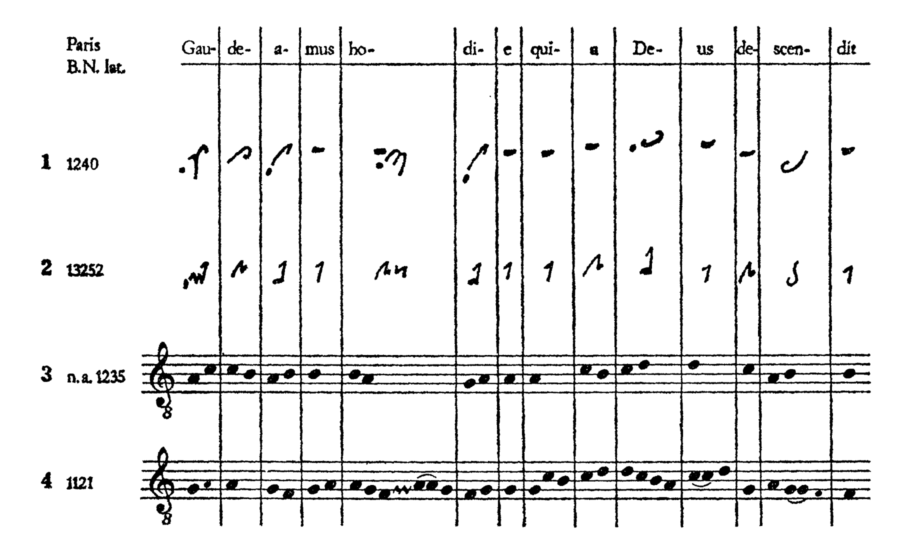
Interestingly enough, it is this new fourth line that becomes the norm for this trope in subsequent Aquitainian tropers with the exception of Paris B. N. lat. 1118 and Paris B. N. lat. 887.



What conclusions is it possible to reach about this unique situation in the troper of Paris B. N. lat. 1240? Here, of course, the question of dating becomes crucial. If this is indeed an early manuscript, as I suspect it is, the presence of northern French additions and influence could serve as evidence of the introduction of the trope repertory, or at least of certain elements of it, into

St. Martial from the north early in the 10th century. In this manuscript, in other words, we can witness at first hand the gradual process of elaboration of the St. Martial repertory under the influence of northern France. From this point on, the repertory continued to develop and change, and in time it spread throughout the Aquitainian notational area, achieving in the process certain specific, standardized local variations.

The Paris B. N. lat. 1240 troper might also give us an insight into the actual process of chant transmission, the actual manner in which the trope repertory spread throughout Europe. It is difficult, perhaps, to imagine the circumstances under which a monk from the north would add new pieces and supply missing melodies in his own notation to an Aquitainian troper, although the monk of Jumièges might serve as a parallel example. Nonetheless, the French neumes themselves stand before us as evidence. Indeed, Paris B. N. lat. 1240 still poses many questions, but for that very reason, it will continue to be a fascinating and challenging document of the early history of troping. Further detailed comparisons of its repertory with that of the other earliest tropers could help to shed new light on some of the most obscure problems of early medieval music.



[11]

A New Voice in the Monastery: Tropes and *Versus* from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine

By James Grier

Anyone familiar with the medieval Aquitanian musical repertories will react to the title of my study by saying, "He's comparing apples and oranges." My reply would be, "Precisely." The two genres under discussion here typify a remarkable shift in the form that devotional expression assumed in Aquitanian monastic communities about the year 1100. In the eleventh century, tropes for the Proper of the Mass were the preferred sacred form of expression, but by 1100 the *uersus* had taken the place of the trope. Here I shall discuss in what ways these pieces are as different as apples and oranges, and suggest some changes in the social and cultural environment of the monasteries in which they were created that might explain those differences.

By a happy accident, much of the music that was created, circulated, and performed in medieval Aquitaine has survived. Many of the musical manuscripts

This article began as two conference papers. The first, "A New Audience for Monastic Creative Activity: Tropes and Versus from Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Aquitaine," was read at the conference entitled "The Impact of Monasticism on Medieval Society" at Fordham University in March 1986. I am grateful to the Marjorie Young Bell Faculty Fund, Mount Allison University, for a grant that enabled me to attend the meeting. The second paper, "New Directions in Monastic Creative Activity: The Twelfth-Century Versus in Aquitaine," was presented at the annual conference of the Medieval Academy of America in Toronto, April 1987. I thank the Office of Research Services, Queen's University, for a travel grant to defray the costs of attending the meeting. I am especially grateful to my friend and colleague Prof. James Stark, Department of Music, Mount Allison University, for singing the musical examples on the tape that formed a part of the oral presentation of both papers. Since their original presentations, I have read versions of the two papers to various audiences, including the Eastman School of Music in April 1988 and, most recently, the Victorian Universities' Medieval and Renaissance Seminar in Melbourne, August 1991, and the New England Medieval Conference in Burlington, Vermont, October 1991. I thank my listeners for their many helpful suggestions.

The following abbreviations are used in this article:

AH	*Analecta hymnica*, 55 vols., ed. Guido Maria Dreves, Clemens Blume, and Henry M. Bannister (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
Ivr	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare
Lo	London, British Library, Additional Manuscript
Ma	Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
Pa	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin
Pa nal	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds nouvelles acquisitions latines
po	paroxytone
ppo	proparoxytone.

The most detailed treatment of Peter of Blois's poetry is now Carsten Wollin, "Petri Blesensis carmina: Textkritische Edition," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Universität Bielefeld, 1993–94).

once in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Martial in Limoges are now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.[1] These musical manuscripts may be divided into two groups: those containing tropes of the Proper and Ordinary of the Mass, and those transmitting polyphonic settings of several different types of pieces alongside various monophonic genres. The repertories in each group are, with very few exceptions, distinct. The Corpus Troporum group of researchers in Stockholm has defined tropes as texts that "introduce, are intercalated into, or accompany nearly all elements of the Latin Mass, and also some Office chants."[2] Tropes then are closely connected with liturgical chants. The monastic origin of this first group of manuscripts, and the repertories they transmit, is confirmed by liturgical studies of their contents, which have established such places of origin as the Abbeys of Saint-Martial and Saint-Martin in Limoges and monasteries in other Aquitanian towns—Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat, Saint-Yrieix, Aurillac, and Toulouse, for example—for various manuscripts now in Paris.[3]

The origins of the other group of manuscripts, those containing polyphonic and monophonic music, are not so clear. The group consists of four codices, each of which contains several discrete manuscripts, or *libelli*.[4] Nine of these *libelli* transmit the second repertory under consideration here, and they are

[1] On the sale of the abbey's library, see James Grier, "Some Codicological Observations on the Aquitanian Versaria," *Musica disciplina* 44 (1990), 7–8, where further bibliography is cited.

[2] Ritva Jonsson, "Corpus Troporum," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 1 (1978), 101–2. There is no room here for a complete bibliography of medieval tropes. The series of editions and studies published by the Corpus Troporum team forms a central body of work: Corpus Troporum, 7 vols. to date, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia (Stockholm, 1975–). See also Gunilla Iversen, ed., *Research on Tropes: Proceedings of a Symposium Organized by the Royal Academy of Literature, History and Antiquities and the Corpus Troporum, Stockholm, June 1–3, 1981*, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Konferenser 8 (Stockholm, 1983); Gabriel Silagi, ed., *Liturgische Tropen: Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36 (Munich, 1985); Ritva Jacobsson, ed., *Pax et Sapientia: Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences in Memory of Gordon Anderson*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 29 (Stockholm, 1986); Claudio Leonardi and Enrico Menestò, eds., *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Biblioteca del "Centro per il Collegamento degli Studi Medievali e Umanistici nell'Università di Perugia" 3 (Spoleto, 1990); and Wulf Arlt and Gunilla Björkvall, eds., *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 36 (Stockholm, 1993). The most important studies of the music are Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960), and Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges*, Princeton Studies in Music 2 (Princeton, 1970). For further bibliography, see James Grier, "*Ecce sanctum quem deus elegit Marcialem apostolum*: Adémar de Chabannes and the Tropes for the Feast of Saint Martial," in *Beyond the Moon: Festschrift Luther Dittmer*, ed. Bryan Gillingham and Paul Merkley, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 53 (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 30–31, n. 5.

[3] For discussions of the origins of these codices, see Jacques Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires et séquentiaires de l'école de Saint-Martial de Limoges (Xe–XIe s.)," *Etudes grégoriennes* 2 (1957), 163–88; idem, *L'école*, pp. 73–119; Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales B 5/1 (Munich, 1964), pp. 113–39, 145–48.

[4] On the physical makeup of the codices, see Sarah Ann Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1969), 1:35–77; idem, "The Myth of 'Saint-Martial' Polyphony: A Study of the Sources," *Musica disciplina* 33 (1979), 5–26; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 5–56.

listed in Table 1, together with the sigla used here to identify them. Evidence for the monastic origin of the repertory is circumstantial. First, those codices now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Pa 1139, 3549, and 3719, were once held by the library of Saint-Martial.[5] Second, the text of one of the pieces in these manuscripts, *Nomen a solemnibus*, describes the celebrations that took place in the monastic community of Saint-Pierre in Solignac when news of the capture of Jerusalem by the crusaders in 1099 reached Aquitaine:[6]

Nomen a solemnibus
trahit Solemniacum.
solemnizent igitur
omnes preter monacum
qui sibi uirilia
resecauit serra cum.
illum hinc excipimus
quasi demoniacum:
ipse solus lugeat,
reus, apud Eacum.

(Solignac takes its name from solemnities. Therefore let all celebrate except the monk who cut off his male members with a saw. Hence we leave him out as if he belonged to the devil: let him mourn alone, a criminal, before Aeacus.)

This evidence is not conclusive, but, taken with further testimony that will emerge from a discussion of the style and tone of the pieces, it suggests that these songs most likely circulated among monks. Most of the pieces are independent, with poetic texts, and they share no musical or literary associations with chants of the Mass or Office.[7] The term *uersus* appears in the rubrics of the manuscripts, and I adopt it as the name of this type of piece. Because of their numerical preponderance in this second group of manuscripts, the manuscripts themselves are perhaps best termed *uersaria*, a word also found in twelfth-century sources.[8]

[5] On the presence of these manuscripts in the library of Saint-Martial, and their relationship to entries in the medieval catalogues of that library, see Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 6–14, 31–32, 35–38.

[6] *Nomen a solemnibus* appears in 3719c (fols. 41r–42r) and 3549 (fol. 164r–v). Editions of the text: AH 21:163–64, no. 233; *Carmina Burana*, 2 vols. in 4, ed. Alfons Hilka, Otto Schumann, and Bernhard Bischoff (Heidelberg, 1930–70), no. 52, 1/1:104–6 (commentary, 2/1:113–14); and Goswin Spreckelmeyer, ed., *Mittellateinische Kreuzzugslieder: Texte und Melodien*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 216 (Göppingen, 1987), no. 5, p. 9. See Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 111, 343; Friedrich-Wilhelm Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Kreuzzugsdichtung des Mittelalters: Studien zu ihrer geschichtlichen und dichterischen Wirklichkeit* (Berlin, 1960), pp. 58–59; and Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 21 (Munich, 1974), pp. 184–92.

[7] Obvious exceptions are the *Benedicamus domino uersus*, which could function as substitutes for the dismissal formula of the Office, and *prosae* and troped epistles, which could be used in their normal liturgical contexts; see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:22–26, 148–78; and Barbara Marian Barclay, "The Medieval Repertory of Polyphonic Untroped *Benedicamus Domino* Settings," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1977), 1:5–93.

[8] On the *uersus* see Marie-Danielle Popin, "Le versus et son modèle," *Revue de musicologie* 73 (1987), 19–38; and Pascale Bourgain, "Qu'est-ce qu'un vers au moyen âge?" *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 147 (1989), 231–82, esp. pp. 237, 248–49, 255–58. On the term *uersarium* see Chailley,

TABLE 1
The Aquitanian *Versaria* and Their Sigla

Sigla	Folios	Manuscripts
1139a	32–39, 48–79	Pa 1139
1139b	40–47	Pa 1139
3549	149–69	Pa 3549
3719a	15–22	Pa 3719
3719b	23–32	Pa 3719
3719c	33–44	Pa 3719
3719d	45–92	Pa 3719
36881a	1–16	Lo 36881
36881b	17–24	Lo 36881

The tropers, the first group of manuscripts, also contain one repertory that numerically outstrips the other types of pieces that accompany it, and that is the repertory of tropes of the Proper of the Mass.[9] In addition to sheer quantity,

L'école, pp. 260–61, and Fuller, "The Myth," p. 6 and n. 6. Photographic facsimiles of the *uersaria* are published by Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1139*; *Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3719*; and *Paris, B.N., fonds latin 3549 and London, B.L. Add. 36,881*, Veröffentlichungen mittelalterlicher Musikhandschriften 14–16 (Ottawa, 1987). I am very grateful to Bryan Gillingham for his generosity in making these publications available to me. The polyphonic repertory has been edited twice: Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," vol. 3 (commentary, 2:436–73); and Bryan Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 44 (Henryville, Penn., 1984) with commentary in idem, "Saint-Martial Polyphony—A Catalogue Raisonné," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929–1981): In Memoriam*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen 39 (Henryville, Penn., 1984), 1:239–62. The best general discussions of this repertory are Leo Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories of Sacred Monody in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 3 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967), for the monophonic portions, and Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," for the polyphony. A thorough study of the polyphonic style is presented in Jens Bonderup, *The Saint Martial Polyphony—Texture and Tonality: A Contribution to Research in the Development of Polyphonic Style in the Middle Ages*, trans. Stephanie Olsen and Jean McVeigh, Studier og Publikationer fra Musikvidenskabeligt Institut Aarhus Universitet 4 (Copenhagen, 1982); see also Theodore Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial and Santiago de Compostela*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1992); and Hendrik van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music and the Origin of Western Polyphony*, 2 vols. (Rochester, N.Y., 1993). On literary issues in the repertory, see H. Spanke, "St. Martial-Studien: Ein Beitrag zur frühromanischen Metrik," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 54 (1931), 282–317, 385–422; idem, "St. Martialstudien II," ibid. 56 (1932), 450–78; idem, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrik und Musik*, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 3rd ser., 18 (Berlin, 1936); Wolfram von den Steinen, *Der Kosmos des Mittelalters von Karl dem Grossen zu Bernhard von Clairvaux* (Bern, 1959), pp. 243–48; and Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1968), 1:288–94. For further bibliography see James Grier, "The Stemma of the Aquitanian Versaria," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 41 (1988), 251, nn. 2–3; "Scribal Practices in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Twelfth Century: Towards a Typology of Error and Variant," ibid. 45 (1992), 373–74, n. 1; and "Some Codicological Observations," p. 5, n. 1.

[9] Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 4–6; Michel Huglo, "La tradition musicale aquitaine: Répertoire et notation," in *Liturgie et musique (IXe–XIVe s.)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 17 (Toulouse, 1982), table 2, p. 257; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 32–33.

other aspects of this repertory indicate that it was of particular importance. For example Pa 1118 contains no fewer than seventeen sets of trope elements for *Puer natus est*, the Introit of the third Mass for Christmas (fols. 8v–12r).[10] It is impossible to say how many of these sets would be sung in any given year; the most common form of the Introit involves three repetitions of the antiphon in the arrangement Introit, Psalm verse, Introit, Doxology, Introit (IVI●I), although further verses, and therefore repetitions of the antiphon, could be added as *uersus ad repetendum*.[11] Nevertheless the large repertory transmitted by Pa 1118 would certainly not be sung in its entirety in any given year, and so it indicates a high intensity of creative activity around this Introit. Moreover the Proper trope provided an opportunity for melodic invention not available in the *prosa* or the Kyrie trope, two other popular types found in the tropers, which employ a predominantly syllabic, and therefore much starker, melodic style. The *uersus* repertory echoes these characteristics. The texts of many of the *uersus* concern the Nativity, and, although there was no liturgical restriction on the performance of these pieces as far as we know, the quantity indicates a level of activity similar to that found among the Proper tropes. And the *uersus*, too, was a vehicle for both poetic and musical expression. Therefore I believe it is fair to say that these two pieces were the most important forms of devotional expression in their respective centuries.

There is strong manuscript evidence that attests to the date when the shift from Proper trope to *uersus* took place. None of the Aquitanian tropers that can be dated to the twelfth century contains even a single Proper trope.[12] They transmit, instead, *prosae* and tropes of the Ordinary of the Mass. Hence the composition, circulation, and perhaps even the performance of Proper tropes ceased in Aquitaine around 1100. On the other hand, *uersus* started to circulate in northern France in the last quarter or so of the eleventh century. The so-called Norman-Sicilian tropers, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, contain several examples of the type.[13] Of the sources of the much larger Aquitanian

[10] See Corpus Troporum 1:226–29. On the expression "trope element," see Jonsson, "Corpus Troporum," pp. 102–7.

[11] Josef Andreas Jungmann, S.J., *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1962), 1:414–29; Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1977), 1:69–78; and Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to Their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 34–35; for the abbreviations see ibid., pp. xvii–xix and endpapers. For an example of a troped Introit that is to be sung ten times as the refrain to nine verses in the apostolic liturgy for Saint-Martial, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 38–44; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy for the Feast of Saint Martial," in *Music Discourse from Classical to Early Modern Times: Editing and Translating Texts*, ed. Maria Rika Maniates, Conference on Editorial Problems 26: 1990 (New York, 1993), pp. 32–37.

[12] The chief examples are Pa 778 and 1086. For their dates, see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 188; idem, *L'école*, pp. 115–16; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 114, 122.

[13] On the Norman-Sicilian tropers, Ma 288, 289, and 19421, see David Hiley, "The Liturgical Music of Norman Sicily: A Study Centred on Manuscripts 288, 289, 19421 and Vitrina 20–4 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1981); "The Norman Chant Traditions—Normandy, Britain, Sicily," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 107 (1980–81), 1–33; "Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari siculo-normanni?" *Rivista italiana di musicologia* 18 (1983), 3–28; and "The Chant of Norman Sicily: Interaction between the Norman and Italian

repertory of *uersus*, however, none can be securely dated before 1100 and so, although the composition of *uersus* may have commenced in Aquitaine in the last quarter or so of the eleventh century, it was 1100 before that genre became preeminent.[14]

When we consider the content of the literary texts and the musical and literary style, the real differences between these two types become apparent. Here the liturgical contexts are of paramount importance as the writers of the *uersus* had none of the restraints in style or content that affected the composers of the Proper tropes. As Paul Evans demonstrates, the Proper trope has to fit into the style of its host text. It normally consists of several phrases, or elements, that introduce the individual phrases of the host text. Thus, trope elements alternate with phrases of their host text. Therefore the trope must provide a smooth link grammatically and musically from the end of the trope element to the beginning of the next phrase of the host text, and from the end of that phrase to the start of the next trope element.[15] The *uersus*, as an independent piece, is not similarly restricted.

The trope *In principio deus de se fecit*, for *Dominus dixit*, Introit of the first Mass of Christmas (sung "de galli cantu" ["at cock's crow"], as the rubric in Pa 887, fol. 8r, reads), stands as a typical example of the genre. Allowing for the fragmentary survival of the sources, I believe that this trope can be demonstrated to have originated in Aquitaine. It consists of three elements that are found in this combination only in the Aquitanian sources Pa 1118 (fol. 3v) and 887 (fol. 8r–v), both of which can be dated to the first half of the eleventh century. The second and third elements, together with a similar but different first element, also appear in Pa nal 1871 (fol. 2v).[16] Among the tropers consulted

Traditions," *Studia musicologica* 30 (1988), 379–91 (also published in *Atti del XIV Congresso della Società Internazionale di Musicologia: Trasmissione e recezione delle forme di cultura musicale*, 3 vols., ed. Angelo Pompilio, Donatella Restani, Lorenzo Bianconi, and F. Alberto Gallo [Turin, 1990], 2:92–105). On the relation of these tropers to the Aquitanian *uersaria*, see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:78–85.

[14] On the dating of the sources and the repertory, see Grier, "Some Codicological Observations."

[15] Heinrich Husmann, "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen, veranschaulicht an den Introitustropen des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959), 135–47; Bruno Stäblein, "Zum Verständnis des 'klassichen' Tropus," *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963), 84–95; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 55–118; Annie Dennery, *Le chant postgrégorien: Tropes, séquences et prosules*, Musique–Musicologie 19 (Paris, 1989), pp. 112–19; and David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 218–21. For a discussion of the tropes for the feast of St. Martial and their relationship with their host chants, see Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 44–47; idem, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 29–37; and Ritva Maria Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel: Bibliotekshistoria och hagiografi," in *Bibliotek: Tradition och utveckling—Festskrift till Lars-Erik Sanner den 18 januari 1991* (Stockholm, 1991), pp. 250–59. For analyses of other specific examples, see Ritva Jonsson and Leo Treitler, "Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship," in *Studies in the History of Music*, 1: *Music and Language* (New York, 1983), pp. 1–23; and John G. Johnstone, "Beyond a Chant: 'Tui sunt caeli' and Its Tropes," ibid., pp. 24–37.

[16] See Corpus Troporum 1:225. Pa 887 gives, as the Psalm verse, *Quare fremuerunt*. For the dates of Pa 1118 and 887, see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," pp. 177–79, 180–81; idem, *L'école*, pp. 92–96, 98–100; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, pp. 117, 124. Edition of text: Corpus Troporum 1:94, 120, 126 (individual elements). Edition of music: Günther Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: *Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropare des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aeui 3 (Kassel, 1970), pp. 129–30, no. 105, where both versions of the first element are given.

by the Corpus Troporum group, these elements occur in only one non-Aquitanian source, a manuscript that is Italian in provenance and that dates from 1100 or later. Moreover, the elements appear in a different combination in that manuscript, and hence I believe that the Aquitanian origin of this trope is certain.[17]

Introit and trope are complementary in style. The second Psalm is the source of the Introit antiphon (verse 7), and it uses a free quantitative trochaic meter:[18]

> In principio deus de se fecit trinitatem quia pater et filius est unus.
> DOMINVS DIXIT AD ME—
> Filium genuit in utero uirginis—
> FILIVS MEVS ES TV.
> Ipse est quem genuit puerpera regem.
> EGO HODIE GENVI TE.

(In the beginning God made from himself the Trinity because the Father and the Son is one. THE LORD SAID TO ME—he begat his son in the womb of the Virgin—YOU ARE MY SON. He is the very one whom the woman in childbed begat as king. TODAY I BEGAT YOU.)

The text of the antiphon consists of a direct statement with introduction that asserts that the Lord has fathered a son. This Psalm, then, is a Messianic text appropriate for Christmas, and it deals with this doctrinal issue in a straightforward manner. The text of the trope is a trope in the most literal sense of the word: an amplification of the meaning of the host text. The introductory trope establishes that Father and Son are equal partners in the Trinity, and the second and third elements state that Christ was born from a virgin and that he is king. The composer of the trope may have borrowed the phrase "puerpera regem" from the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius.[19] Like the antiphon, all three trope elements make simple statements without artifice about doctrinal issues relevant to the birth of Christ. Thus trope and antiphon preserve the same tone all the way through. One aspect of the text might be construed as an incongruity: the trope elements are composed throughout in the third person, and hence step outside the dramatic context of the antiphon with its direct statements. This detachment, however, serves to highlight the trope elements as comments

[17] The Italian troper is Ivr 60, on which see Les Moines de Solesmes, *Le graduel romain: Edition critique*, 2: *Les sources* (Solesmes, 1957), p. 54; Michel Huglo, "Le domaine de la notation bretonne," *Acta musicologica* 35 (1963), 71–72; Réginald Grégoire, "Repertorium liturgicum italicum," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 9 (1968), 513–14; idem, "Repertorium liturgicum italicum (Addenda, I)," ibid., 3rd ser., 11 (1970), 547; and Corpus Troporum 1:225.

[18] All editions and translations are my own. I adopt the method used by the Corpus Troporum to distinguish trope and host texts, by capitalizing the latter. The trope is transcribed from Pa 887; the Introit antiphon from Pa 1132, fol. 10v. Cf. the version of the antiphon transcribed from Pa 776, fol. 12r, in Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: booklet, pp. 12–13, no. 10. In the first trope element, I emend the second "et" to "est," in agreement with Weiß.

[19] Sedulius, *Paschalis carminis libri quinque cum hymnis* 2.63, ed. Johannes Huemer, CSEL 10:48. The entire verse from Sedulius also occurs as the opening of the Marian Introit *Salue sancta parens*, which had at least limited circulation in eleventh-century Aquitaine (it appears in Pa 776, the eleventh-century gradual from Albi, fol. 112v). I am indebted to one of the anonymous readers for *Speculum* for this citation.

on or expansions of the host text, and the fact that the tropes are written in prose heightens the contrast.

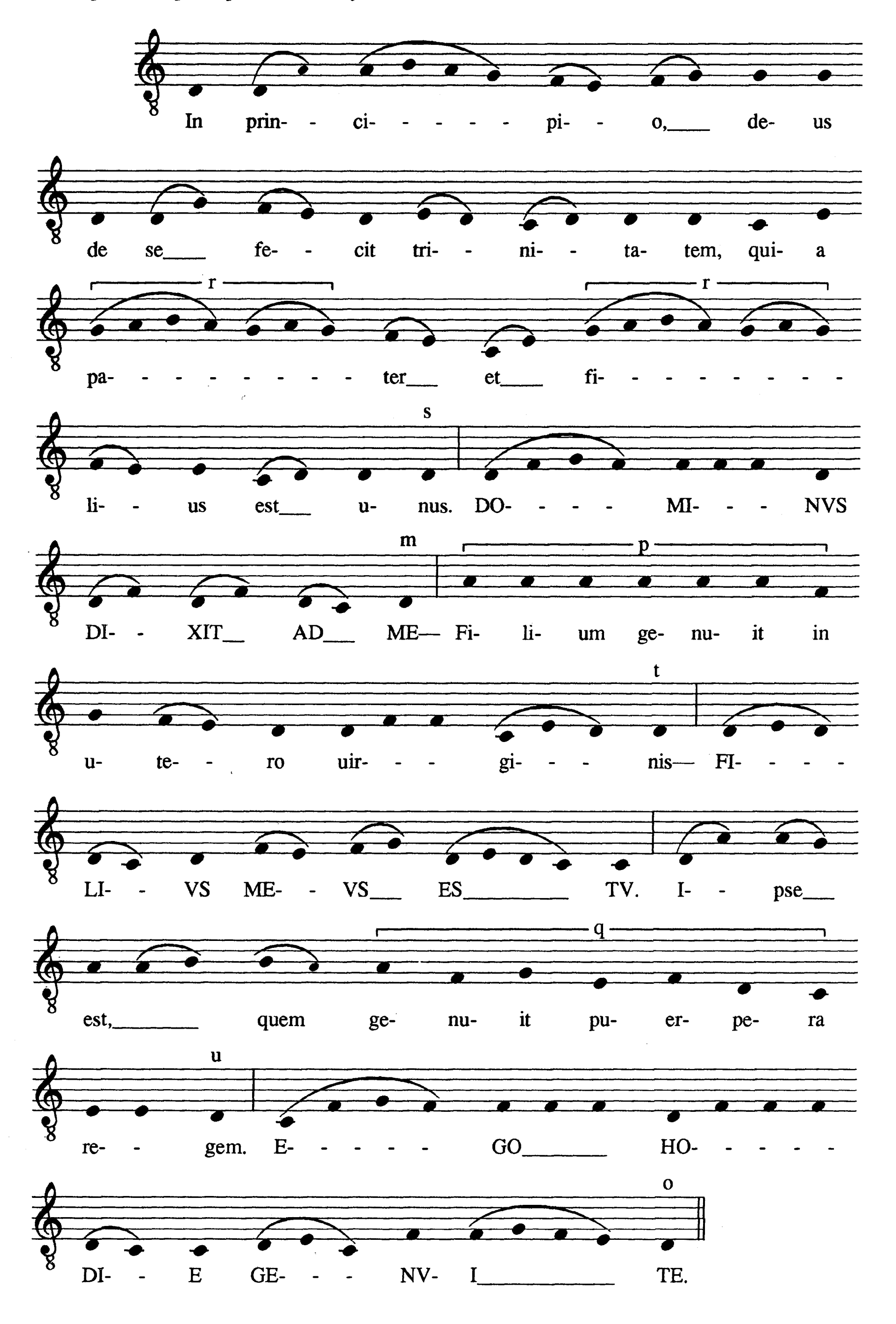
The musical setting of the antiphon falls well within the stylistic boundaries of the Introit (Example 1).[20] A neumatic texture predominates. That is, few syllables are set with a single note, and there are no long melismata. The antiphon is classified as mode 2, or *protus* tonality with plagal range and orientation. The tonal structure of the chant is laid out in the opening phrase ("Dominus dixit ad me") wherein the pitches D and F, final and reciting tone respectively, are emphasized, and the note C prepares the cadence on the final (marked **m** in Example 1). The second phrase picks up the function of C in the first phrase and uses it as a cadence point (marked **n**) in preparation for the final cadence on D (**o**). The reciting tone, F, is given less weight in the second phrase but returns to prominence in the third and final phrase.

The musical setting of the trope also exhibits a neumatic texture, although it contains some syllabic writing, at the opening of the second element (**p**) and the close of the third element (**q**), and one moderately long melisma (**r**). This melisma, with its extension over the next syllable, is significant because its context neatly underscores the doctrinal point raised in the literary text: "pater" and the first two syllables of "filius" (the first syllables of each marked **r**) have identical musical settings. The tonal structure of the trope reinforces that of the antiphon, as each cadence is on the final, D (marked **s**, **t**, and **u**). In addition the connections between trope and antiphon phrases are smooth. The leap from the end of one phrase to the beginning of the next is never more than a second, with one exception, which I shall discuss below. Thus the entire package, trope and antiphon, literary and musical text, forms a cohesive whole.

As in the literary text, so in the musical text, the trope is distinguished from the antiphon in one respect: range and modal orientation. While the trope clearly shares the *protus* tonality with the antiphon, its range is higher, reaching to B, whereas the antiphon's highest note is G. Furthermore A, the usual reciting tone of mode 1, the authentic mode in the *protus* tonality, replaces F as a secondary pitch center. The importance of A is emphasized by the leaps at the very beginning of the first and third trope elements and by the connection between the end of the antiphon's first phrase and the beginning of the second trope element, the exceptional join, involving a leap of a fifth, D to A, already mentioned. The recitation on A that opens the second trope element further stresses the role of that pitch in the trope. This recitation and the leaps, D to A, that, in effect, open each element of the trope are both characteristics of mode 1, and, consequently, I classify the trope in that mode. The trope is set in relief against the antiphon by this modal contrast, and the position of the figures that characterize mode 1 at the beginning of each trope element indicates

[20] See, e.g., the Introits transcribed from Aquitanian sources in Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1: booklet. In the musical examples, the syllabification of the literary text accords with the traditional rules of Latin prosody (e.g., breaking the syllable after the vowel wherever possible); where the syllabification does not accord with those rules, it follows divisions in the manuscript source of the example. Bold letters in the text are keyed to passages in the musical examples marked with those letters.

Example 1: *In principio deus de se fecit* Pa 887 fol. 8r-v; *DOMINVS DIXIT* Pa 1132 fol. 10v



that the effect is deliberate. I would suggest that this modal contrast and the consequent differences in the shapes of phrases provide a commentary on the antiphon's musical text parallel to that in the literary text.[21] The contrasts between trope and antiphon, both literary and musical, would have been emphasized by the method of performance: trope elements were sung by the soloists, whereas the chorus sang the Introit in unison.[22]

Although *In principio deus* is a typical example of style in the eleventh-century Proper trope, it by no means exhibits the range of expression found in the genre as a whole. Both much more elaborate musical settings and less prosaic texts occur among Introit tropes.[23] For example, the trope *Christi discipulus*, for the Introit *Probauit eum* of the apostolic Mass for St. Martial, offers a melismatic setting that far exceeds the average trope.[24] The special circumstances under which this trope was composed may help to explain its embellished style. Adémar de Chabannes wrote it for inclusion in his newly created apostolic Mass for the feast of St. Martial. Moreover, it holds the climactic position of last in the series of Introit tropes to be sung at the opening of the Mass, probably as the accompaniment to a lavish procession and exhibition of the relics of the saint.[25] Adémar may then have saved this elaborate piece to provide a fitting conclusion to this grandiose opening of the Mass.

Another composition of Adémar's from the same Mass also provides an example of a richer literary context than that evinced by *In principio deus*. The penultimate Introit trope, *Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus*, uses a much fuller palette of images and literary devices:[26]

> Sanctus Marcialis fulgorus apostolus ipsum
> carne deum meruit iuuenis habuisse magistrum.
> PROBAVIT EVM DEVS ET SCIVIT COR SVVM.
> Fortis amore dei nam spraeuit utrumque parentem.
> quem dominus caenando suum dedit esse ministrum.
> COGNOVIT SEMITAS SVAS.
> Spiritus ignifluus domini quem iure repleuit
> omnigenis linguis et uero dogmate Christi,
> DEDVXIT ILLVM IN VIA AETERNA.
> Clauigero caeli meritis et sanguine nexus
> in solio dominum residens conlaudat in euum.
> ET NIMIS CONFORTATVS EST PRINCIPATVS EIVS.

[21] On modal contrast between trope and host chant, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 86–87; and Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 50–53.

[22] On the performance of tropes, see Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 32, 36–38, 107–8.

[23] For a discussion of elevated literary style in Introit tropes, see Peter Dronke, "Types of Poetic Art in Tropes," in *Liturgische Tropen*, ed. Silagi, pp. 10–23.

[24] Transcribed from Pa 909, fol. 45r, in Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 51–53. It also appears in Pa 1119, fol. 59v. Cf. edition of the text: AH 49:130, no. 296. Edition of the music: Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1:83–84, no. 68.

[25] See Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 43–54; and "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 32–33, 37.

[26] Pa 909, fols. 44v–45r; Pa 1119, fols. 58v–59r. Edition of the text: AH 49:130, no. 295. Edition of the music: Weiß, ed., *Introitus-Tropen*, 1:85–86, no. 69.

(Saint Martial, the thundering apostle, deserved, as a youth, to have had God himself, in fleshly guise, as his master. GOD JUDGED HIM AND KNEW HIS HEART. Strong in the love of God, he spurned both parents. And the Lord, by dining, granted that he be his own servant. HE RECOGNIZED THE PATHS OF HIS LIFE. HIM, whom the spirit of the Lord, flowing with fire, filled with right, with tongues of all types and the true dogma of Christ, HE LED INTO THE ETERNAL WAY. Joined to the key-bearer of heaven by his merits and by blood, yet residing on earth, he praised the Lord forever. AND HIS DOMINION IS STRENGTHENED BEYOND MEASURE.)

Martial appears as a "thundering apostle," who acted as the servant ("ministrum") to Christ, his master ("magistrum"), and the trope's diction is heightened by the use of the compounds "ignifluus" ("flowing with fire"), "omnigenis" ("of all types"), and, for St. Peter, "clauigero" ("the keybearer"). Here, the dactylic hexameters of the trope (not entirely faultless, as in the first line, where Martial's name gives a cretic in place of the required dactyl) contrast with the prose of the Introit.[27] These elements combine to intensify the rhetorical effect of the piece, in keeping with Adémar's goal in creating it for the promotion of Martial's cult.[28] His purpose for these two tropes, therefore, may have motivated him to reach beyond the average stylistic bounds of the Introit trope, but, by illustrating the limits of expression in the genre, they serve to identify our example, *In principio deus*, as typical.

To what sort of audience would the Christmas trope, *In principio deus*, have appealed? First, the treatment in the literary text of the doctrinal issues concerning Christ's birth makes it suitable for the dignified liturgical context of the Mass and for the contemplation of those issues by the faithful. Second, the melodic idiom found in both trope and Introit is among the most sophisticated of those practiced in the eleventh century. One might argue that only the responsorial chants of Mass and Office are more complex. Third, the interaction between trope and antiphon, both dramatic and musical, also indicates a perceptual sophistication on the part of the audience. This highly refined piece addresses an audience that could appreciate and even demand the literary, dramatic, and musical devices exploited by the composer.

Ex Ade uicio, a *uersus* written around 1100, is no less sophisticated in its own way but would have had quite a different appeal to its audience. It also is demonstrably Aquitanian in origin, within the limits imposed by the survival of sources. The only surviving non-Aquitanian source is the Beauvais Circumcision Office of the thirteenth century. The Aquitanian sources, on the other hand, all date from the twelfth century and include the three oldest *uersaria*, 3719b,

[27] Cf. the faulty scansion of this line in Chailley, *L'école*, p. 295. On the poetic meters of the tropes, see ibid., pp. 291–96; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 64–67; Corpus Troporum 1:40–42; Giovanni Orlandi, "Metrical Problems in Tropes," in *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, ed. Leonardi and Menestò, pp. 183–96; and Dag Norberg, "Problèmes métriques dans les séquences, les offices et les tropes," in *Recherches nouvelles sur les tropes liturgiques*, ed. Arlt and Björkvall, pp. 361–69.

[28] On Adémar's creation of the apostolic liturgy for the feast of St. Martial, see Louis Saltet, "Une discussion sur Saint Martial entre un Lombard et un Limousin en 1029," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 26 (1925), 161–86, 279–302; Grier, "*Ecce sanctum*," pp. 41–69; idem, "Editing Adémar de Chabannes' Liturgy," pp. 17–43; and Jacobsson, "Att tillverka en apostel," pp. 242–61.

1139a, and 3719a, all of which date from around 1100.[29] (See Table 1, above, for the sigla of the *uersaria.*) Thus *Ex Ade uicio* belongs to the earliest stratum of the *uersus* repertory. Unlike the Proper trope, the liturgical context of the *uersus* is far from certain. Their texts are, for the most part, sacred, and I suspect that they would have been sung at least occasionally in the liturgy, most likely as conductus, accompanying processions, as they are used in the Circumcision Offices.[30] In any event, the *uersus* had no fixed place in the liturgy and consequently knew none of the restrictions placed on the Proper trope.

The text of *Ex Ade uicio* is poetic throughout, arranged in stanzas that are defined by a complex metrical and rhyme scheme:[31]

1. Ex Ade uicio
nostra perdicio
traxit primordia,
dei et hominum
per Christum dominum
facta concordia.
eia,
gaudeat ecclesia
fidelium,
noua mater filium,
humilium
redemptorem,
uirgo manens edidit,
quod accidit
preter morem.

2. Vt solis radius
intrat innoxius
fenestram uitream,
sic dei filius,
immo subtilius,
aulam uirgineam.
paleam
retulit ad aream
uentilabrum;
qui sub carnis uelabrum
candelabrum
uere lucis
ceu sol nube latuit,
nec horruit
mortem crucis.

[29] Monophonic versions of *Ex Ade uicio* appear in 3719b (fol. 24r), 1139a (fol. 35r–v), and 3549 (fol. 165r–v). 3719a originally contained a polyphonic version (fols. 19v–20v), but the music has been erased; see Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 2:405; and "The Myth," pp. 11–12. Edition of the text: AH 20:60, no. 33. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:25–26 (commentary, 2:29). On the Beauvais Circumcision Office, see Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais in seiner liturgischen und musikalischen Bedeutung*, 2 vols. (Cologne, 1970); on the place of *Ex Ade uicio* in it, ibid., Darstellungsband, pp. 135–38; and Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:99–101.

[30] See Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:26–34; Bryan Gillingham, "A New Etymology and Etiology for the Conductus," in *Beyond the Moon*, ed. Gillingham and Merkley, pp. 100–117 (also published in *Musical Quarterly* 75 [1991], 59–73); and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 248–50. On the Circumcision Offices, see Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium*, Darstellungsband, pp. 206–17.

[31] Both text and music are transcribed from 3549, except for the fourth stanza, which is found only in 3719a. The literary text of 3549 transmits several substantive variants; see James Norman Grier, "Transmission in the Aquitanian Versaria of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985), pp. 96–99. Line 8 of stanza 2 reads "ad arenam" ("to the sand") in 3549: the text of 1139a and 3719a, "ad aream," is preferable because of the context of threshing created by "uentilabrum" and "paleam." On the reading "horruit," which no witness transmits, in the penultimate line of stanza 2, see Grier, "The Stemma," pp. 273–74. The adjective *tonax*, which occurs in stanza 4, line 13 ("sub tonaci corpore"), is unattested elsewhere to the best of my knowledge. If it is not an error, it is probably associated with the verb *tono* ("I thunder"), in which case the sense is obscure. The passage seems to require something like "mortal," and "mortali" would fit the meter, although paleographically it is not probable. The order of the stanzas follows that given by Dreves in AH 20, which does not reflect the disposition in any of the *uersaria.* For a discussion of the manuscript evidence and the virtues of Dreves's order, see Grier, "Transmission," pp. 80–84.

3. Diu miseria
grauis et seria
nos subiugauerat,
regnabat seruitus,
libertas penitus
nos abnegauerat.
aderat
terminus, quo fuerat
dispositum
Mariam per spiritum
paraclitum
fecundari,
et deum in uirgine
pro homine
humanari.

4. Stirps Gesse uirgulam,
secreti baiulam,
et florem uirgula
produxit unicum,
flosque mirificum
fructum per secula.
sedula
plebs resonet credula
cum iubilo,
qui sub quodam nubilo
de nichilo
cuncta fecit,
sub †tonacit† corpore
sub tempore
non abiecit.

(From the sin of Adam, our ruin has drawn its first beginnings, and a concord of God and men has been made through Christ the Lord. Indeed, may the church of the faithful rejoice, for the new mother, remaining a virgin, has brought forth her son, the redeemer of the humble, an event that has happened beyond custom.

Just as the ray of the sun enters a glass window without damaging it, thus did the Son of God, even more delicately, enter the house of the Virgin. The winnowing fork returned the chaff to the threshing floor; below the veil of flesh hid the candelabrum of the true light, just as the sun hid in a cloud, nor did he fear death on the cross.

For a long time weighty and grave misery had subjugated us; slavery was reigning; and liberty had completely refused us. The limit was present at which it had been arranged that Mary would be made fruitful through the Holy Spirit and that God would be made human from the Virgin on behalf of humanity.

The root of Jesse has produced a sprout, the bearer of a secret, and the sprout has produced a unique flower, and the flower the marvelous fruit through the ages. May the zealous and devout people resound with joy, for he who, under a certain cloudy sky, has made all things from nothing has not yielded under the restrictions of his body or of time.)

The meter is accentual and depends upon syllable count and the position of the final accent in the line.[32] The poetic structure can be analyzed as follows:

Stanza 1	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
Ex Ade uicio	A	6	ppo
nostra perdicio	A	6	ppo
Traxit primordia,	B	6	ppo

[32] On medieval accentual meters in general, see Dieter Schaller, "Bauformeln für akzentrhythmische Verse und Strophen," *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 14 (1979), 9–21. On the versification of the *uersus*, see Spanke, "St. Martialstudien II"; idem, *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik*; Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 1:100–110; Fuller "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:179–209; Giorgio De Alessi, *Repertorio metrico del MS Paris, B.N., Lat. 1139 (sezione antica)*, Istituto di Filologia Romanza, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia Torino 1 (Turin, 1971); and Grier, "Transmission," pp. 19–22. Cf. the metrical analysis of *Letabundi iubilemus* by Hiley, in *Western Plainchant*, p. 243.

Stanza 1	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
dei et hominum	C	6	ppo
per Christum dominum	C	6	ppo
facta concordia.	B	6	ppo
eia,	B	3	ppo
gaudeat ecclesia	B	7	ppo
fidelium,	D	4	ppo
noua mater filium,	D	7	ppo
humilium	D	4	ppo
redemptorem,	E	4	po
uirgo manens edidit,	F	7	ppo
quod accidit	F	4	ppo
preter morem.	E	4	po

The complexity of the stanzaic structure can be seen in the variation in line length from three to seven syllables, and accent on both antepenultimate and penultimate syllable, or proparoxytone and paroxytone respectively, is used. The rhyme scheme, too, is not without subtlety; grammatical and metrical units divide the stanza into three-line segments, and the interlocking rhyme scheme, using two- and in places three-syllable rhyme, bridges these divisions. The use of rhyme and accentual meter (both clearly audible in recitation) makes the text more accessible in tone without sacrificing literary and poetic subtlety and sophistication.

The content, moreover, although it deals with some of the same doctrinal issues as *In principio deus,* treats them in a poetic tone. The question of Christ's birth from a virgin arises in the first two stanzas. The first stanza closes with an exhortation for the "church of the faithful" to rejoice at this event, which is extraordinary ("preter morem"). The image of Mary's remaining inviolate despite Christ's birth is enriched in the second stanza with the simile that compares the penetration of a ray of light through a pane of glass with the entrance of Christ into the Virgin's womb. But that entrance is even more subtle ("immo subtilius"). Metaphor is also used in the third stanza, where the spiritual condition of the world before Christ's birth is equated with slavery, and in the fourth and final stanza, where he is described as a "marvelous fruit for the ages" ("mirificum fructum per secula") that has been produced from the root of Jesse. The effect of the text is heightened by poetic diction. For example, in the second stanza the poet uses the expression "maidenly house" ("aulam uirgineam") for the Virgin's womb, and he terms Christ's carnal state the "veil of flesh" ("carnis uelabrum"). These poetic devices provide a rich literary context in which the poet may discuss these issues of faith. The form and content of the text are less suitable for the liturgical setting in which the Proper trope was sung but would have been appropriate for less formal, but still sacred, occasions.

Stylistic elements in *Ex Ade uicio*'s melody make it much more accessible in tone than that of *In principio deus,* and it is designed to complement the text's poetic expression and structure (Example 2). First, the melody uses a good deal

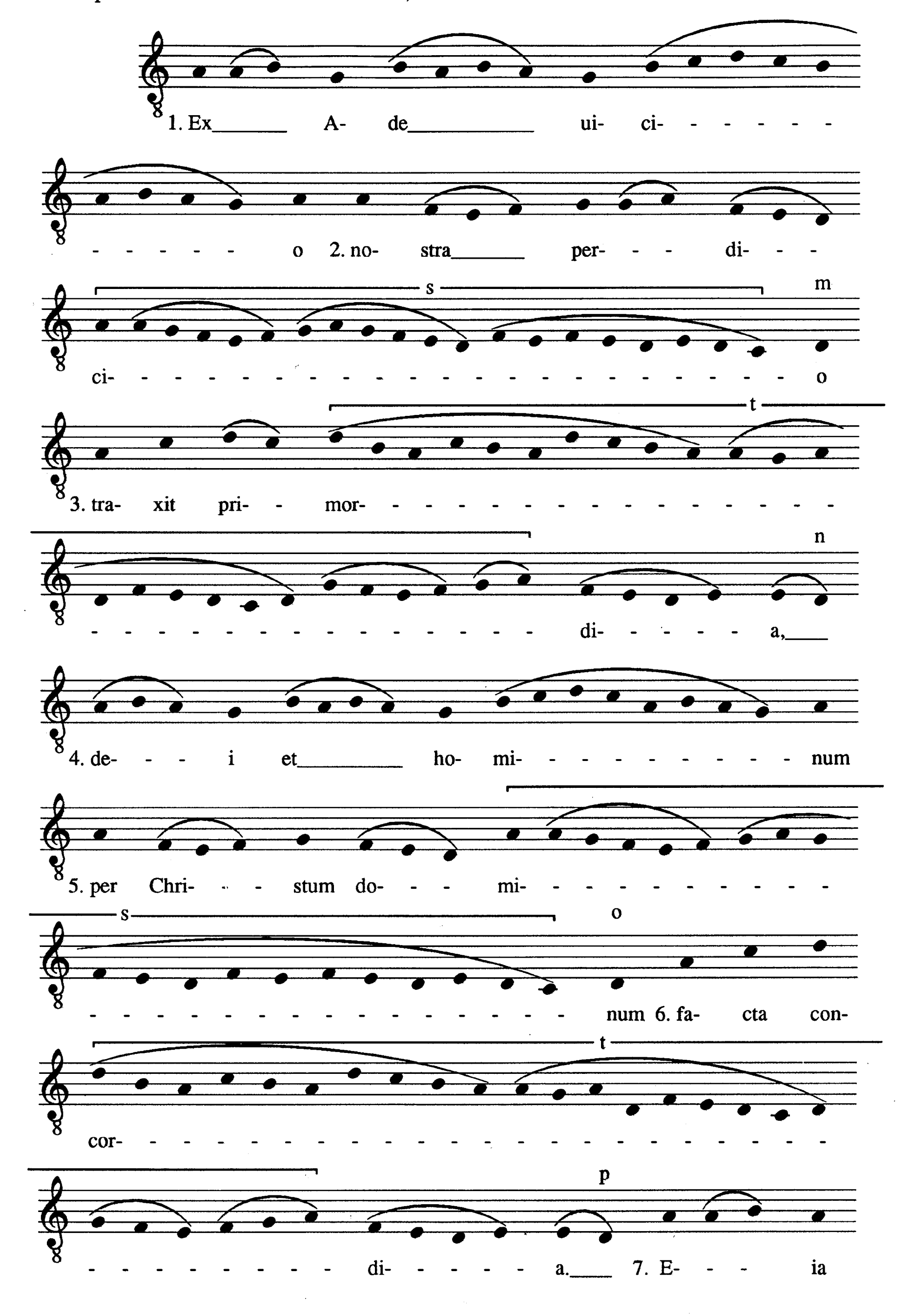
of repetition. The text is set strophically; that is, the same melody is sung for each stanza. Within the melody a repetitive structure is also introduced; for example, the setting of the first three lines of text is repeated for the next three. Second, the tonal structure of the piece is simple as every principal cadence is on the final, D (lines 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, and 15; marked **m** through **r** respectively); and third, the text is set syllabically for the most part, after the initial exuberance of the first two phrases. These features combine to form a melody that presents its literary text in a straightforward manner, without affectation; and the syllabic section of the melody in particular permits the text to be understood when sung.

Moreover, the melody's structure also mirrors that of the text. The fifteen-line stanza is broken into two units, of six and nine lines. This division is articulated by both the grammatical and poetic structure: on the one hand, the first six lines of each stanza form a complete syntactical unit; and, on the other, they consist of two groups of three lines, all with the same number of syllables and final accent, arranged in the rhyme scheme *aabccb*. The melody reflects this organization by setting the two groups of three lines with the same music, as mentioned above, and by articulating the *b* rhyme of the poetry with an extended cadential melisma. The second portion of the stanza, lines 7–15, is contrasted with the first by avoiding exact repetition and using a much more syllabic style.[33]

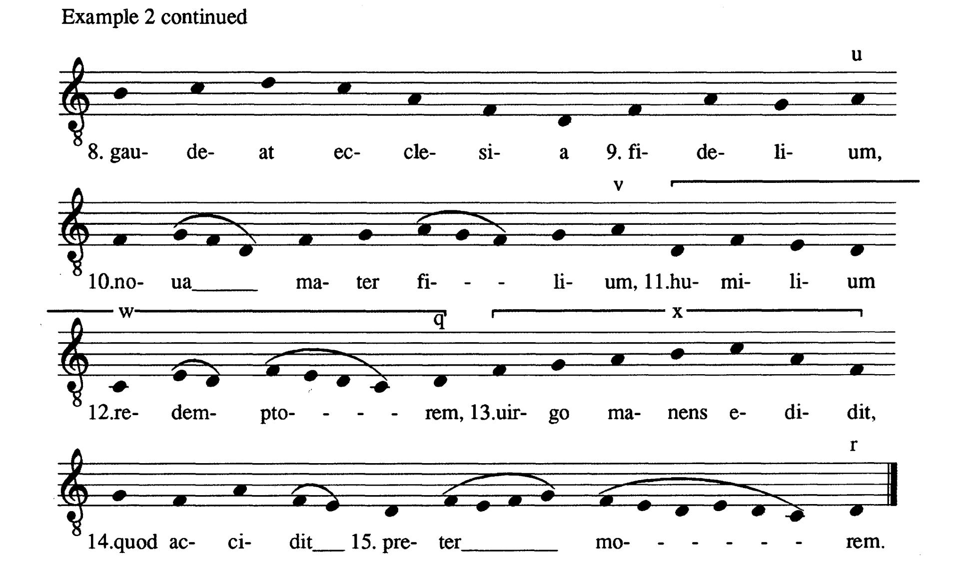
The contrast between the two sections of the melody extends to their respective tonal structures as well. The overall scheme of the melody presents a long-range arch that begins on A, a fifth above the final, D; rises to D an octave above the final; and eventually descends to a cadence on the final, D. This movement appears no fewer than four times over in the melody's first section, and each time the cadence is elaborated with an extended melisma (lines 2 and 5, marked **s**; and lines 3 and 6, marked **t**). The opening phrase of the second section rapidly outlines this arch again but comes to rest not on the final, D, but on A a fifth above (lines 9 and 10; marked **u** and **v** respectively), before executing a closed arch from D to F and back to the final D as the setting for lines 11–12 (marked **w**). The next phrase (line 13; marked **x**) enters new tonal ground, although the pitches are perfectly familiar from earlier passages of the melody, by presenting an arch from the intermediate pitch F, up to C, and back to F. The final section also contrasts with previous material by descending to the eventual cadential pitch D, not from A, as might be expected, but from G. Hence the tonal expectations created in the song's first section, although they are reproduced in the long-range scheme of the second section (it begins on A, ascends to D an octave above the final, and cadences twice on the final, D [lines 12 and 15; marked **q** and **r** respectively]), are not fulfilled in the more immediate melodic structures of the second section. Perhaps after the fourfold reiteration of this arch in the first section the composer considered that a single long-range presentation in the second section would be adequate, and so took advantage of this opportunity to create greater tonal variety in the melodic details of that second section.

[33] The version in 1139a gives rhyming cadences at the end of lines 12 and 15, corresponding with the *e* rhymes on "redemptorem" and "preter morem."

Example 2: *Ex Ade uicio* 3549 fol. 165r, stanza 1



Example 2 continued



The musical complement to the vivid poetic expression of the text is the cadential melisma, and *Ex Ade uicio* contains two fine examples (lines 2 and 5, marked **s**; and lines 3 and 6, marked **t**). These present the principal opportunity for personal musical expression. They usually occur on the last stressed syllable of the line, although the first example in *Ex Ade uicio* (marked **s**) appears above the unstressed penultimate syllable. Both melismata exhibit the richness of melodic decoration found in the *uersus* style. The first embellishes each descending step between A, the secondary tonal center, and D, the final. The second (marked **t**), on the other hand, sweeps across the entire range of the piece, emphasizing D, an octave above the final, A; D, the final; and A again, in preparation for the cadential descent to the final, D. Here is a musical gesture to match the poetic devices used in the text.

Other aspects of the range of personal expression exhibited by this repertory, in both literary and musical style, can be illustrated by two further examples. Moreover, they also show that, within the *uersus* repertory, both sacred and secular pieces share the same literary and musical styles. *Virginis in gremio* is a sacred *uersus* that, as far as we can judge from its surviving sources, is Aquitanian in origin.[34] Both witnesses, 3719c and 3549, belong to the middle layer of the Aquitanian *uersaria* and probably were written around the middle of the twelfth century. The *uersus* can be deemed sacred because of its literary text, which celebrates the birth of Christ, his power over evil, and the salvation he has

[34] Monophonic versions of *Virginis in gremio* appear in 3719c (fols. 35v–36r) and, as an addition to the main corpus of the manuscript, in 3549 (fol. 167v). Edition of the text: AH 21:187–88. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:41–42 (commentary, 2:42). The present transcriptions, text and music, are from 3719c. In line 23 I follow AH in emending "plausus" to "plausu."

1040 *A New Voice in the Monastery*

brought to a languorous and dolorous people. In other respects, the piece is indistinguishable from the secular example to be examined presently.

	Virginis in gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
	Virginis in gremio	A	7	ppo
	manet lux infinita.	B	7	po
	nascitur in medio	A	7	ppo
	terre salus et uita,	B	7	po
5	cuius in obsequio,	A	7	ppo
	uox patris est audita.	B	7	po
	nam subditur infancie	C	8	ppo
	mire gigas potencie	C	8	ppo
	et gemine substancie.	C	8	ppo
10	nobilitanda,	D	5	po
	clarificanda,	D	5	po
	hec dies est amanda,	D	7	po
	hec dies conlaudanda,	D	7	po
	hec dies recitanda,	D	7	po
15	in qua nobis patent poli palacia,	E	12	ppo
	in qua Christi claret misericordia,	E	12	ppo
	clemencia,	E	4	ppo
	potencia,	E	4	ppo
	unde nouantur et congaudent omnia.	E	12	ppo
20	nec inmerito	F	5	ppo
	hoste perdito	F	5	ppo
	plus gaudemus solito	F	7	ppo
	plausu laudis inclito.	F	7	ppo
	inuisibilis tractatur,	G	8	po
25	inpalpabilis palpatur.	G	8	po
	iam nature debitum confunditur;	H	11	ppo
	iam qui nos deuicerat deuincitur;	H	11	ppo
	iam quod erat perditum redimitur.	H	11	ppo
	maxima gloria	I	6	ppo
30	multaque gratia	I	6	ppo
	celestium,	J	4	ppo
	terrestrium	J	4	ppo
	et omnium	J	4	ppo
	eterno sit auctori	K	7	po
35	qui proprium	J	4	ppo
	per filium	J	4	ppo
	et omnium	J	4	ppo
	nostro medet languori	K	7	po
	sanetur et dolori.	K	7	po

(In the bosom of the Virgin, the infinite light remains. Salvation and life are born in the middle of the earth, and in her service the voice of the Father has been heard. For in place of his infancy, a giant of marvelous power and twofold substance appears. This day must be ennobled; this day must be made famous; this day must be loved, praised, and recited on which the palaces of heaven lie open for us, on which the mercy of Christ, his clemency, his power are manifest, whence all things are renewed

and rejoice. When the enemy has been destroyed not without cause, we rejoice more than usual with the glorious applause of praise. The unseen is handled, the untouchable touched. Now what is owed to nature is confused; now he who had completely overcome us is overcome; now what had been lost is redeemed. Greatest glory and great thanks be to the eternal creator of heavenly, earthly, and all things, who through his own son and the son of everyone heals our languor and pain.)

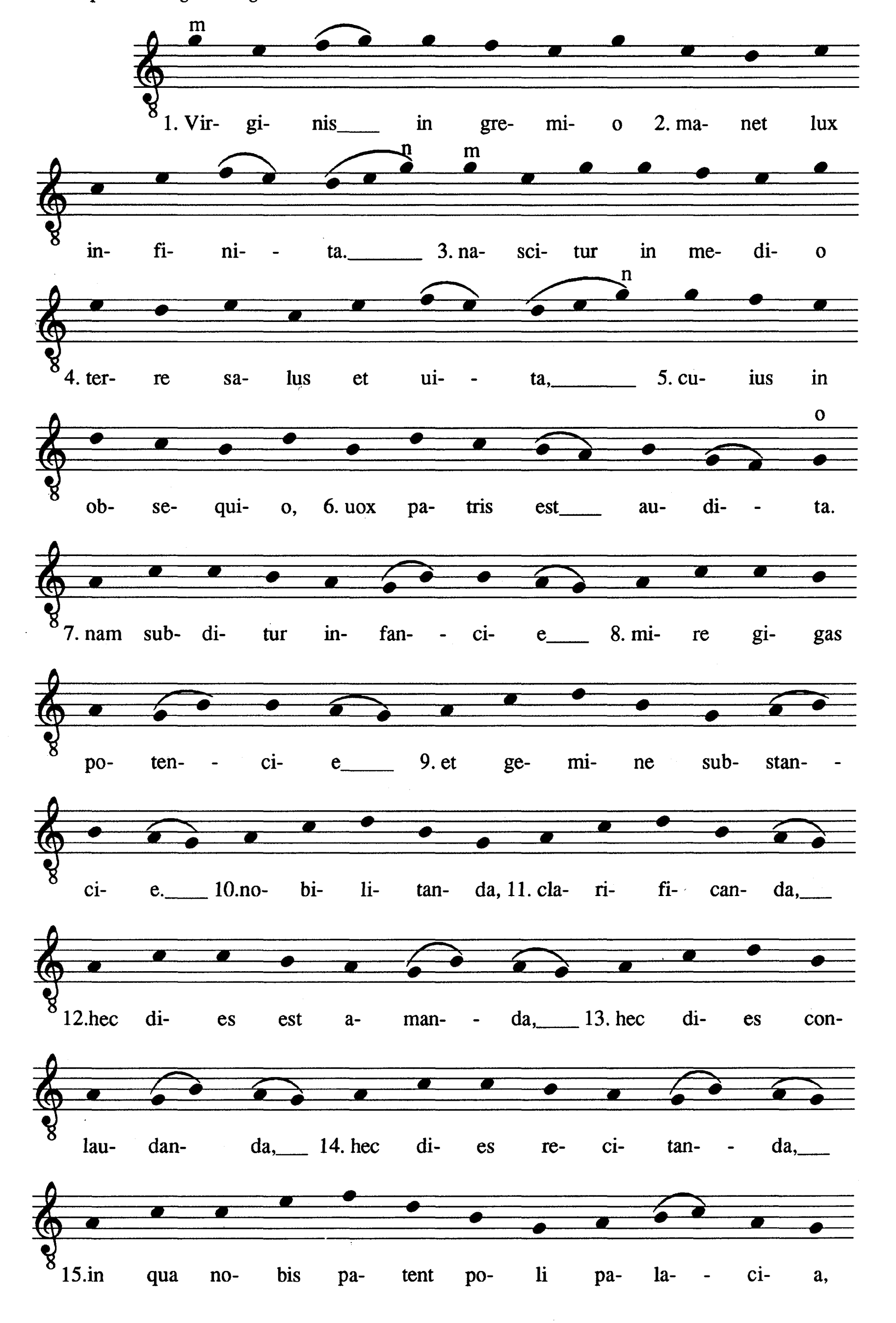
The poetic text of *Virginis in gremio* is organized in groups of lines that are associated by meter and rhyme. For example, the first six lines are grouped in couplets. Each line of the couplet is seven syllables long, but the first line ends in proparoxytone and the second in paroxytone. The six lines use the rhyme scheme *ababab* wherein each rhyme consists of two syllables. Thus each proparoxytonic line has the *a* rhyme and each paroxytonic line the *b* rhyme. This pattern of couplets is not repeated elsewhere in the poem. The next group in the poem, lines 7–9, for instance, has lines eight syllables in length, all ending with proparoxytone and the same two-syllable rhyme. This type of poetic organization might be considered the equivalent of through composition in music.

In fact, the musical organization of the piece reflects this poetic structure (Example 3). As in the case of *Ex Ade uicio*, the composer creates musical units that correspond to sections of the poem and exhibit characteristic settings. Of the first six lines, each couplet is treated as a phrase. The first two couplets are set to the same music, and the third couplet is given a different phrase; the musical structure of this section could be designated schematically as *aab*, or bar form. These two phrases exhibit the antecedent/consequent relationship typical of the *uersus*, as Leo Treitler observes in his study of the Aquitanian repertory.[35] The first phrase remains in the piece's high register for its entirety, beginning and ending on G, an octave above the final (lines 1 and 2; marked **m** and **n** in the musical example). After it is repeated for the second couplet, the second phrase, setting the third couplet, descends to the low register of the piece, cadencing on the final, G (line 6; marked **o**). Thus the tension of the high register, created by the very first note of the piece, is not resolved until the end of the third couplet.
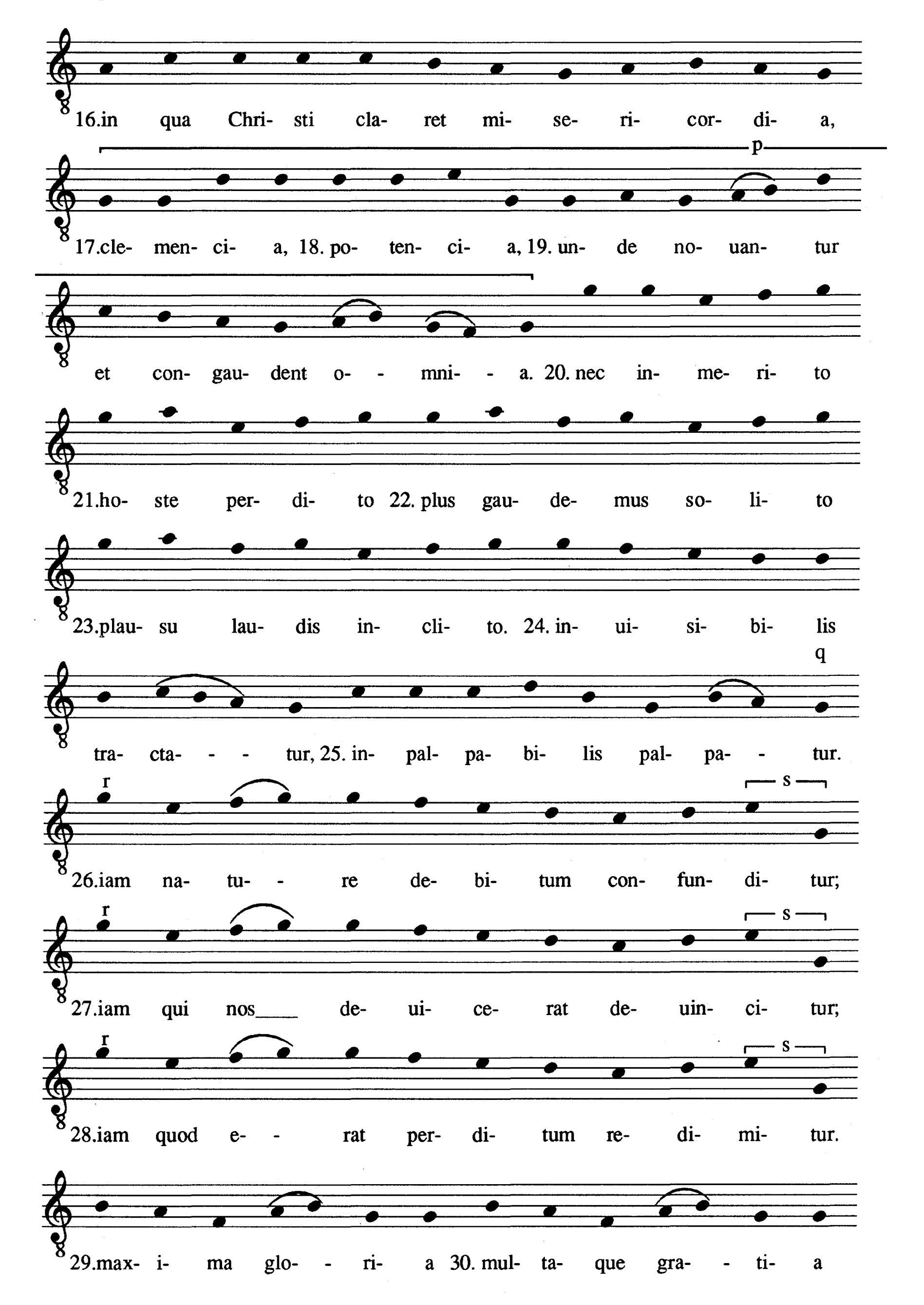
The musical setting of the next section, lines 7–19, reflects a different type of compositional technique. Most of the lines, 7–16 to be exact, are set to a melodic formula that is slightly modified to accommodate poetic lines of differing length (the section contains lines from five to twelve syllables in length) and to provide variety. The setting of each line begins on A, rises to C, where, in some cases, it recites, before cadencing on G. (See Example 4, where lines 7, 10, 12, and 16 are superimposed.) The greatest variation in this scheme is to be found, not surprisingly, in lines 15 and 16, because of their length. This formulaic treatment closely resembles that used for liturgical lection tones, and, in fact, Jacques Chailley remarks on the similarity between the liturgical application of this technique and the style of the early lyric in Aquitaine.[36] This characteristic should not be considered relevant to the dating of the piece but

[35] Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 1:58–68.
[36] Chailley, *L'école*, pp. 166–78.

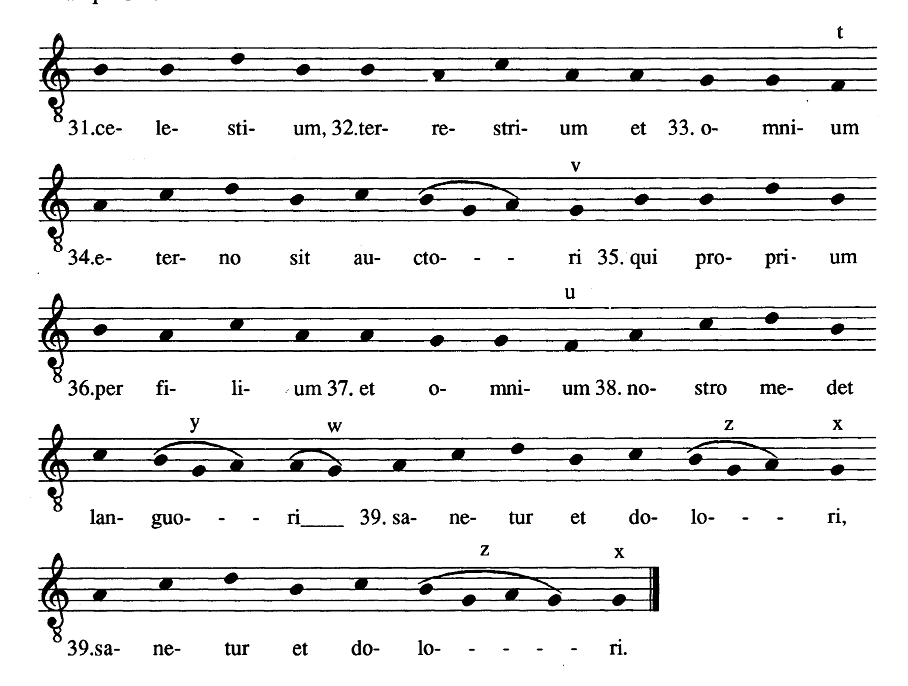
Example 3: *Virginis in gremio* 3719c fols. 35v-36r



Example 3 continued



Example 3 continued



rather should be interpreted as an archaic feature of its style. The section then closes with a contrasting cadential passage over lines 17–19 (marked **p** in Example 3).

The next section, lines 20–25, returns to the opening high register of the piece, in a pattern similar in nature to the first section. The first four lines (20–23) remain in the high register, undulating around G, an octave above the final, as does the setting of lines 1–4. This statement is then balanced with a descending melodic line spread over the next two poetic lines (24–25), eventually reaching a cadence on the final, G, in parallel with lines 5–6 (line 25; marked **q**). To this point, then, the song consists of two similar sections, separated by the second section, which contrasts with those sections in two ways: it remains in the lower register throughout, and it employs melodic formulae that are reminiscent of lection tones.

The fourth section, lines 26–28, presents the climax of the song, both poetically and musically. Through Christ's birth, nature is confounded, the devil vanquished, and, most important, the world redeemed. Each statement begins with anaphora on "iam" ("now"), and the rhetorical power of that device is echoed by the octave leap that "iam" three times completes (lines 26–28; marked **r**). Further emphasis in this passage is created by the exact repetition of the setting of each of the three lines, in contrast, for example, to the setting of lines 7–9, where the repetition is inexact. And the cadence of all three lines employs the wide and rarely met downward leap of a major sixth (lines 26–28;

marked **s**). All these elements contribute to distinguishing this section as the song's high point.

What follows is a restrained passage (lines 29–39) that effects a kind of denouement after the forcefulness of the preceding section. Like the second section, it remains in the song's lower register, although its melodic vocabulary is more varied. The chief musical interest is generated by the tension between the cadences on F at the ends of lines 33 and 38, on "omnium" (marked **t** and **u**), and those on the final, G, in lines 34, 38, and 39 (marked **v**, **w** and **x**, respectively). The relative tranquillity of this section prepares for the eventual cadence on G, which is repeated a total of three times, once for line 38, and twice for the repeated statements of line 39.

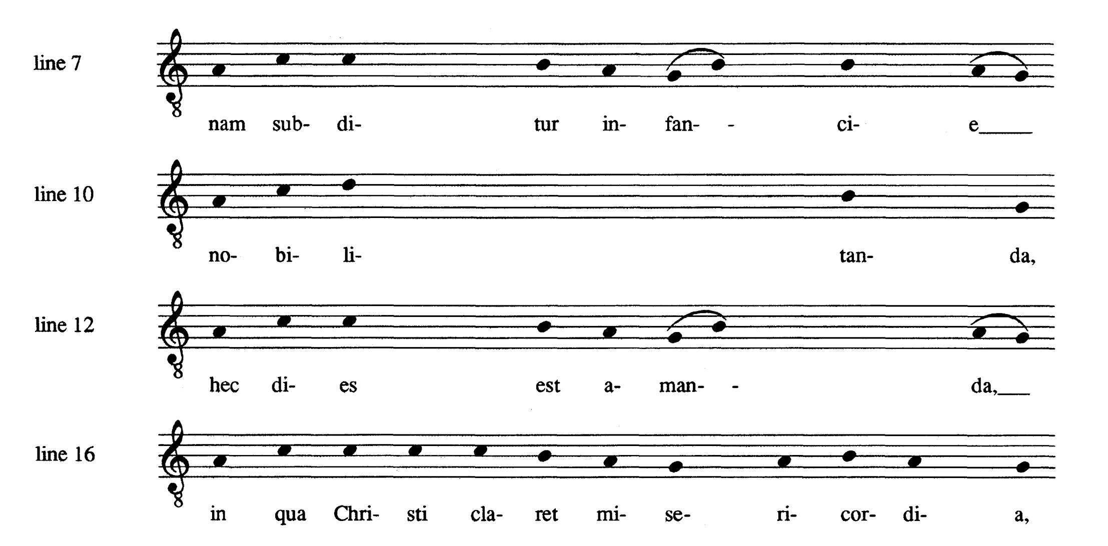
The overall structure of the song, then, consists of a long-range descent from the high register, exposed at the outset, to the eventual cadential point an octave lower. This movement is presented in microcosm in the piece's first section and characterizes the relationship between the first and second, and the third and fifth sections. Between the latter two sections falls the song's climax, lines 26–28, which reiterates this downward motion three times, each time ending with the distinctive downward leap of a major sixth.

The poem exhibits a highly rhetorical style. Particularly noteworthy is the use of anaphora in three places: "hec dies," lines 12–14; "in qua," lines 15 and 16; and "iam" at the climax, lines 26–28, as already discussed. These repetitions are very forceful in effect, as is the isocolon in lines 24 and 25. Furthermore, the poet punctuates his diction in several places with short lines, of four or five syllables (lines 10–11, 17–18, 31–33, and 35–37), that present words in the same grammatical form in a list. For example, the subject of "claret" in line 16 is "misericordia," which is then supplemented by "clemencia" and "potencia" in lines 17–18. This presentation exploits the identical meters of the words and their rhyming endings, here and in lines 10–11 reinforced by asyndeton, to create a dry and emphatic tone. These rhetorical devices are typical of the dramatic poetic style found in this repertory.

In contrast, the musical setting is restrained stylistically. It is almost entirely syllabic, with brief cadential melismata at the end of the last two lines (lines 38 and 39; marked **y** and **z** respectively). The spare style is intended to make the text clearly audible and comprehensible. The principal opportunity for musical expression is the cadential melisma, but the composer of *Virginis in gremio* elected to retain a spare melodic style here as well. Also typical of the repertory is the simple tonal structure, wherein nearly every phrase ends on the final, G, or on G an octave above the final. The only exceptions to this practice occur near the end of the piece above the expression "et omnium" in lines 33 and 37 (marked **t** and **u**), as mentioned above. These phrases both end on F, a second below the final, G, thus creating a degree of tension that is resolved in the strong cadences on the final, G, that immediately follow at the end of lines 34 ("auctori," marked **v**), 38 ("languori," marked **w**), and 39 ("dolori," marked **x**).

What is the effect of these various stylistic elements? First, like *Ex Ade uicio*, the piece creates a tone that is accessible to its audience. Contributing factors to this tone are the text's accentual meter and rhyme and the simple tonal

Example 4: *Virginis in gremio*



structure and syllabic style of the melody. We might conclude, then, that *Virginis in gremio* was intended for performance in an informal setting before a familiar audience. Second, the stylistic accessibility of the piece does not preclude elements that appeal to the audience's intellect. The rhetorical devices of anaphora and isocolon employed in the text have such an appeal, as does the manner in which doctrinal issues are discussed. Such matters as the Virgin birth (lines 1–4); Christ's dual nature, divine and human (line 9); and his mercy, clemency, and power (lines 16–19) are treated with rigorous orthodoxy. The poem, therefore, is a vehicle to discuss these fundamental issues of Christian belief in an informal environment. Third, this combination of doctrine and accessible style indicates that the audience for *Virginis in gremio* was educated and pious, so pious in fact that its members used their leisure time to create, perform, and listen to sacred songs of an informal nature.

Because of the Aquitanian origin of the repertory, the group that fits this profile best is the regular clergy. It is true that, with the emergence of the cathedral schools in the twelfth century, the knowledge required to appreciate such poems was not restricted exclusively to monks. Nevertheless, the most important cathedral schools were located in the north. Aquitaine had nothing, in the twelfth century, to compare with the burgeoning institutions in Paris, Chartres, Reims, and Laon. We therefore should look first to the Aquitanian monastic communities as the provenance of this repertory.

Regular clergy shared a communal existence that was dominated by the *opus dei*, the liturgy. Prayer filled the day during the daily round of Divine Office and Mass, and in private. In such an environment it is not surprising that monks would turn to the composition of songs that expressed their feelings about sacred subjects. What is of especial interest is the informal tone of these creative expressions. These twelfth-century regulars moved outside the liturgy to create a less formal setting in which doctrinal issues could be discussed. It is possible that restrictions placed by ecclesiastical authorities on alterations or additions to the liturgy might have encouraged this outlet for the monks' creative activity, but I prefer to seek the creative impetus for this repertory among the monks themselves. The style bespeaks a confidence not found in the previous century but manifest in other aspects of twelfth-century artistic and intellectual endeavors. The communication of personal ideas was of great importance—hence the development of a simple, straightforward manner of presenting the text—but of equal importance was the manner of expression of those ideas, and that is the explanation for the development of the rich poetic style and the cadential melisma, which provided the principal opportunity for personal expression in the musical setting.

The concerns of the monks went beyond sacred matters. The repertory of *uersus* from twelfth-century Aquitaine includes a good number of pieces with secular texts. They are in the minority, to be sure, but their number is far from inconsequential. Immediately following *Virginis in gremio* in 3719c is one such piece, *De terre gremio.*[37] Perhaps the word "gremio" ("bosom") in the first line of each

[37] A monophonic version of *De terre gremio* appears in 3719c, fols. 36r–37v; a portion of the

poem has caused the scribe to place them in such close proximity. Although the presence of *De terre gremio* in 3719b and 3719c guarantees its circulation in Aquitanian monastic communities, its origin there is not certain. Some scholars, in fact, attribute it to the statesman and litterateur Peter of Blois, a member of the court of Henry II of England and his queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, with no apparent connections to monastic circles.[38]

That argument depends on two letters by Peter on the subject of poetry, in which he reproaches the addressee for continuing to cultivate secular verse instead of turning his attention to theology.[39] That addressee is also named Peter of Blois, and Reto Bezzola suggests that he might be the alter ego of the author, and thus that Peter was accusing himself of weakness in his persisting devotion to poetry.[40] Peter Dronke, taking that view as a point of departure, develops several criteria for the identification of some fifty songs as the original products of Peter of Blois.[41] There were, however, two contemporary Peters of Blois, one of whom was a canon of Chartres, as the author of Letters 76 and 77 identifies his addressee; and Theophilus Reimarus long ago showed that this second Peter retained a keen interest in secular literature, to judge by the prologue to his work on canon law.[42] He might therefore have merited the

---

poem, with monophonic music for the last stanza only, appears in 3719b, fol. 23v. Editions of the text: Edélestand du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), pp. 232–34 (from 3719c); Jak. Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters aus Handschriften gesammelt*, 2nd ed. (Aarau, 1905), p. 62; André Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton. III," *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), 62–63; and Dag Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale*, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5 (Stockholm, 1958), pp. 174–76.

[38] The chief sources for the biography of Peter of Blois are his letters; see PL 207:1–560; and Elizabeth Revell, ed., *The Later Letters of Peter of Blois*, Auctores Britannici Medii Aeui 13 (Oxford, 1993). See also J. Armitage Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays* (London, 1921), pp. 100–140; Walter F. Schirmer and Ulrich Broich, *Studien zum literarischen Patronat im England des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 23 (Cologne and Opladen, 1962), pp. 163–83; Reto R. Bezzola, *Les origines et la formation de la littérature courtoise en occident (500–1200)*, 3: *La société courtoise: Littérature de cour et littérature courtoise*, pt. 1: *La cour d'Angleterre comme centre littéraire sous les rois Angevins (1154–1199)*, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, IVe Section, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 319 (Paris, 1963), pp. 31–46; R. W. Southern, "Peter of Blois: A Twelfth Century Humanist?" in *Medieval Humanism* (New York, 1970), pp. 105–32; idem, "Peter of Blois and the Third Crusade," in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. Henry Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 207–18; and Egbert Türk, *Nugae curialium: Le règne d'Henri II Plantegenêt (1145–1189) et l'éthique politique*, Hautes Etudes Médiévales et Modernes 28 (Geneva, 1977), pp. 124–58.

[39] Peter of Blois, Letters 76 and 77; PL 207:231–39.

[40] Bezzola, *La cour d'Angleterre*, pp. 39–42.

[41] Peter Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry at the Court of Henry II," *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976), 185–235. See also Peter Godman, "Literary Classicism and Latin Erotic Poetry of the Twelfth Century and the Renaissance," in *Latin Poetry and the Classical Tradition: Essays in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, ed. Peter Godman and Oswyn Murray, Oxford-Warburg Studies (Oxford, 1990), pp. 149–82, esp. pp. 149–69.

[42] Peter of Blois, *Speculum iuris canonici*, ed. Theophilus Augustus Reimarus (Berlin, 1837), p. 1; on which see Stephan Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)*, Studi e Testi 71 (Vatican City, 1937), pp. 220–22. See also Reimarus's preface, pp. xliv–xlix, and R. W. Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," in *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson*, ed. Lesley Smith and Benedicta Ward (London, 1992), pp. 103–18.

reproaches voiced in these letters. More important, however, is the demonstration that the statesman Peter of Blois was not censuring himself for writing secular verse, and thus R. W. Southern, working from the evidence presented by Reimarus, casts doubt on at least some of Dronke's attributions. This Peter of Blois, however, refers in several letters to love poetry written in his youth: "uersus et ludicra quae feci Turonis" ("the poetry and games that I made at Tours," Letter 12, referring to his early education at Tours, probably in the 1140s), "amatoria iuuentutis et adolescentiae nostrae ludicra" and "lasciuioribus cantilenis" ("the love poems of my youth and the games of my adolescence" and "the rather lewd songs," Letter 57), and "nugis et cantibus uenereis" ("the trifles and songs of Venus," Letter 76).[43] The poem under consideration here, *De terre gremio*, certainly fits these descriptions, although that circumstance is by no means a sure indication of Peter of Blois's authorship.

Dronke gives three criteria for judging otherwise anonymous songs to be the product of Peter of Blois: metrical and verbal procedures, particularly, among the former, the use of four-syllable lines ending in proparoxytone; the treatment of certain themes, especially love as an appropriate preoccupation only for the young; and the association of songs attributed to Peter in the same manuscripts.[44] I wish to discuss only the last point in connection with *De terre gremio* because not all the evidence from the Aquitanian witnesses has had adequate exposition and because the attribution, if correct, carries important implications for the date of at least 3719c. The only firm evidence for dating Pa 3719 is a terminus post quem non of 1210, resulting from a dated entry by Bernard Itier on folio 115v. Sarah Fuller suggests a date of mid-twelfth century for 3719c and d because of the method used for ruling the parchment, and earlier dates for 3719a and b.[45] Dronke's attribution to Peter of Blois would provide a tentative terminus ante quem non of ca. 1150 (when he would have been approximately fifteen years of age), or possibly even later. There is no evidence of his ever having held an official post in southwestern France, although he seems to have visited King Henry's court there at least once in his capacity as chancellor to Archbishop Richard of Canterbury.[46] His poetry, therefore, may not have arrived in Aquitaine, especially an Aquitanian monastery, at an early date.

A fragment of *De terre gremio* appears on folio 23v of 3719b, where, however, it does not form part of the main corpus of the *libellus*.[47] Originally this manuscript consisted of a single quaternion, of which only the three inner bifolia survive today, the present folios 24–26 and 29–31. The initial scribe or scribes (designated A and A′ by Fuller) wrote on folios 24r–26v; because folio 24r

[43] Letter 12, PL 207:39; Letter 57, PL 207:172 (accepting the change from "uestrae" to "nostrae"; see Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," p. 112 and n. 15); and Letter 76, PL 207:234.

[44] Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 185–235, esp. pp. 216–20. *De terre gremio* is no. 15 in Dronke's inventory, p. 222, under the incipit *Hyemale tempus, vale*, on which see below. On the history of these attributions, see Dronke, ibid., pp. 191–93, and n. 27.

[45] Fuller, "The Myth," pp. 19–25; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 19, 51–52.

[46] Letter 52, PL 207:157–59; see also Robinson, *Somerset Historical Essays*, pp. 112–13; and Türk, *Nugae curialium*, p. 144.

[47] Fuller, "The Myth," pp. 10–12; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 43–45.

begins partway through *Ex Ade uicio,* it is certain that scribe A also wrote on at least the preceding verso in the original outside bifolium of the gathering. That external bifolium became detached at some time before Fuller's scribe B added a new bifolium to the middle of the gathering (the current fols. 27–28) and a new outer bifolium (fols. 23 and 32).[48] He then entered text on folios 28v–32v, leaving folios 23r–v and 27r–28r blank. It is not necessary, therefore, to date the material eventually written on those folios to the same period as the activities of scribes A, A′, and B, who probably worked around 1100. Alongside the fragment of *De terre gremio* on folio 23v, another scribe wrote two other songs that Dronke attributes to Peter of Blois: a complete text, with music, of *Ex ungue primo teneram,* and the opening of *Quam uelim uirginum,* both on folio 23r, thus immediately before the fragment of *De terre gremio.*[49] This association of the three pieces in 3719b might strengthen Dronke's argument for attribution under his third criterion, as given above.

The version of *De terre gremio* in 3719c belongs to the principal repertory of that *libellus,* and if a date can be assigned to the piece by its attribution to Peter, the dating of the *libellus* as a whole would be affected. In any case this version remains the earliest of the complete copies of the song, and thus the textual differences between it and the other three witnesses carry significance. Most important is the omission, from 3719c, of two passages attested in other witnesses. Both are clumsy in poetic form and content, and so I do not hesitate to classify them as spurious, although André Wilmart and Peter Dronke believe them to be authentic.[50] An introductory pair of versicles occurs only in Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS C. 58/275:[51]

	De terre gremio Spurious Lines	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
[a.]	Hyemale	A	4	po
	tempus, uale.	A	4	po
	estas redit cum leticia,	B	9	ppo
	cum calore	C	4	po
	cum decore,	C	4	po
	quae estatis sunt indicia.	B	9	ppo
[b.]	terra floret,	D	4	po
	sicut solet;	D	4	po
	reuirescunt lilia.	B	7	ppo
	rosae flores	E	4	po
	dant odores,	E	4	po
	canunt alitilia.	B	7	ppo

[48] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 1:42, n. 9; and Grier, "Some Codicological Observations," pp. 43–45.

[49] Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 2:383; and "The Myth," p. 11. Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," nos. 11 and 34, pp. 222, 227.

[50] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," pp. 62–63; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 219, 232. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification,* pp. 174–76, accepts only the introductory versicles as authentic.

[51] Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde,* p. 62; Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; and Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification,* pp. 174–76.

(Farewell, wintertime. The summer returns with delight, with warmth, and with beauty, which are the indications of summer. The earth blooms, just as it is accustomed; the lilies again grow green; the flowers of the rose give off their fragrance; and the fattened poultry sing.)

The most grievous fault of these versicles is metrical. First, the nine-syllable lines that carry the *b* rhyme in versicle a are simply uncharacteristic of this poem, as the ensuing formal analysis of the complete poem shows. Second, the poem's construction depends upon pairs of versicles that are identical in meter and rhyme scheme; these two versicles, however, do not agree, as the lines ending with the *b* rhyme differ in syllable count, nine (uncharacteristically) in versicle a and seven in versicle b. These metrical flaws are reinforced by the awkwardness of the content and style. The topic of the poem is not summer, as versicle a suggests, but spring, which brings with it the rebirth of nature and romantic love. Moreover the repetition "estas . . . estatis" is inelegant, at least, only to be equaled by the prosaic "quae estatis sunt indicia." Versicle a also summarizes the content of the first two stanzas (stanzas 1–2 in the version printed below), borrowing "calore" from them. Similarly versicle b anticipates stanza 3a, whose meter it imitates, and from which it adopts vocabulary ("flores" and "odores"). One can only imagine why fattened poultry would be singing, unless the poet falsely derived "alitilia" from *ala* (rather than *alo*) and so meant birds in general. In sum, these introductory versicles seem to be an inept addition.

Somewhat more promising, and more justified by the poetic structure, is the versicle transmitted only by Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Add. A. 44, immediately after stanza 2.[52] As I discuss below, stanza 2 is irregular in that it is not paired with a structurally identical versicle. If the added versicle is authentic, it would remedy the irregularity. Moreover its absence from 3719c, Zurich C. 58/275, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 228, can be explained by a simple homoeoteleuton: the scribe's eye slipped from "calore," at the end of stanza 2, to "canore," at the end of the added versicle.[53] It is credible that the slip could have occurred more than once independently. The content is also appropriate, as it develops the idea of nature's rebirth and anticipates the mute singing of Philomela in stanza 4a. Nevertheless, the text violates the rhyme scheme.

	De terre gremio Spurious Lines	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
[2b.]	Omnis arbor foliis	A	7	ppo
	decoratur floribus,	B	7	ppo
	et merula	C	4	ppo
	pennis fulgens aureis	D	7	ppo
	dulci gaudet canore.	E	7	po

[52] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 232.

[53] All witnesses but Oxford A. 44 read "calore" at the end of stanza 2; the Oxford manuscript gives "colore." See Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, p. 62; Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62; Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76; and Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 232.

(Every tree is decorated with leaves and flowers, and the blackbird, shining with golden wings, rejoices in sweet song.)

To match stanza 2, the rhyme scheme should read *aabbc*, but this is only achieved through Wilmart's emendations ("floribus" becomes "aliis," itself a weak reading and not compelling paleographically, and "aureis" becomes "aurula," better paleographically but "fulgens" suggests that "aureis" is what the poet intended).[54] This versicle too, therefore, does not belong to the original form of the poem. These rejections do not compromise Dronke's attribution to Peter of Blois.

Although the subject matter of *De terre gremio* is secular, it is not unrelated to that of *Virginis in gremio*.[55]

	De terre gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
1a.	De terre gremio	A	6	ppo
	rerum pregnatio	A	6	ppo
	progreditur	B	4	ppo
	et in partum soluitur	B	7	ppo
	mirifico colore.	C	7	po
1b.	nata recencius	D	6	ppo
	lenis Fauonius	D	6	ppo
	sic recreat	E	4	ppo
	ne flos nouus pereat	E	7	ppo
	traicio rigore.	C	7	po
2.	Erbis aduc teneris	A	7	ppo
	eblanditur eteris	A	7	ppo
	temperies;	B	4	ppo
	ridet terre facies	B	7	ppo
	multiplici calore.	C	7	po
3a.	Erba florem,	A	4	po
	flos odorem;	A	4	po
	odor floris,	B	4	po
	ros umoris	B	4	po
	generat materiam.	C	7	ppo
3b.	sementiuam	D	4	po
	rediuiuam	D	4	po
	reddunt culta	E	4	po
	fruge multa	E	4	po
	et promittunt copiam.	C	7	ppo
4a.	Fronde sub arborea	A	7	ppo
	Filomena, Terea	A	7	ppo
	dum meminit,	B	4	ppo
	non desinit	B	4	ppo

[54] Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," p. 62.

[55] The present transcriptions, text and music, are from 3719c. I adopt the readings "culta fruge" for "cunta fruges" in stanza 3b from 3719b. In stanza 4a I follow Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, pp. 232–34, in changing "conquerit" to "conqueri."

	De terre gremio	Rhyme	Syllable Count	Accent
	(sic imperat natura	C	7	po
	natura)	C	3	po
	recenter conqueri	D	6	ppo
	de ueteri	D	4	ppo
	iactura.	C	3	po
4b.	mens effertur letior,	E	7	ppo
	oblectatur gracior,	E	7	ppo
	dum iaceo	F	4	ppo
	gramineo	F	4	ppo
	sub arbore frondosa	G	7	po
	frondosa	G	3	po
	riparum margine	H	6	ppo
	cum uirgine	H	4	ppo
	formosa.	G	3	po
5a.	Vere suo	A	4	po
	adolescens mutuo	A	7	ppo
	respondeat amori.	B	7	po
5b.	creber erit,	C	4	po
	nec defessus cesserit	C	7	ppo
	uenerio labori.	B	7	po
6a.	Veneris	A	3	ppo
	in asperis	A	4	ppo
	castris, nolo militem	B	7	ppo
	qui iuuente limitem	B	7	ppo
	transierit,	C	4	ppo
	perdiderit	C	4	ppo
	calorem.	D	3	po
6b.	rideo	E	3	ppo
	dum uideo	E	4	ppo
	uirum longi temporis	F	7	ppo
	qui ad annos Nestoris	F	7	ppo
	ingreditur	G	4	ppo
	et sequitur	G	4	ppo
	amorem.	D	3	po

(From the bosom of the earth the fecundity of things progresses and is released into birth with a wonderful color. Gentle Favonius thus restores what has been born more recently so that the new flower might not perish from Thracian cold.

The moderate temperature of the air fosters the vegetation hitherto tender; the face of the earth laughs with manifold warmth.

The stalk generates the flower, the flower the fragrance; the fragrance of the flower and the moist dew generate matter. Cultivated things give back a renewing and seed-bearing abundance by means of their plentiful fruit and promise a profusion.

Under the foliage of the trees Philomela, while she remembers Tereus, does not stop complaining anew about the ancient loss, for thus nature rules. The mind is carried away happier, more pleasantly amused, while I lie on the grassy edge of the river banks, under a shady tree, with a beautiful maiden.

In his own spring, let the youth respond to reciprocal love. He will do so frequently, nor will he have yielded to the labor of love because of fatigue.

In the harsh camp of Venus, I do not want a soldier who has crossed the limit of youth, who has lost his heat. I laugh when I see a man long in the tooth who enters the years of Nestor and pursues love.)

The secular text deals with the rebirth of nature in the spring. These observations lead the poet to reflect on the feelings of love that often grow in the spring. The poem ends with a comment on the stamina of youths in the "labor of Venus" ("uenerio labori," stanza 5) and a caustic attack on the efforts of old men who "pursue love" ("sequitur amorem," stanza 6). Some of these ideas recur in other poems attributed by Dronke to Peter of Blois.[56] The secular nature of the poem is further reinforced by allusion to classical antiquity. References to Favonius (stanza 1b), the name for the gentle west wind that blows in the spring; Venus (stanza 6a), used as a metaphor for love; and Nestor (stanza 6b), the paragon of longevity, all contribute to this classical tone. The story of Philomela, who was raped by her brother-in-law Tereus, is used as a metaphor for the destruction that occurs in nature and that nature each spring overcomes (stanza 4a).[57] Tereus, a Thracian, may also be the "Thracian cold" ("traicio rigore"; stanza 1b) that threatens the new flower. A further indication of the level of classical learning evinced by this poem is the use of the Greek accusative "Terea" (as in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.615 and 647) in stanza 4a to match the rhyme scheme, in place of the more usual "Tereum." A final allusion to Ovid occurs in the last stanza, where love becomes a military exercise.[58] What interest could such an obviously unclerical poem have for monks? Even if the song was not composed by a monk, one of their number was sufficiently intrigued by it to copy it into 3719c beside the sacred *uersus Virginis in gremio*.

As I mentioned above, both the literary and musical style of *De terre gremio* are virtually indistinguishable from that of *Virginis in gremio*. Both songs share a richly expressive poetic style. For example, in the first two stanzas, the earth

[56] Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," p. 222. Wilmart, "Le florilège mixte. III," pp. 62–63, cites verbal parallels in the poetry of Walter of Châtillon, of which see, especially, *Ver prodiens in uirore*, ed. Karl Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon in der Handschrift 351 von St. Omer* (Berlin, 1925), no. 28, pp. 51–53, which deals with rebirth in the spring; the same theme is treated in *Verna redit temperies*, ibid., no. 20, pp. 33–34.

[57] The best-known classical version is Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.424–674; see also Hyginus, *Fabulae* 45. The theme was also popular among other Latin poets of the twelfth century: Walter of Châtillon, *Dum flosculum tenera*, ed. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon*, no. 23, pp. 39–41; and three poems in *Carmina Burana*, ed. Hilka, Schumann, and Bischoff, *Iam uer oritur* (no. 58), *Axe Phebus aureo* (no. 71), and *Musa uenit carmine* (no. 145), 1/2:4–5, 39–41, 245–46, respectively. Two other poems in *Carmina Burana* mention the nightingale in language reminiscent of *De terre gremio*: *Dum Diane uitrea* (no. 62, stanza 7, with further verbal echoes in stanza 8) and *Anni parte florida* (no. 92, stanza 63), 1/2:19–23, 94–119, respectively. See also Winfried Offermanns, *Die Wirkung Ovids auf die literarische Sprache der lateinischen Liebesdichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum "Mittellateinischen Jahrbuch" 4 (Wuppertal, 1970), p. 36. I am very grateful to my colleague Robert Watson for these references.

[58] Ovid, *Amores* 1.9 and *Ars amatoria* 2.233–38. See also Walter of Châtillon, *Dum queritur michi remedium* and *Dum flosculum tenera*, ed. Strecker, *Die Lieder Walters von Chatillon*, nos. 22–23, pp. 35–41.

is personified as it first gives birth from its bosom and then "laughs with manifold warmth." The inverse figure of speech is used in stanza 5a, where a youth is depicted "in his own spring." Finally the portrayal of love employs oxymoron: it is described as a labor (stanza 5b) and then in military terms (stanza 6a), as noted above. The secular poem also uses accentual meter and two-syllable rhyme, but, unlike *Virginis in gremio, De terre gremio* is organized in six stanzas, which, with the exception of stanza 2, are divided into half-verses with identical meters, rhyme schemes, and musical settings. This arrangement occurs in a couple of other *uersus*, and Bryan Gillingham calls it "sequence form."[59] The expression is, I believe, somewhat misleading in that, although the repetitive structure of the sequence is used, the other principal characteristic of that genre is not, namely, the syllabic, or nearly syllabic, setting of the text.[60] This distinction is of importance, as the *uersaria* transmit twelfth-century pieces that do, in fact, exhibit both characteristics of the sequence.[61] Nevertheless, what is of consequence for our discussion is the fact that in *De terre gremio*, as in the sacred *uersus*, musical form coincides with poetic form (see Example 5).

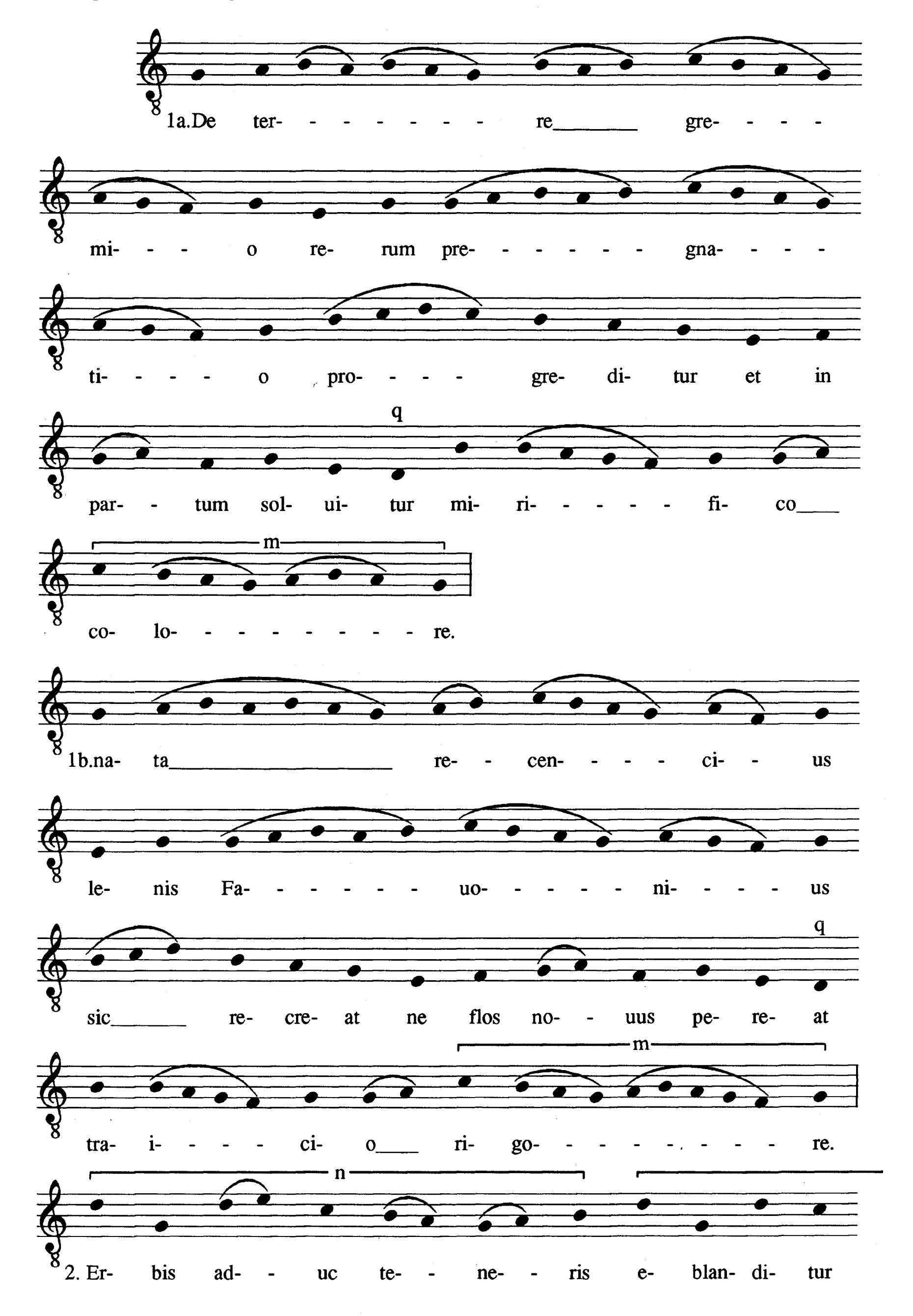
This correspondence is significant when the position of stanza 2, the one stanza that does not partake of the paired half-verse structure, is taken into

[59] Gillingham, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 226–31. Examples are *Noster cetus psallat letus* (3719b, fols. 30r–31r; 1139a, fol. 61r–v; and 36881a, fol. 3r–v; edition of the text, AH 20:116, no. 144; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:79–81 [commentary, 2:451–52]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 26–27, 48–49, 142–44 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 244, 246, 257]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:49–50, 162–63, 197–98; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:12–16); *Omnis curet homo* (3719b, fol. 26v; 1139a, fol. 59v; 3719d, fols. 79v–81v; 3549, fol. 154r–v; and 36881a, fols. 2v–3r; edition of the text, AH 20:67–68, no. 43; editions of the music, Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:39–40 [commentary, 2:41–42]; Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:87–90 [commentary, 2:453–54]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 90–91, 113–15, 140–42 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 252, 255, 257]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:19–20, 47–49, 136–38; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:6–11); and *Veri solis radius* (3719a, fols. 16v–18v; 3719d, fols. 54r–57v; 3549, fols. 149r–50v; and 36881a, fols. 5v–7v; edition of the text, AH 20:45–46, no. 13; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:11–16 [commentary, 2:442]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 33–35, 61–65, 97–101, 149–54 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 245, 249, 254, 258]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:3–7, 54–58, 107–11, 145–48; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:32–50).

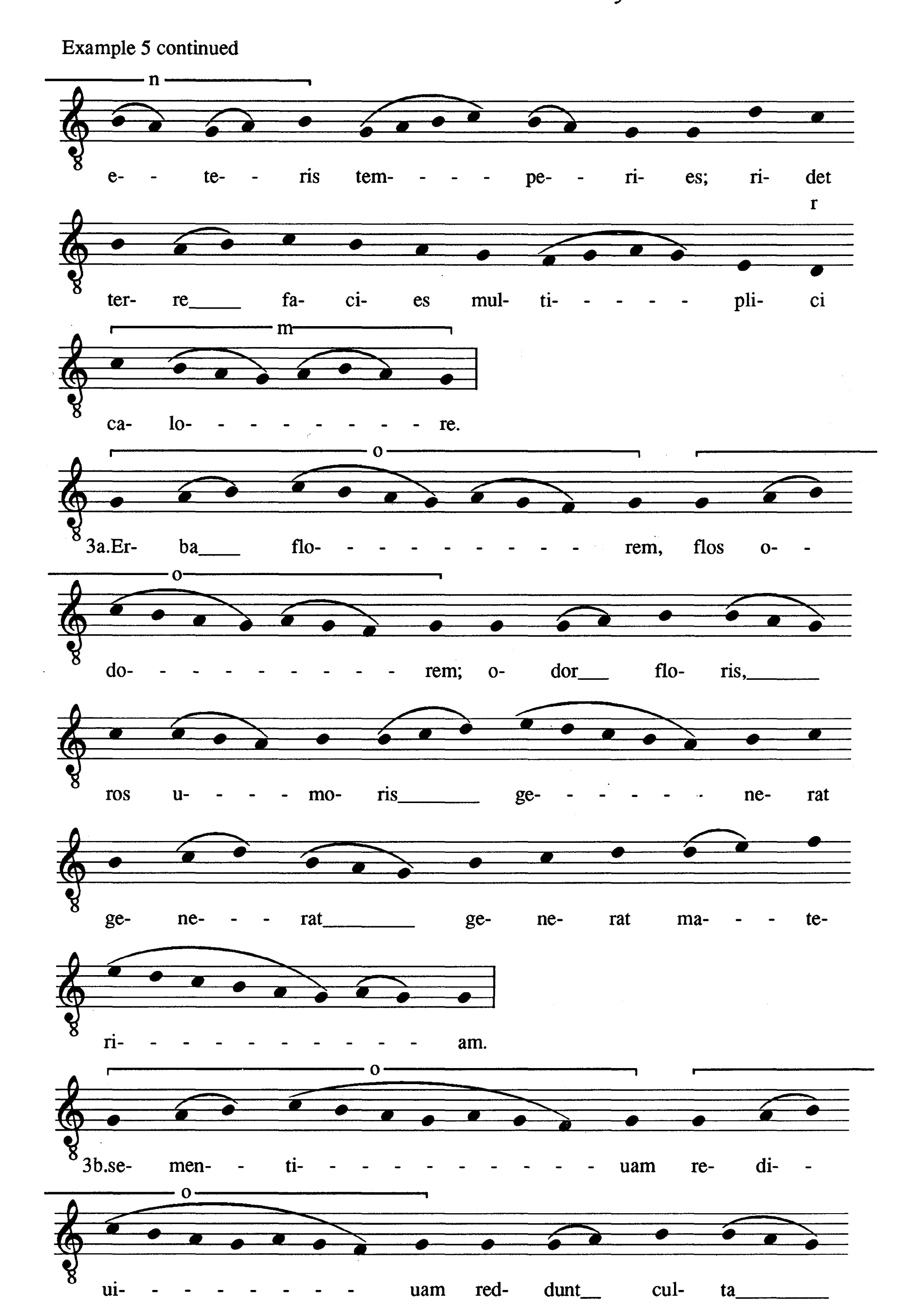
[60] There exists a vast bibliography on the medieval sequence; see Richard L. Crocker and John Caldwell, "Sequence (i)," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20 vols., ed. Stanley Sadie (London, 1980), 17:153–56. On the form of the sequence in general, see Crocker, "The Sequence," in *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen: Gedenkschrift Leo Schrade*, ed. Wulf Arlt, Ernst Lichtenhahn, and Hans Oesch (Bern, 1973), pp. 269–322.

[61] E.g., *Arce siderea* (3719b, fols. 29r–30r; 3719d, fols. 61r–64r; and 3549, fols. 156r–57r; edition of the text, AH 39:79, no. 85; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:158–62 [commentary, 2:465–66]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 46–47, 68–70, 118–20 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 246, 249, 255]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:24–26, 114–17, 160–61; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:139–45), and *Rex Salomon fecit templum* (3719d, fols. 57v–61r; 3549, fols. 154v–56r [also Pa 1139, fols. 165v–67r; and Pa 1086, fols. 70v–72r]; edition of the text, AH 55:35–37, no. 31; editions of the music, Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:163–67 [commentary, 2:466]; Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 65–68, 115–18 [commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 249, 255]; Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:21–23, 112–14; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:133–39).

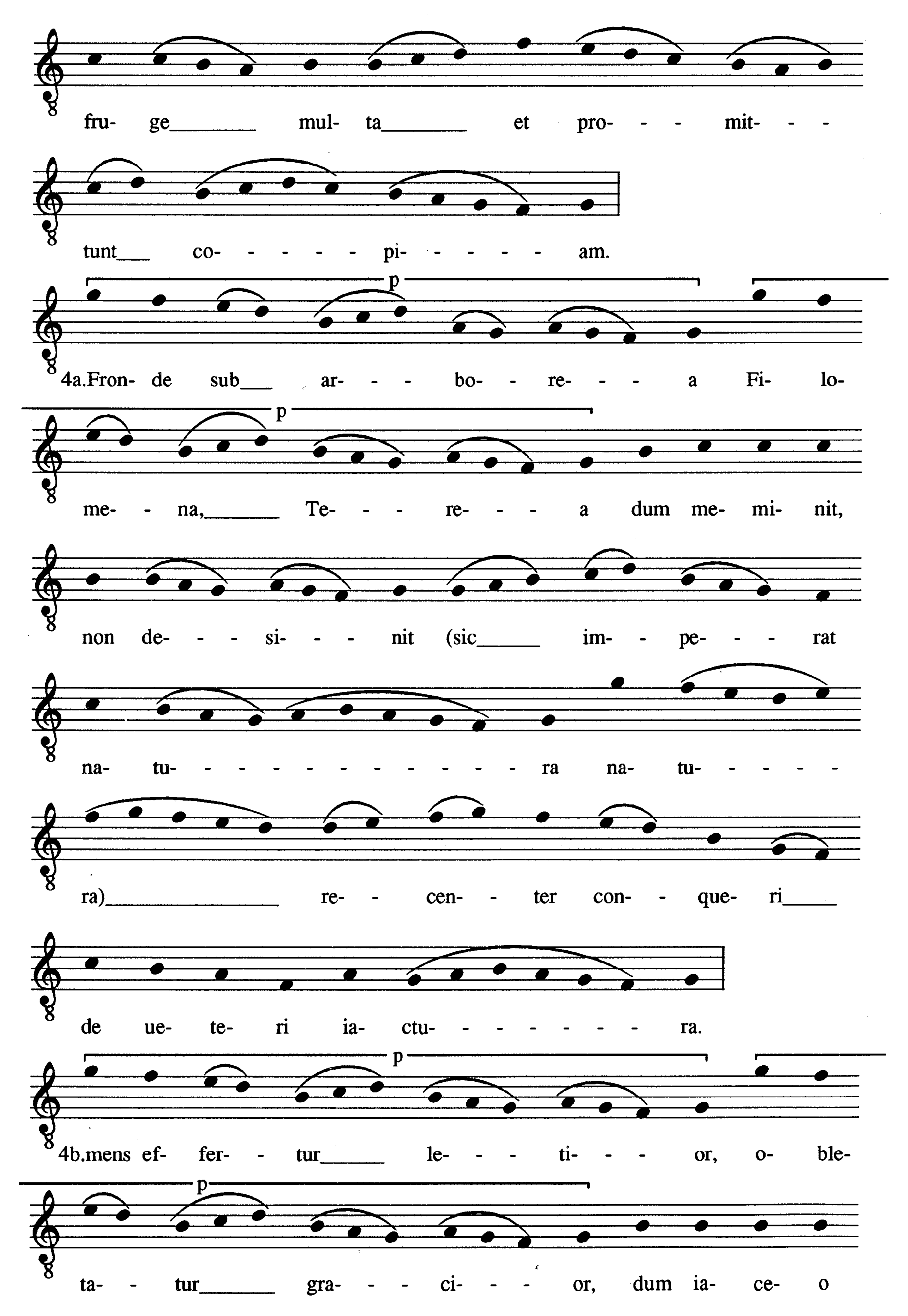
Example 5: *De terre gremio* 3719c fols. 36r-37v



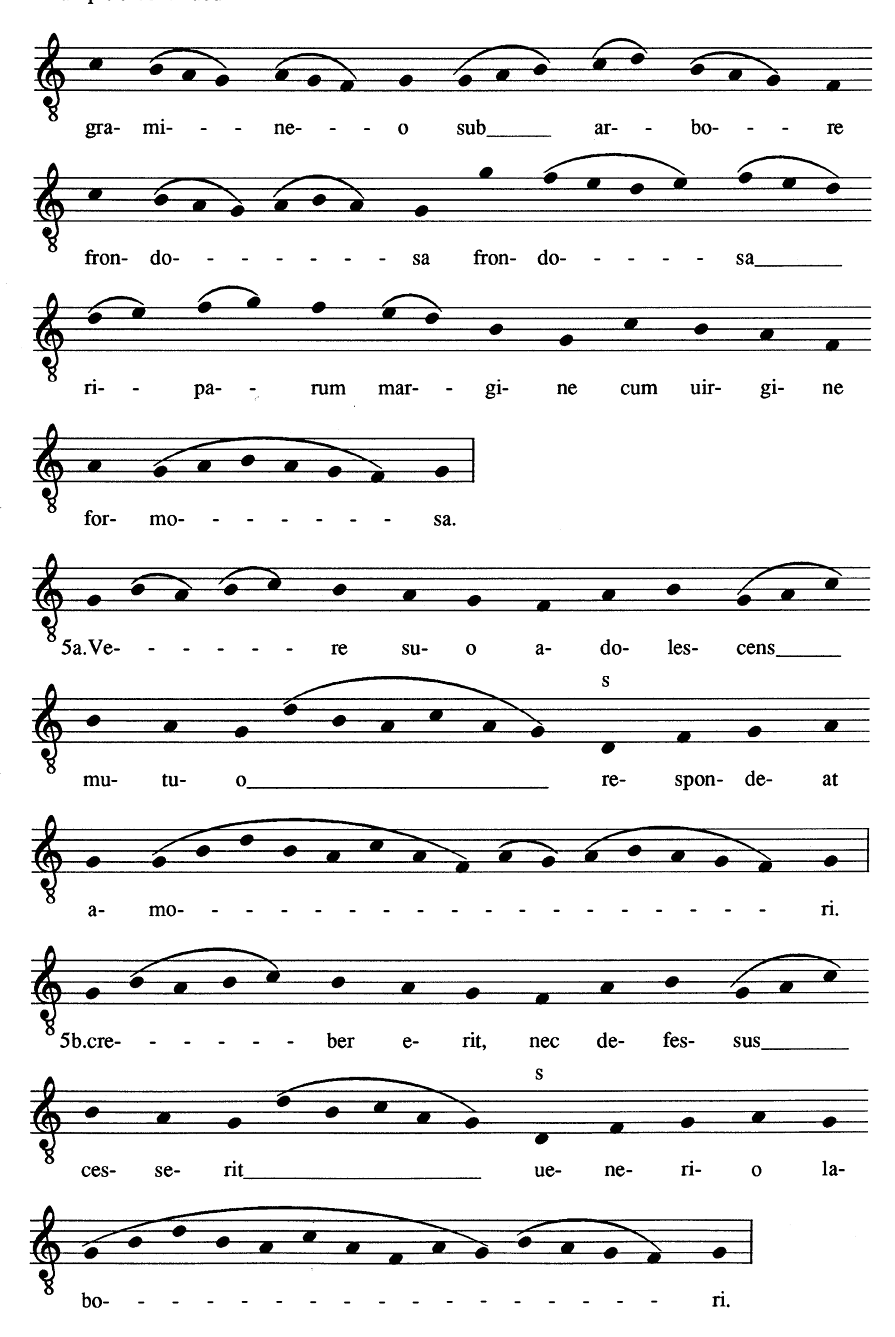
Example 5 continued



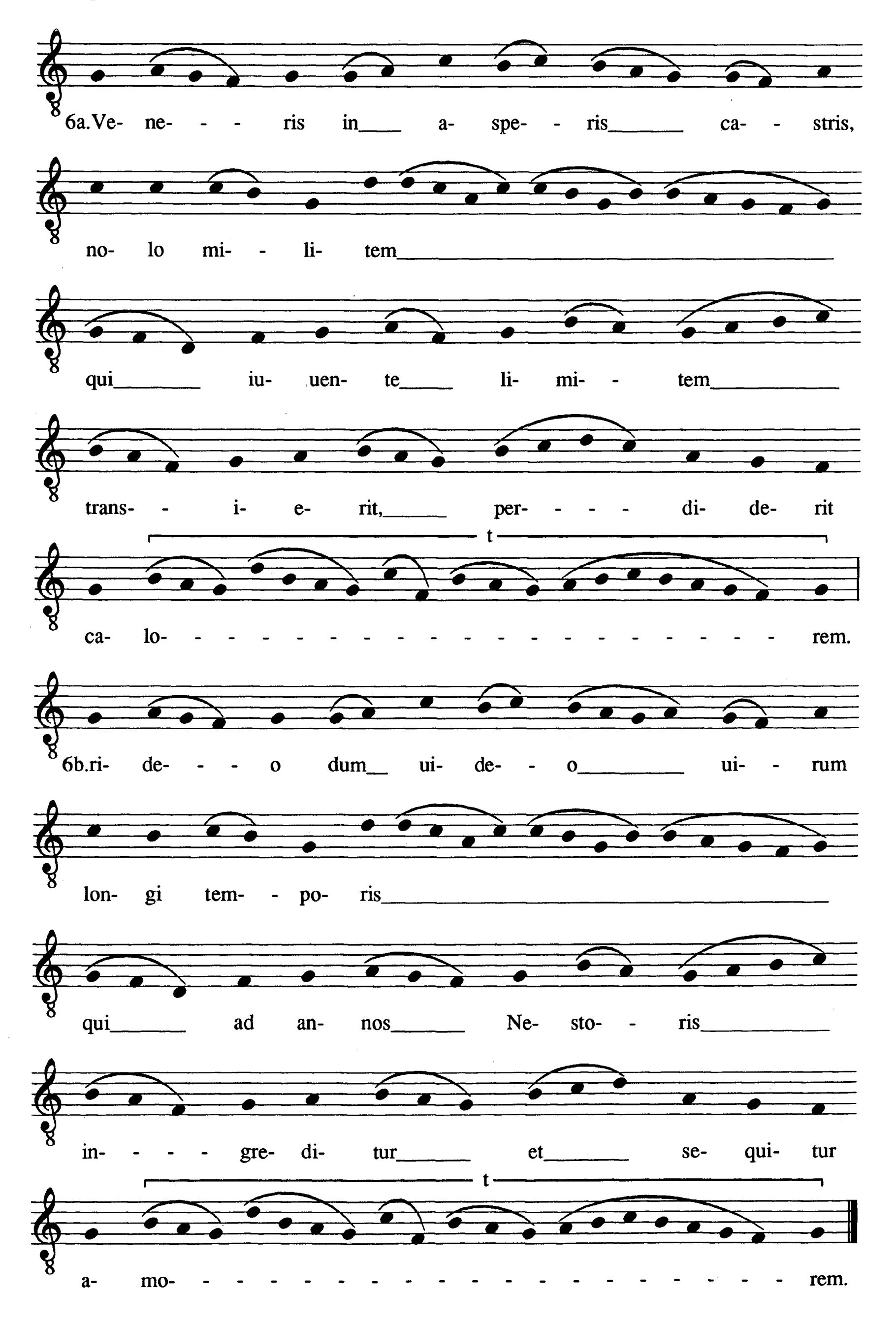
Example 5 continued



Example 5 continued



Example 5 continued

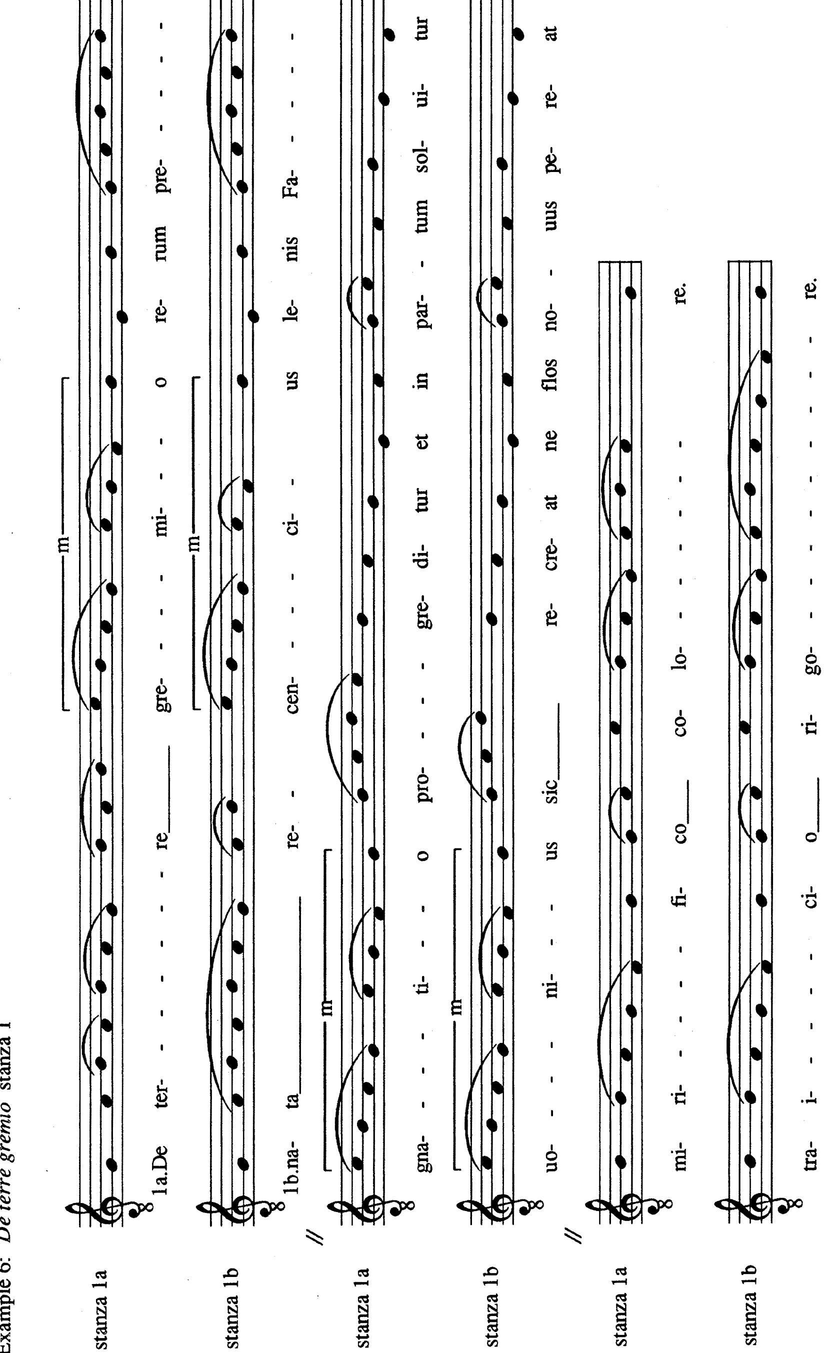


consideration. At first glance, one might suggest that it functions as a third section of stanza 1, stanza 1c, in effect: it contains five lines with the same rhyme scheme and accent pattern; its final rhyme, "calore," agrees with the final rhyme of stanzas 1a and b; and the last three lines correspond in syllable count to the matching lines in the first stanza.[62] Of course, the first two lines do not agree in syllable count. Is this a case of an oversight on the part of the poet, or a deliberate alteration of the poetic structure? When the musical setting of this stanza is considered, it becomes clear that the stanza is a separate unit and that the variant syllable count in the first two lines reflects that separation. Nevertheless, the agreement in rhyme and final accent at the end of stanza 2 is a deliberate reference to the first stanza, as the musical setting shows: the cadence at the end of stanza 1a rhymes with that of stanza 2; and stanza 1b uses the same cadence again, with a slight increase in the length of the cadential melisma (all three cadences marked **m** in Example 5).

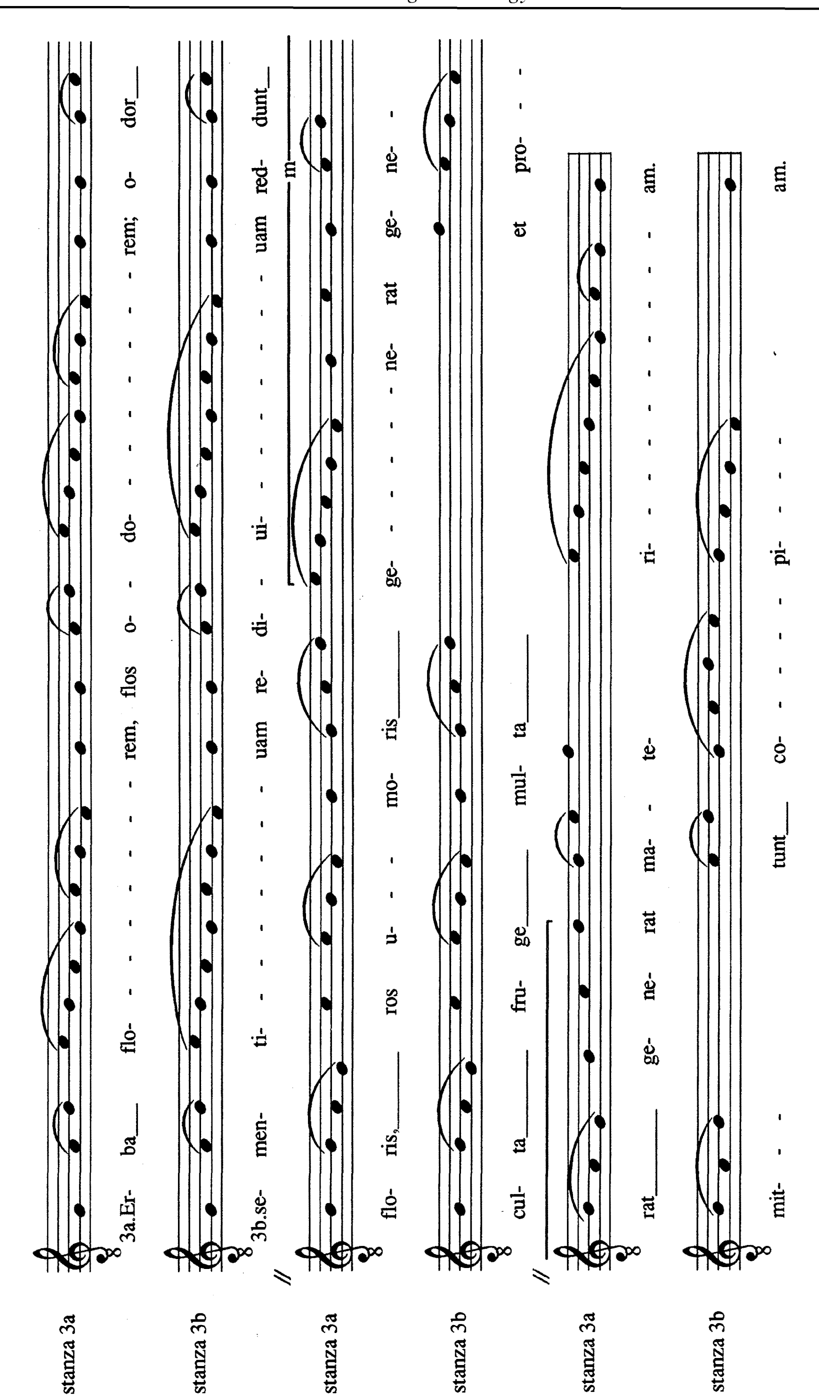
As this instance shows, the music in corresponding half-verses is not, in every case, an exact repetition. In fact, each stanza exhibits at least some degree of variation between half-verses. The first stanza, for example, presents several variants (see Example 6). A number of explanations may be advanced for these variants. The final cadence of the two half-verses, already discussed above, may represent an attempt on the part of the scribe to vary the two units by extending the cadential melisma in stanza 1b, thereby increasing the level of embellishment. The agreement between the cadences of stanzas 1a and 2 suggests that they present the original form of the cadence and that the cadence of stanza 1b was deliberately changed to give a more elaborate ending to the stanza. The cadence in stanza 1b on "recencius" also varies from the corresponding passage in stanza 1a. We might again suppose that the scribe was seeking variety in the cadential formulations, but the structural function of this cadence suggests otherwise. In stanza 1a the first two lines end with rhyming cadences (marked **m** in Example 6) that coincide with the two *a* rhymes in the poetic structure, "gremio" and "pregnatio," and therefore the musical and poetic form are mutually reinforcing. The second line of stanza 1b also shares in this cadence, and although the variant in the first line of stanza 1b prevents the exact repetition of the cadence, it is clear that it is intended to be the same as the other cadences (both cadences also marked **m** in Example 6). Therefore either the scribe committed a simple copying error, by omitting the note G from the setting of the penultimate syllable of "recencius," or he introduced an equally simple variant by changing the conjunct motion of the cadence to movement by leap.

Stanza 3 presents a more complex situation (see Example 7). Towards the end of stanza 3a, "generat" is repeated three times (marked **m**). The analysis of the poetic structure, given above, shows that these repetitions exist outside the metrical structure of the poem, principally because there is no corresponding passage in stanza 3b. Two explanations account for this intrusion. First, in a purely literal sense, the three iterations of "generat" provide principal verbs for the three syntactical units of the half-verse: "Erba [generat] florem; flos

[62] Treated thus by Werner, *Beiträge zur Kunde*, p. 62; and Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification*, pp. 174–76.


Example 6: De terre gremio stanza 1
stanza 1a
1a.De ter- re gre- mi- o re- rum pre-
stanza 1b
1b.na- ta re- cen- ci- us le- nis Fa-
stanza 1a
gna- ti- o pro- gre- di- tur et in par- tum sol- ui- tur
stanza 1b
uo- ni- us sic re- cre- at ne flos no- uus pe- re- at
stanza 1a
mi- ri- fi- co co- lo- re.
stanza 1b
tra- i- ci- o ri- go- re.
m
m
m
m

Example 7: *De terre gremio* stanza 3



[generat] odorem; odor floris, ros umoris generat materiam." Of course the extrametrical repetitions are unnecessary on strictly grammatical grounds because ellipsis of the verb is perfectly acceptable in such a context.

Second, and more important, the reiteration of "generat" carries a rhetorical effect, emphasizing the central idea of the poem, the regeneration of nature in the spring. This effect is heightened by the musical setting: each utterance of the word is given a different musical setting, both in melodic content but also, and more importantly, in the degree of melismatic writing. Each statement is progressively less melismatic, until the last, which is starkly syllabic. This device is the opposite of rhetorical tricolon, wherein each member is longer than the preceding; and its effect is to make the text increasingly prominent with each repetition, culminating in the dry, emphatic final statement. To this rhetorical formulation there is no equivalent in stanza 3b, in either the literary or the musical text. In fact, the musical setting for the final line of stanza 3b does not correspond to anything in stanza 3a, except in general shape (i.e., a descent from F, a seventh above the final, to the final, G). Here, then, the poet and composer have (or has) stepped outside the expectations of both poetic and musical form in creating a rhetorical focus on the idea of regeneration, the principal theme of the poem.

These examples illustrate that when music is to be repeated as a reflection of the poetic structure of a piece, a number of factors may affect how exact the repetition is. Elsewhere variants in *Ex Ade uicio* and *Orienti oriens*, both of which are strophic and survive in versions that present music for more than one stanza, are observed to be the result of variability in the oral, performing tradition that has penetrated the written tradition.[63] Moreover Wulf Arlt points out that music for strophic songs must be adapted when applied to second and subsequent stanzas to accommodate nuances, both poetic and grammatical, in the literary text.[64] The way in which *De terre gremio* is presented widens our perception of the flexibility exploited by the composers and scribes of this repertory in the manipulation of repeated music.

[63] The version of *Ex Ade uicio* in 1139a gives music for the first two stanzas; see Leo Treitler, "Oral, Written, and Literate Process in the Transmission of Medieval Music," *Speculum* 56 (1981), 485 (where the three cadential melismata that he transcribes do not occur at the end of each of three stanzas, as he suggests, but are the cadences that fall at the end of lines 3 and 6 in the first stanza and of line 3 in stanza 2 [to which could be added the cadence at the end of line 6 in stanza 2, "aulam uirgineam"; cf. my edition above]); and Grier, "The Stemma," pp. 252–53. Polyphonic versions of *Orienti oriens* appear in 3719d (fol. 77r–v) and 36881b (fols. 17v–18v); 3549, in an addition to the main corpus of the manuscript (fol. 168r–v), transmits the first stanza with provision for two lines of music above it, but no music was entered. The version in 36881b presents music for all three stanzas. Edition of the text: AH 45b:37, no. 37. Editions of the music: Fuller, "Aquitanian Polyphony," 3:31–32 (commentary, 2:444); Gillingham, ed., *Saint-Martial Mehrstimmigkeit*, pp. 84–85, 184–85 (commentary, "Saint-Martial Polyphony," pp. 251, 261); Karp, *The Polyphony of Saint Martial*, 2:78–80, 131–32; and van der Werf, *The Oldest Extant Part Music*, 2:96–98. See Grier, "Scribal Practices," pp. 383–85. Another example is *Da laudis homo*, in Ma 289; see Wulf Arlt, "*Nova cantica*: Grundsätzliches und Spezielles zur Interpretation musikalischer Texte des Mittelalters," *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 10 (1986), 28–31. In most strophic songs found in the *uersaria*, music is given for the first stanza only, and the others are written out as prose.

[64] On *Letamini plebs hodie fidelis* (1139b, fol. 41v) and *Annus nouus in gaudio* (1139a, fols. 36v–37r), see Arlt, "*Nova cantica*," pp. 31–44.

The careful coordination of music and poetry can be observed at the level of the individual phrase as well. I have already remarked on the use of rhyming cadences in the first two lines of stanzas 1a and 1b and at the end of stanzas 1a, 1b, and 2, where the poetic structure is reflected by the musical form. Stanza 2 takes this idea one step further by presenting musical settings for its first two lines that are nearly exact repetitions (marked **n** in Example 5). This symmetry returns in stanzas 3 and 4, in both of which the first two lines are also set to the same music (marked **o** and **p**, respectively).

In most respects, the musical style of *De terre gremio* is similar to that of *Virginis in gremio*. In particular, contrasting phrase shapes create melodic tension. Most phrases in the *uersus* repertory follow some kind of arch shape. *Ex Ade uicio* provides several examples. When a different shape occurs, it generates contrast and emphasis. The climax of *Virginis in gremio* (at lines 26–28), for example, is built around three successive, identical phrases that descend through an octave to the final, G, as noted above. *De terre gremio* exhibits a similar strategy. In the first stanza, after four arch-shaped phrases, the final line is approached by the unusual leap of a major sixth (the same interval used in the cadences of the climactic section of *Virginis in gremio*) and then proceeds to the final cadence of the stanza by descending to the final, G (marked **q** in Example 5 above). More dramatic is the opening of stanza 2, where the melody begins on D, a fifth above the final, G, which is the previous note at the end of stanza 1b, and then executes reciprocating leaps of a fifth with G; this gesture is repeated for the second line of the stanza (marked **n**).

The third stanza represents a contrast to the preceding music. It consists solely of arch-shaped phrases, the norm for the genre, although it does create some tension by exploring a higher register, now reaching up to F (the previous highest note was E, at the opening of stanza 2). Its most important melodic gesture is the rhetorical repetition of "generat" in stanza 3a discussed above. The climax arrives in stanza 4 with the allusion to Philomela, and its musical shape is identical with the climactic section of *Virginis in gremio*: several descents through the octave to the final, G (the first two marked **p** in Example 5 above). For the first time in the song, the note G, the highest note in the melody, is heard, and it occurs only in this stanza. Moreover its presentation is both dramatic and reminiscent of its treatment in *Virginis in gremio*: it commences the stanza following a "silent" leap of an octave from the last note of the previous stanza ("silent" because the singer presumably pauses at least slightly between stanzas). The musical denouement of the song again echoes that of *Virginis in gremio* (lines 29–39). The melodies of stanzas 5 and 6 remain in the lower register and describe the familiar arch shapes.

In tonal structure, too, both *uersus* evince similarities. They share the final, G, and most phrases begin and end on it. The note D, both a fifth above and a fourth below the final, plays an important role in *De terre gremio* as a tone that limits melodic motion around the final. In three places it marks a point of departure for the final cadential phrase of a stanza (stanza 1, marked **q** in Example 5 above; stanza 2, marked **r**; and stanza 5, marked **s**), each time in a position below the final. It also occurs above the final in stanza 2, beginning dramatically with the first note (marked **n**) to create a contrast with the melodic

shapes of the first stanza and to delimit the upward motion of the melody. Both Ds, above and below the final, function as the boundaries of melodic motion in the final two stanzas. Thus, stanzas 1, 2, 5, and 6 are distinguished in range from stanzas 3 and 4: the outer stanzas fall into the lower, plagal register, while the central stanzas, including the climax in stanza 4, use the higher, authentic register. When the melody is in the plagal range, D frames the melodic motion on either side of the final, G.

De terre gremio does contrast with *Virginis in gremio* in one important stylistic element, and that is the degree of melismatic elaboration, in which it exceeds the sacred *uersus* significantly. Although the principal opportunity for embellishment remains the cadential melisma (the most flamboyant of which ends the final stanza, marked **t** in Example 5 above), *De terre gremio* exhibits melismata throughout the length of several phrases (e.g., the first phrase of the song). The more elaborate musical setting should not be attributed to the secular nature of the piece because there are, in the Aquitanian repertory, sacred pieces that are much more melismatic than *De terre gremio*.[65]

Therefore, with the exception of textual content, there is nothing to distinguish these two pieces. They accord in both poetic and musical style, and even share some striking features such as the treatment of the climax. If we leave aside Dronke's attribution of *De terre gremio* to Peter of Blois, which, in the light of Southern's arguments, must be regarded as uncertain at best, it is within the realm of possibility that both *uersus* were composed by the same person. Because they were copied into 3719c in immediate succession by the same scribe, the least that can be asserted is that, at some time in their history, they were very likely performed by the same person in the same environment.

In conclusion I might pose two questions. First, within the repertory of *uersus*, how can we reconcile the differences in the textual content with these stylistic similarities? The classical allusions and poetic style of *De terre gremio* suggest that its audience was as educated and sophisticated as that for *Virginis in gremio*. Earlier I noted the confidence with which the monks expressed themselves creatively in sacred pieces. In the secular piece there is an even greater confidence on the part of the monks in discussing such subjects as love and nature. Other secular pieces in the repertory deal with carnal love in an even more explicit way than does *De terre gremio*.[66] Nevertheless the piety of the monks is

[65] E.g., *Letabundi iubilemus*, 1139a, fol. 58r–v. Edition of the text: Marius Sepet, "Les prophètes du Christ," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des chartes* 28 (1867), 26. Edition of the music: Treitler, "The Aquitanian Repertories," 3:31–32 (commentary, 2:36). See also Arlt, "*Nova cantica*," pp. 44–52; and Hiley, *Western Plainchant*, pp. 243–45.

[66] E.g., *Ex ungue primo teneram*, which Dronke also attributes to Peter of Blois, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," no. 11, p. 222. It occurs in 3719b, fol. 23r, and 3719c, fols. 37v–38v. Editions of the text: Hans Spanke, "Ein unveröffentlichtes lateinisches Liebeslied," *Speculum* 5 (1930), 431–33 (cf. W. B. Sedgwick, "The Poem *Ex ungue primo teneram*," ibid. 6 [1931], 295; and Spanke, "Zur Geschichte der lateinischen nichtliturgischen Sequenz," ibid. 7 [1932], 377–78); A. Vernet, "Poésies latines des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Auxerre 243)," in *Mélanges dédiées à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946–49), 2:62–63; and Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2:378–80.

not in question. That they should think, write, or sing about love and its carnal manifestations does not necessarily mean that they compromised the celibacy they professed. It is possible that the composition of these songs went some way towards reconciling the younger and perhaps more full-blooded monks to the privations of the regular life. A parallel is to be found in the drinking songs composed in the early centuries of Islam. The vigorous Arab nobles wrote passionately about the alcohol that was now denied them by their new religious custom.[67]

The fact that the monks also expended much of their creative energy on the composition of sacred songs subverts accusations of impiety on their part. But that outlet was not sufficient for at least some, and they wrote and sang of their feelings about the secular world as well. The monks of the twelfth century had the confidence to express themselves in a personal way, first and foremost on sacred subjects, but also on secular life. They emerge from the literary and musical texts as individuals, unfortunately nameless, who were seeking to communicate personal ideas to their peers. These findings are consistent with those of Colin Morris and others on the growing sense of individuality to be found in the twelfth century.[68]

The importance of individual expression in poetry is indirectly revealed in the comments of several prominent twelfth-century writers on the renown that can accrue from poetic accomplishment. Peter of Blois stated it most baldly when he congratulated himself and his addressee (the other Peter of Blois, mentioned above) on the fame their writings had earned for them.[69] Peter experienced a change of heart, however, and in a later epistle condemned the

[67] See the poetry of al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (709–44), Arthur Wormhoudt, trans., *The Diwan of Walid ibn Yazid*, Arab Translation Series 74 (n.p., 1984), esp. nos. 85–87; see also Francesco Gabrieli, "Al-Walīd ibn Yazīd, il califfo e il poeta," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 15 (1935), 1–64, esp. pp. 26–30; and Dieter Derenk, *Leben und Dichtung des Omaiyadenkalifen al-Walīd ibn Yazīd: Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 27 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1974), pp. 59–62. And that of Abū Nuwās (fl. 800), Arthur Wormhoudt, trans., *The Diwan of Abū Nuwās al Hasan ibn Hani al Hakami*, Arab Translation Series 8 (n.p., 1974), esp. pp. 154–86; see also Jamel Bencheikh, "Poésies bachiques d'Abū Nuwās: Thèmes et personnages," *Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas* 18 (1963–64), 7–84; Ewald Wagner, *Abū Nuwās: Eine Studie zur arabischen Literatur der frühen 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Veröffentlichungen der orientalischen Kommission 17 (Wiesbaden, 1965), pp. 110–33, 289–308; and Andras Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, Princeton Essays in Literature (Princeton, 1974), pp. 47–71, esp. pp. 50–61.

[68] Of the substantial literature on this subject, see particularly Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual* (London, 1972; repr. Toronto, 1987); with the comments of Caroline Walker Bynum, "Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?" *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31 (1980), 1–17; to which Morris replied, "Individualism in Twelfth-Century Religion: Some Further Reflections," ibid., pp. 195–206. See also John F. Benton, "Individualism and Conformity in Medieval Western Europe," in *Individualism and Conformity in Classical Islam*, ed. Amin Banani and Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Wiesbaden, 1977), pp. 145–58; and idem, "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, with Carol D. Lanham (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 263–95.

[69] Peter of Blois, Letter 77, PL 207:238. On this letter and Letter 76, see Bezzola, *La cour d'Angleterre*, pp. 39–42; Dronke, "Peter of Blois and Poetry," pp. 196–200; and Southern, "The Necessity for Two Peters of Blois," pp. 103–9.

1068 *A New Voice in the Monastery*

vanity of poetic endeavor, encouraging his addressee (still the second Peter of Blois) to devote himself to the study of sacred letters instead.[70] Here he echoed the sentiments of Guibert of Nogent, who also confessed to a passion for the composition of poetry while a youth and the praise his accomplishments garnered, even if offered anonymously; Guibert, too, abandoned poetry for theology.[71] The idea finds oblique expression in the *Historia calamitatum* and the first letter from Heloise to Abelard, in which both lovers suggest a certain embarrassment over the popularity of Abelard's love lyrics.[72] What is common to all three writers is the acknowledgment that skill in poetry leads to fame and praise for the poet, for the individual who wrote the verse. That all three would express a degree of shame for seeking this praise does not undermine the social and personal forces that led them to write poetry in the first place. Monks in twelfth-century Aquitaine were responding to those same social and personal forces when they took to writing songs that communicated their individual ideas about subjects both sacred and worldly. Yet their accomplishment is much more modest than the bold individuality Peter Dronke finds in some poets of the twelfth century.[73] Dronke's examples exhibit a freshness of conception, form, and language that reveals the strong personalities of their creators. In comparison, the Aquitanian *uersus* strikes an accessible tone, not without poetic artifice, but produced within the context of a much more limited range of poetic convention.

Second, how can we account for the two quite different styles observed above in the tropes and *uersus* and the preeminence that they achieved in their respective centuries? One external factor that might have affected the decline in popularity in tropes of the Proper of the Mass is the spread of Cluny's influence in Aquitaine in the last third or so of the eleventh century. The key events were the purchase of Saint-Martial, with its fifty or so daughter houses, by Abbot Hugh of Cluny in 1062 and its forcible occupation by Cluniac monks the next year.[74] That turn of events markedly influenced liturgical practices in Aquitanian

[70] Peter of Blois, Letter 76, PL 207:231–37.

[71] Guibert of Nogent, *De vita sua, sive monodiae* 1.17, ed. Edmond-René Labande, Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age 34 (Paris, 1981), pp. 134–44.

[72] The two passages contain striking verbal parallels: Abelard, *Historia calamitatum*, ed. J. Monfrin, 3rd ed., Bibliothèque des Textes Philosophiques (Paris, 1967), p. 73; Letter 1, ibid., p. 115. See also Lorenz Weinrich, "Peter Abaelard as Musician—I," *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969), 296–99; and Michel Huglo, "Abélard, poète et musicien," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 22 (1979), 352–53. On Abelard's extant secular verse, see John F. Benton, Peter Dronke, Elisabeth Pellegrin, and Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, "Abaelardiana," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 57 (1982), 273–95.

[73] Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departures in Poetry, 1000–1150*, 2nd ed., Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies 1 (London, 1986).

[74] The chief narrative source is a note in Pa 11019, pp. 165–69; printed in J.-B. Champeval, ed., "Chroniques de Saint-Martial de Limoges, Supplément," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 42 (1894), 322–24; and Charles de Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges: Etude historique, économique et archéologique précédée de recherches nouvelles sur la vie du saint* (Paris, 1901), pièce justificative 7, pp. 427–29. See also Peter Damian, *De gallica Petri Damiani profectione et eius ultramontano itinere* 14–15, ed. Gerhard Schwarz and Adolf Hofmeister, MGH SS 30/2:1043–44; and Geoffrey of Vigeois, *Chronica* 14, ed. Philippe Labbe, *Noua bibliotheca manuscriptorum libro-*

monasteries and might account for the suppression of Proper tropes, but it does not explain the growth in popularity of the *uersus*.[75] The main focus of the Cluniac liturgy was the singing of Psalms; and the kind of embellishment to the liturgy that the *uersus* would constitute, were it ever sung in the liturgy, was simply foreign to the central liturgical concern of the Cluniacs.[76]

We must turn, I believe, to the monks themselves for an explanation. The Proper tropes, as we have seen, address, in a dignified manner suitable for the Mass, a sophisticated audience that is encouraged to contemplate the doctrinal issues raised in the text. The *uersus*, however, is much more accessible in its style of expression. Its tone suggests that it was fulfilling a need, felt by both composer and listener, for a less formal medium in which to express ideas about the faith that they shared. Both literary and musical text provided opportunities for individual expression to a degree not found in the Proper tropes, and they bespeak a worldliness that monks of the eleventh century either did not share or could not express. What happened to the audience for monastic creative activity in the twelfth century? It was no less sophisticated than its eleventh-century counterpart, but its need to communicate about the substance of Christianity had outgrown the restrictions of the liturgy. The *uersus* then was part of the flowering of expression that blossomed in Europe during the twelfth century in the visual as well as in the literary and musical arts.

---

rum, 2: *Rerum Aquitanarum, praesertim Bituricensium, uberrima collectio* (Paris, 1657), pp. 287–88. For commentary see Lasteyrie, *L'abbaye de Saint-Martial*, pp. 83–86; and Andreas Sohn, *Der Abbatiat Ademars von Saint-Martial de Limoges (1063–1114): Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des cluniacensischen Klösterverbandes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinertums 37 (Münster in Westfalen, 1989), pp. 46–78.

[75] The principal early liturgical sources for these changes are, for the Mass, Pa 822, a sacramentary with kalendar, on which see Sohn, *Der Abbatiat*, pp. 125–27; and the gradual Pa 1132, on which see Chailley, "Les anciens tropaires," p. 184; idem, *L'école*, pp. 103–5; and Sister Anthony Marie Herzo, "Five Aquitanian Graduals: Their Mass Propers and Alleluia Cycles" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1966), pp. 60–73; and for the Office, Pa 743, a breviary, and Pa 1088, an antiphoner, on whose concurrence with Cluniac sources see René-Jean Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii*, 6 vols., Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series Maior, Fontes 7–12 (Rome, 1963–79), 5:407–44, esp. pp. 411, 424–25, 429–33, 443. On the introduction of the Cluniac liturgy to Saint-Martial in general, see Sohn, *Der Abbatiat*, pp. 275–87.

[76] On the Cluniac liturgy in general, see Guy de Valous, *Le monachisme clunisien des origines au XVe siècle: Vie intérieure des monastères et organisation de l'ordre*, 2 vols., Archives de la France Monastique 39–40 (Paris, 1935), 1:327–72; Philibert Schmitz, "La liturgie de Cluny," in *Spiritualità cluniacense, 12–15 ottobre 1958*, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità Medievale 2 (Todi, 1960), pp. 85–99; Noreen Hunt, *Cluny under Saint Hugh, 1049–1109* (London, 1967), pp. 99–123; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator* 2 (1971), 129–57; K. Hallinger, "Das Phänomen der liturgischen Steigerungen Klunys (10./11. Jh.)," in *Studia historico-ecclesiastica: Festgabe für Prof. Luchesius G. Spätling O.F.M.*, ed. Isaac Vásquez, Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 19 (Rome, 1977), pp. 183–236; Paul Tirot, "Un 'Ordo Missae' monastique: Cluny, Cîteaux, La Chartreuse," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 95 (1981), 44–120, 220–51; and Irven M. Resnick, "Peter Damian on Cluny, Liturgy and Penance," *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1988), 61–75.

James Grier is Associate Professor of Music at Yale University, New Haven, CT 06520-8310.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[12]

Further Notes on the Grouping of the Aquitanian Tropers

By DAVID G. HUGHES

THE RECENT PUBLICATION of the article by Günther Weiss, "Zum Problem der Gruppierung südfranzösischer Tropare,"[1] is perhaps the first extended attempt to trace the complex relationships among the Aquitanian tropers.[2] The method employed is an admirable one: having observed that certain tropes appear in one source (or group of sources) with one melody, and elsewhere with another, Professor Weiss tabulates all such occurrences, assuming that manuscripts using the same melody are related to each other and are also differentiated from manuscripts using a different melody. On this basis, he finds that the tropers can be divided into three families: (1) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds lat. 909, 1119, 1120, 1121, and 1240; (2) lat. 779, 903, 1084, 1118, and nouv. acq. lat. 1871; and (3) lat. 887 and Apt, Bibliothèque Sainte-Anne 17.[3]

Useful as this is, such a grouping can, as Professor Weiss himself says (p. 171), be no more than a beginning. Relatively few of the tropes have a double melodic tradition, and some method of dealing with those that

[1] *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XXI (1964), pp. 162ff. I am indebted to Professor Bruno Stäblein for putting me into contact with Professor Weiss, and to the latter for making available to me a copy of his paper several months before its publication.

[2] To the literature cited in the article, two American dissertations might be added. The first, Richard Crocker's "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)" (Yale University Dissertation, 1957), deals with many of the manuscripts to be considered here, but concentrates, of course, on the prosers. There is no reason to assume that what is true of prosers will be equally true of tropers. In any case, Crocker is not primarily concerned with manuscript relationship as such, but rather with the growth of the repertoire.

The second, Paul Evans's "The Early Trope Repertory of Saint-Martial de Limoges" (Princeton University Dissertation, 1964), is only incidentally concerned with manuscript relationships. His conclusions are summarized below (p. 11f.).

[3] The manuscripts will hereafter be referred to only by their shelf numbers, without prefix, except for Apt, which has not been available to me, and hence will not be considered, and 1084, which contains three separate tropers. The first (fols. 39-51) will be called 1084a; the second and principal section (fols. 53v-90), 1084b; and the third (fols. 124-142v), 1084c. 1084a and 1084c were noted as supplements to the main troper of the manuscript.

I should like to record here my thanks to the Isham Memorial Library of Harvard University and to its curator, Professor A. Tillman Merritt, for the use of the microfilms on which this study is based. Thanks are also due to the Département des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque nationale of Paris. Finally, I should like to thank those students (too numerous to mention by name) whose enthusiastic work on tropes and tropers has done much to facilitate the presentation of this paper.

do not is also needed. Furthermore, there are cases of conflicting groupings, and these, too, need explanation.

It may well be asked: why do we not employ the classical methods of textual analysis, and draw up a definitive stemma in the ordinary way? Unfortunately, this is simply not possible at the present time, for two related reasons. In the first place, it can easily be shown (and indeed will appear below) that not one of the extant tropers served directly and consistently as a model for any of the others. In short, all extant sources are terminal.[4] Secondly (and in part as a result of this), it can also be shown that the textual histories of different tropes in the same manuscript may be, and very commonly are, different. As a result, before we can even think of a manuscript stemma, we must first have a separate stemma for each trope in the repertoire[5]—a task that itself suggests the computer rather than the individual scholar—and we must then attempt to correlate all the information thereby produced—again, a staggering proposition.

Partial solutions are therefore necessary, if only as indications of starting points for further work. Professor Weiss has furnished us with one, based on a method that is extremely reliable and "hard" in its results, but necessarily somewhat limited in scope. The following pages propose another partial solution, derived primarily from statistical evidence. Such evidence is, of course, less apt to supply absolute proof than evidence of a more direct kind; but it is, nonetheless, suggestive, and can frequently offer suggestions in areas where proof cannot be obtained.

It is evident that the most practical method for determining general affinities among anthological sources is an investigation of repertoire. We can safely assume that two manuscripts sharing the same repertoire of tropes for a given feast are more closely related than two manuscripts having different repertoires; and, to a certain extent, the proportion of pieces shared to the total repertoire of a manuscript is an index of the closeness of the relationship. There is another aspect to this question—the matter of order. If, for example, manuscripts A, B, and C all share the same pieces, but A and B reproduce the pieces in the same order, while C introduces an order peculiar to itself, we can assume that the A-B relationship is probably closer than either A-C or B-C, and we can be almost certain that C did not stand between A and B in the line of descent.[6]

[4] It can hardly be coincidence that all of the intermediary sources have disappeared. Evidently transmission took place either orally (although the variants occurring seem rather few for oral transmission), or from informal working manuscripts not designed for permanent storage.

[5] The forthcoming edition of the Aquitanian introit tropes, edited by Professor Weiss (*Die Introitus-Tropen. 1. Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Handschriften* [Monumenta monodica medii aevi, III]) will contain a substantial apparatus, and will greatly facilitate such work.

[6] Naturally, this argument rests on the absence of any objective criteria for ordering the tropes. Such an absence cannot be proved, since we can hardly read the minds

The natural unit of the study of repertoire is, of course, the single feast. If we are also to give weight to the ordering of the pieces (as I believe that we should), we must restrict our investigation to the introit tropes, since only they are numerous enough to permit a meaningful study of order. In Table I, we see the contents of the thirteen tropers for the feast of the Ascension. Brief incipits of the tropes are arranged in the left-hand column. (The order of the incipits there is that of 1118, simply because that source often has the largest number of tropes. Another choice would give the table a different appearance, but would not change the results. Incipits of tropes not found in 1118 are simply added at the end of the list, as necessary.) In the vertical column representing each manuscript, a figure indicates the presence of the trope whose incipit appears on the left, and also indicates its numerical position in the repertoire of that manuscript. When no number appears, the trope is lacking. Thus, in 887, only the tropes *Dum patris, Terrigenis,* and *Montes oliviferi* appear, in that order.

TABLE I

						1084							
	779	887	903	909	a	b	c	1118	1119	1120	1121	1240	1871
Quem creditis			1	1			1	1	1	1	1		1
Hodie redemptor				2		1		2	2	2	2	2	2
Dum patris	2	1		3		2		3	3	5	3		3
Terrigenis	1	2	2	4		3		4	4	3	4	1	4
Celsa potestas			4				2	5		6			6
Quem verbum							3	6					7
Montes oliviferi	3	3	3	5		4		7	5	4	5		5

This is a relatively simple case, and the information suggested is obvious. MSS 909, 1119, and 1121 agree exactly in both repertoire and order. 1084c added to 1084b produces the repertoire and order of 1118 (suggesting that 1084b derived its series from 1118 or a lost manuscript of the same tradition, and that 1084c later enlarged the repertoire from the same or a similar source). The remaining indications arise not out of identity, but

of mediaeval scribes; but there is absolutely no evidence that any preferred order ever existed. We are dealing with groups of from two to more than a dozen tropes for a single introit. More than one trope could be used at a single Mass, since any trope could be used "ad repetendum" (*i.e.*, at the repetition of the antiphon after the verse and doxology), and tropes consisting only of introduction could also be used for the psalm and the Gloria Patri. Indications for such use are scattered, rather inconsistently, through the manuscript, and may have caused some deliberate changing of order. But the evidence is at best feeble (*e.g.*, for the Feast of St. Michael, 887, 903, and 1120 indicate that the trope *Apostolorum principem* is to be used "ad psalmum," but the immediately preceding trope is different in each case), and applies to only a small number of tropes.

On the whole, there is no evidence of any kind of systematic ordering, and there is, on the other hand, abundant evidence that similarity of order goes with similarity of repertoire, suggesting that the scribes copied quite directly what they found in their exemplars.

out of similarity. Clearly 1120 is very close to the 909 group just mentioned, but it also appears to be related, in a different way, to 903 and 1871, since only these three place *Montes* before *Celsa*. It is possible that 779 and 887 are related, since they share the same repertoire, although not the same order. 1240 seems to stand wholly by itself.

For a more complex example, we may consider the Epiphany tropes (Table II, arranged in the same manner as Table I).

TABLE II

						1084							
	779	887	903	909	a	b	c	1118	1119	1120	1121	1240	1871
Hodie regi		1		8			3	1		6			1
Haec est praeclara	1	6	1	1		1		2	1		1		2
Eia Sion	2	3	2	2		2		3	2		3	2	3
Adveniente		4		4			5	4	3	1	4	3	4
Descendens	3	2	3	5		3		5	4	2	5	1	5
Ecce apparens							2	6					
Propheticus... specialis				6	1		4	7	6	3			
Qui hodie								8					
Stellifer				8				9	7	5	2		
Stella nova							1	10					
Ut sedeat	4								5		6		6
Ecclesiae		5		3	2								
Propheticus... Christum				7						4			

Here we find a much higher level of diversity, with only one pair of identical sources: 1084b and 903 (these were not especially closely related in Table I). With these, 779 is rather closely related. The sum of 1084b and 1084c is this time similar to, but not identical with 1118. The remaining relationships vary from quite close (*e.g.*, 1121 and 1871) through differing degrees of remoteness. Some tend to confirm the indications of Table I, while others are neutral or actually contradictory.

Indeed, tables of this kind are scarcely easier to use than lists of variants. The bits of information are so numerous (each table contains more than seventy items, representing the relation of each of the possible pairs of sources), and their pattern is so obscure, that a study of a sufficient number of them would be more apt to create confusion than illumination. Therefore it has seemed better to present a purely statistical summary of the results of fifteen tables similar to those already given, rather than to attempt a verbal interpretation of the often confusing and conflicting evidence they offer. Needless to say, statistics will not provide definite proof, but such a method is well suited to offer suggestions. If we can say, for example, that 909 is closely related to 1121 more often than it is to 903, we have already taken a step forwards; and if we can evaluate the relationships between all possible pairs of manuscripts, and present

the results in tabular form, we shall have a simple and useful—although admittedly fallible—tool with which to undertake a general grouping of the tropers.

The method employed is necessarily somewhat cumbersome. First, fifteen tables, similar in arrangement to those already presented, were prepared. Minor feasts were necessarily excluded, since they do not offer sufficient repertoire. Also omitted were feasts with a strong local aspect (St. Martial, St. Martin, St. Aredius, etc.), since these could well involve unusual or abnormal patterns of transmission. The list of feasts chosen includes most of the major feasts of universal observance: Nativity (Mass III), St. Stephen, St. John Evangelist, Innocents, Epiphany, Easter, Feria II paschae, Ascension, Dedication, Pentecost, St. John Baptist, St. Peter, Assumption, St. Michael, and All Saints.

For each table, the repertoire and order of each manuscript were compared with the repertoire and order of every other manuscript. So that these comparisons could be easily handled, they were evaluated on a numerical scale of five units, in which 0 stands for total or nearly total disagreement, and 4 for total or nearly total agreement, with 1, 2, and 3 representing increasing intermediate degrees of similarity.[7] In making the evaluations, repertoire was given primary emphasis, with order counting as a secondary factor.

The values assigned were then entered in a table similar in appearance to Table III below. For every pair of manuscripts, a total of fifteen figures[8]—representing their degree of similarity for each of the feasts chosen—was thus accumulated. Next, each such group of figures was averaged, the resulting number (which we shall call V) being therefore an index of the degree of relationship between the two tropers throughout the series of chosen feasts.

In many cases, these values of V are themselves a satisfactory tool with which to work, but there are other instances in which they are somewhat misleading. It will shortly appear that certain tropers belong to two central groups, while others are decidedly peripheral. Naturally, the former have consistently high values for V, the latter consistently low ones. Thus the value 1.88 for the relation between 1084a and 1120 is rather low in the general scale of affinities—several pairs have values over 3.00—but it happens to be by far the highest V figure for 1084a. Clearly a rough reduction to a common scale would be desirable.

This reduction was achieved by making suitable allowance for the extent to which each troper normally participated in inter-manuscript

[7] Obviously there is a certain subjective element in a system such as this. Nevertheless, three sets of values, taken at intervals of several months, showed little significant variation.

[8] Except in those cases where, for any feast, either manuscript of a pair had no tropes, in which case no figure was entered. The lack of tropes was not considered evidence of any kind.

relationships. A rough index of this participation was arrived at by taking the average of all values of V for each manuscript, a value which we shall call A. Then, for any given pair of manuscripts, P and Q, the figure $A_p + A_q/2$ represents what we might call the predicted relation between P and Q—a prediction based merely on the "normal" behavior of the manuscripts. If this quantity is then subtracted from the actual value of V for those two sources, we obtain another figure, D, representing the extent by which the actual relationship differs from the predicted one. D may be either positive or negative. If the latter, it suggests that the two sources involved are only slightly related. If, however, D is positive, it indicates a relationship in excess of what we might normally anticipate, and its size indicates something about the strength of that relationship.[9]

With these tedious preliminaries completed, we are in a position to examine Table III, which contains values of D for all pairs of manuscripts.[10]

TABLE III

	779	887	903	909	1084 a	1084 b	1084 c	1118	1119	1120	1121	1240
887	+.43											
903	−.02	−.20										
909	+.33	+.29	−.46									
1084a	−.92	−.64	−.59	−.10								
1084b	+.82	+.65	+.03	+.18	−.93							
1084c	−1.09	−.73	−.60	−.61	−.50	−1.13						
1118	+.23	−.02	−.29	+.32	−.61	+.21	+.14					
1119	+.57	+.20	−.35	+1.01	−.21	+.43	−.54	+.43				
1120	+.23	+.34	−.85	+.85	+.36	+.49	−.56	+.29	+.56			
1121	+.82	+.38	−.37	+.99	−.48	+.81	−.73	+.15	+.77	+.90		
1240	−.24	+.14	+.07	−.21	−.79	−.12	−.89	−.52	−.16	−.13	−.18	
1871	+.70	+.59	−.09	+.39	−.99	+.55	−.24	+.27	+.50	+.35	+.62	−.24

The wide range of values (−1.13 to +1.01) tends to confirm the validity of the method. Despite the frequent averaging operations, the figures continue to show sharp differences between the affinities of different pairs. Take, for example, the values for 1084b (note that this involves moving horizontally along the line labelled 1084b, and then turning down into the column with the same heading): it is evident that this troper is closely associated with both 779 and 887, that it has little interest in 903 and only slightly more in 909, that it strongly rejects the two supple-

[9] Even after the reduction described, some manuscripts continue to have relatively high values for D, others rather low ones. Nevertheless, the picture is a good deal clearer than it is for the V figures.

[10] Needless to say, the carrying of these numbers to two decimal places should not be interpreted to mean that a difference of, say, 0.05 should be regarded as significant. Deviations of ±0.10 could easily arise from subjective variations in making the initial evaluations.

mentary tropers in the same manuscript,[11] and so on. With indications such as these available, a rough grouping of the sources is a relatively simple matter.

It is at once evident that four manuscripts—909, 1119, 1120, and 1121 —stand out from the rest in the table. Most of the highest D values are concentrated in this group (only one pair is below +.70), and each of the four is extremely closely related to at least two of the others. This, then, is an exceptionally closely-knit family, quite possibly representing a central core of the trope repertoire.

Looking elsewhere for high values of D, we see the close affinity between 1084b and 779 (+.82), and a scarcely less close relation between 1084b and 887 (+.65). This would appear to suggest that these three tropers form another family, less tightly grouped, perhaps, than the first (779 and 887 together yield only +.43), but still recognizable. Moreover, the point of connection between the two families appears to be quite clear: both 1084b and 779 show an extremely close relation to 1121,[12] and are much less closely related to the other tropers of the first family.

The remaining sources show a greater degree of independence, and are not easily joined to the families established, nor grouped into new ones. 903 is perhaps the most problematic, since it has almost exclusively negative values of D. Its two positive connections, with 1084b and 1240, are so small (+.03 and +.07) as to be very weak indications—hardly stronger than the —.02 that relates it to 779. Still, since two of its highest values are with tropers of the second family, we may say that it has some relation with that group, however tenuous.

The case of 1084a is much simpler. It, too, has predominantly negative values, having indeed only one positive one: the +.36 with 1120. There would seem to be no doubt that it should be added to the first family as an appendage (probably at one or more removes) to 1120. Similarly 1084c has only one positive value, with 1118, and should be regarded as a dependent of that source.

As for 1118 itself, the picture is less clear. Its maximum D is with 1119, but this value—+.43—is considerably less than most of those found within the two families. Moreover, its relation to 1121 is as low as +.15, while its connection with 779 and 1084b of the second family runs in the +.20's. On the whole, it seems better to regard 1118 as an independent troper, slightly closer to the first family than to the second, but maintaining a certain distance from both.

The position of 1240, the oldest of the tropers, is somewhat like that of the erratic 903. Its values are mostly negative, with only two excep-

[11] This, of course, is a special case, since 1084a and 1084c were, as we have seen (above, note 3), compiled as supplements to 1084b, and hence avoided its repertoire.

[12] Indeed, one might at first wish to include them in the first group, but their relative indifference to 909, 1119, and 1120 appears to be sufficient reason for preferring the grouping suggested.

tions: +.07 with 903, and +.14 with 887. These low values result largely from the extremely small repertoire of 1240: naturally a source containing only two or three tropes for a feast cannot achieve virtual identity with one containing eight or ten. But while the isolation of 1240 may be in part a consequence of its relatively primitive character, it is not entirely so. It can be shown that where 1240 contains tropes familiar from other sources (and in fact its repertoire is made up largely of common tropes), it very often preserves them in unusual forms—occasionally even in almost incomprehensibly abbreviated versions.[13] Thus it can scarcely serve as the principal ancestor of the later trope tradition, even if we make allowance for the considerable changes in the repertoire that would certainly have taken place between the date of 1240 and that of the next generation of preserved tropers. It is more likely that it was something of an aberrant troper even for its own time, some few of whose peculiarities were later preserved in 887 and 903.

With 1871, we find a situation somewhat similar to that of 1118. 1871 shows a fairly large number of reasonably close relationships with the manuscripts of both of the two families, and demonstrates a perceptible preference for the tropers of Family II. Indeed, the only reason that 1871 was not initially assigned to that family is that it also shows a rather strong connection with most of the members of the first family. In such a case, it seems somewhat safer to treat 1871 like 1118—as an independent source, but with the observation that its assignment to the second family would not be impossible.

This completes the interpretation of the principal data provided by Table III. The results may be summarized and recapitulated as follows:

FAMILY I: 909, 1119, 1120, 1121
FAMILY II: 779, 887, 1084b
DEPENDENTS: 1084a with 1120; 1084c with 1118
INDEPENDENT SOURCES: 1118 (preference for Family I); 1871 (preference for Family II: could be considered a member of that group)
ISOLATED SOURCES: 903 (faint connection with Family II and with 1240); 1240 (some connection with 887, less with 903)
N.B. The connection between the two families is made through 1121.

It is time to relate the conclusions just presented with those arrived at by Professor Weiss and summarized at the beginning of this paper. On the whole, the two disparate methods have produced remarkably similar results. Weiss's first group is identical with our Family I, except that it also includes 1240. We have already seen that the position of 1240 is a

[13] For dates and provenance of the tropers, see Weiss, p. 165, Jacques Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges* (Paris, 1960), pp. 73-118, and Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften* (*RISM*, B v[1]; Munich, 1964).

For the special position of 1240, I am indebted to an unpublished paper by a former student, Mrs. Carol Marsh Rowan.

curious one, and that its connection with any other source is a fairly remote one. Only further detailed investigation can determine whether it is better to associate the 1240 with the 909 group, as Weiss has done, or to emphasize its connection with 887, as has been done here.[14] Our Family I also contains 1084a, as a dependent of 1120, but Weiss does not subdivide 1084, so that this is not a contradiction.

The agreement is not quite so close for the remaining sources, but it is still good. Our Family II contains 1084b, 779, and 887. Weiss's second group contains the first two of these, and he remarks (p. 170) that 887 often joins them. His second group also includes 1871, which, as we have seen, is also closely associated with our Family II; and 903, which we have labelled an isolated source, but still closer to Family II than to Family I.

Only 1118 remains a problem. Our Table III showed it as an independent source, with some preference for Family I; whereas, according to Weiss, it is more closely associated with the members and relatives of Family II.[15] It is not, perhaps, an accident that precisely the two oldest tropers, 1118 and 1240, should present contradictory evidence. Again, only detailed analysis can solve the problem, but we have already at least a hint that the repertoire of these two tropers may antedate the formation of the families formed by many of the remaining sources.

Finally, the relation of the findings presented here to the grouping proposed by Paul Evans[16] should be considered. Evans's criteria are partly notational, and these must be used with a certain amount of caution, since a scribe could conceivably acquire his notational habits in one place, and later exercise them elsewhere, under different liturgical circumstances. Yet the agreement is again substantial. The first group contains exactly the members of Weiss's first group, with the explicit remark (p. 59) that 1240 is peculiar in several respects. His second group includes 887, 903, 1084, and 1118. He observes that 1084b is closely similar in notation to 1118, and may emanate from the same scriptorium—something for which our Table III would scarcely prepare us, although, in view of the caution ex-

[14] A point in favor of the 887-1240 connection is provided by evidence of another type. As has been said, 1240 generally contains only fairly common tropes. It uses peripheral tropes (pieces contained in four manuscripts or fewer) only ten times in the feasts considered in this paper (unica not included). In four out of these ten cases, the trope is shared with 887 (twice these are the only two Aquitanian sources for the piece). No other source shares more than one with 1240.

[15] Using the same kind of evidence as was employed in note 14 above—the peripheral tropes—we may again find some substantiation for the grouping proposed here. 1118 contains no less than forty instances of the sharing of peripheral tropes (not forty tropes, however). Of these, eleven are with manuscripts of Weiss's second group, and fourteen are with members of his first group. But what we have regarded as the central tropers of our second family—1084b, 779, and 887—account for only three instances. The erratic 903 adds three more, and 1871 contributes five.

Incidentally, 1118 shares twelve peripheral tropes with 1084c, a striking confirmation of their relationship.

[16] "The Early Trope Repertory," p. 37, 54, 59.

pressed above, there is nothing impossible in such a circumstance. 1084a is like 1120, however—a confirmation of the findings presented here. Evans also confirms the derivation of 1084c from 1118 (p. 64).

In the main, therefore, different methods of approaching the problem of grouping the tropers lead to approximately the same results. The evidence presented here serves not only to confirm the conclusions advanced by Weiss and Evans, but also to suggest certain further nuances, notably in the case of 1240 and 1118,[17] and, to a lesser extent for some of the other tropers as well. Needless to say, it is a long step from mere grouping to the actual establishment of patterns of transmission (which are doubtless extremely complex), but the foundations for such an undertaking appear to be satisfyingly solid.

Harvard University

[17] Quite apart from statistical evidence, a study of the contents of these tropers will show conclusively that a direct relationship between 1118 and 1084b, or between 1240 and Family I, is quite out of the question. The problem is one of degree.

Part III
St Gall and the East


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[13]

TROPENTYPEN IN SANKT GALLEN

GUNILLA BJÖRKVALL UND ANDREAS HAUG

Die vorliegende Untersuchung gilt den liturgischen Tropen zu den Gesängen der Messe in einem lokalen Tropenbestand des späten zehnten Jahrhunderts. Es ist ihr Ziel, die Vielfalt überlieferter Formulierungen nach Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschieden sowohl der zugrundeliegenden Prinzipien «tropierenden» Erweiterns als auch ihrer jeweiligen Konkretisierung zu gruppieren. Dadurch möchte sie Orientierungspunkte für das Verständnis einzelner Texte und ihrer Musik herausarbeiten. Diesem pragmatischen Ansatz entsprechend treten als Kriterien des Gruppierens abwechselnd Aspekte des Verhältnisses von Dichtung und Musik, des Zusammenspiels von Tropus und Bezugsgesang, der sprachlichen und melodischen Gestalt, der liturgischen Funktion, der theologischen Thematik und nicht zuletzt der Aufzeichnungsweise in den Vordergrund. Die analysierten «Typen» liturgischer Tropen lassen sich deshalb nicht eindeutig definieren und voneinander abgrenzen; sie überschneiden sich in vielfältiger Weise. Aber auch wenn der Versuch, verschiedene «Typen» zu erkennen, nicht zu einer «Typologie» führen kann und soll, ist er Vorbedingung einer angemessenen Interpretation der einzelnen Kompositionen.

Gegenstand der Untersuchung sind die Tropen zu den Propriumsgesängen der Messe in den beiden älteren Sankt Galler Troparen. Wenn der Befund der insgesamt aus dem ostfränkischen Raum erhaltenen Quellen nicht täuscht, war Sankt Gallen eines der produktivsten Zentren auf dem Gebiet der liturgischen Tropen. Und kaum eine andere Tropenhandschrift bietet eine so heterogene Sammlung von Formen, bestehende Gesänge des Ritus zu bereichern, zu erweitern und zu erneuern, wie sie in den Codices 484 und 381 der Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Gallen unter der Rubrik «INCIPIUNT TROPI CARMINUM IN DIVERSIS FESTIVITATIBUS MISSARUM CANENDI» (SG 484, p. 4 und SG 381, p. 195) erhalten ist.

Anders als die Sequenzen, denen Wolfram von den Steinen seine Studie *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, Bern 1948, gewidmet hat, und die Versus, die Peter Stotz in *Ardua spes mundi. Studien zu lateinischen Gedichten aus Sankt Gallen*, Bern 1972, untersuchte, waren Sankt Galler Tropen bislang vorallem ein Thema musikgeschichtlicher Forschung. Heinrich Husmanns Studie über «Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des St. Galler Tropariums», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956), 25–41 ist in wesentlichen, die Provenienz, die Datierung und die Gruppierung der Handschriften betreffenden Feststellungen überholt. Rembert Weakland, «The Beginnings of Troping», *Musical Quarterly* 44 (1958), 477–488 basiert auf die Handschriften Wi 1609, SG 484 und SG 381 seine Hypothesen zur Gattungsentstehung. Michel Huglos Untersuchung «Aux origines des tropes d'interpolation: le trope méloforme d'introït», *Revue de musicologie* 64 (1978), 5–54, behandelt detaillierter als Weakland das Sankt Galler Repertoire meloformer Tropen für Ostern und Pfingsten und gelangt dabei zu dem im Titel seines Artikels angedeuteten Resultat. Umfangreiche Teile der Dissertation von John Johnstone, *The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmission, and Function*, Ohio State University 1984, beschäftigen sich eingehend mit Tropen des Sankt Galler Bestandes.

Neuerdings erörtert Susan Rankin codicologische und repertoiregeschichtliche Fragen

in ihrer Husmanns Ergebnisse revidierenden Studie «From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts. The Shaping of a Repertory» (im vorliegenden Band) sowie die Tuotilo zugeschriebenen Tropen in «Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter in einer neuen Zeit», *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1991), 17–42. Der auf prinzipielle Probleme der Tropenüberlieferung zielende Beitrag von Wulf Arlt «Von den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen der Tropen zur Rekonstruktion der Geschichte», *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici*, Spoleto 1990, 441–479, enthält mehrfach Beobachtungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte Sankt Galler Tropen. Eine von Wulf Arlt und Susan Rankin herausgegebene kommentierte Faksimileausgabe der Sankt Galler Handschriften 484 und 381 ist in Vorbereitung. Auf Handschriftenabbildungen kann daher im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags verzichtet werden.

Aus Sankt Gallen selbst haben sich neben den beiden Troparen des zehnten Jahrhunderts (SG 484 und SG 381) vier weitere Tropare aus dem elften erhalten (in chronologischer Reihenfolge: SG 376, SG 382, SG 378, SG 380). Zum Kreis der Sankt Galler Tropare zu rechnen sind ferner die Handschriften aus Freising (Wi 1609) und das möglicherweise in Rheinau geschriebene Züricher Tropar (Zü 97). Deshalb ist, wenn im folgenden «Sankt Gallen vor 1000» als Beleg angegeben ist, ein eventuelles Vorkommen in Wi 1609 stillschweigend miteinbezogen, und entsprechend, wenn angegeben ist «Sankt Gallen nach 1000», ein Beleg in Zü 97. Auch das in Sankt Gallen für Minden geschriebene Tropar (Be 11) kann indirekt Einblick geben in den Sankt Galler Bestand. Die genannten Handschriften sind in Tabelle 1 zusammengestellt.

Tabelle 1
Tropenhandschriften aus Sankt Gallen und seinem Umkreis

SG 484	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 484**	**Sankt Gallen**	**um 965**
SG 381	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 381**	**Sankt Gallen**	**um 965**
SG 376	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 376**	**Sankt Gallen**	**Anfang 11. Jh.**
SG 378	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 378**	**Sankt Gallen**	**1034-70**
SG 380	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 380**	**Sankt Gallen**	**um 1054**
SG 382	**Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 382**	**Sankt Gallen**	**Anfang 11. Jh.**
Wi 1609	**Wien, Österr. Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1609**	**Freising**	**1. Hälfte 10. Jh.**
Be 11	**Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, theol. lat. 4° 11 [Jetzt Krakau, Biblioteca Jagiellońska]**	**Minden**	**1024-27**
Zü 97	**Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 97**	**Rheinau / Sankt Gallen (?)**	**11. Jh.**

Zu keinem anderen Fest enthalten diese Handschriften soviele Tropen wie zu Epiphanias. Fast die Hälfte aller zu diesem Fest überlieferten Tropenelemente kommt in den beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Tropensammlungen vor. Daher geht die Untersuchung von den Tropen zum Epiphaniasfest aus, ohne diese vollständig zu behandeln, und ohne sich vergleichende Ausblicke auf andere Feste zu versagen. Um spezifische Präferenzen im Sankt Galler Bestand erkennbar zu machen, wird in bestimmten Fällen auch das Vorkommen einzelner Tropentypen außerhalb Sankt Gallens summarisch dokumentiert.

Eine Gesamtübersicht über den Bestand der Epiphaniastropen in den Sankt Galler Handschriften enthält Tabelle 2. Der Aufbau der Tabelle entspricht im Prinzip den Repertoiretabellen in CT I und III: Es ist angegeben, welche Tropenelemente in welcher Anordnung in welchen Handschriften vorkommen. Darüberhinaus sind aber durch den

Tabelle 2
Tropen zum Introitus ECCE ADVENIT in Sankt Galler Troparen

A	a Ecce advenit b dominator dominus c et regnum in manu eius d et potestas e et imperium f
P	Deus iudicium tuum regi da et iustitiam tuam filio regis g
G	Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum amen h
V	Iudicare populum tuum in iustitia et pauperes tuos in iudicio i

SG 484	1a 2b 3c 4d 5e 6h 7c 8d 9g 10b 11c 12d 13e 14h 15a 16* 17b 18c 19d 20a 22a 23b 24c 25d 26g 27h 28i 29b 30c 31d 32e 33i 34a 35b 36c 37d 38e 39h 40a 41a 42b 43c 44d 45a 46b 47c 48d 49e 50g 51a 52b 53c 54d 55e 56g
SG 381	20a 1a 2b 3c 4d 5e 6h 7c 8d 9g 10b 11c 12d 13e 14h 15a 17b 18c 19d 16* 22a 23b 24c 25d 26g 27h 28i 29b 30c 31d 32e 33i 34a 35b 36c 37d 38e 39h 40a 41a 42b 43c 44d 45a 46b 47c 48d 49e 50g 51a 52b 53c 54d 55 56g
SG 376	40 15a 17b 18c 19d P 26/50a G 14a 2b 3c 4d 5e V 28a 20 34a 46b 47c 48d 49e P 50a G 39a
SG 378	40 15a 17b 18c 19d P 26/50a G 14 20 34a 2b 3c 4d 5e P 50 G 39
SG 380	40 15a 17b 18c 19d P 26/50a G 14a 2b 3c 4d 5e V 28a 20 34a 46b 47c 48d 49e P 50a G 39a
SG 382	40 15a 17b 18c 19d P 26 50a G 14a 2b 3c 4d 5e V 28a 20 34a 46b 47c 48d 49e P 50a G 39a
Wi 1609	20 23b 24c 25d 26g 27h 28i
Zü 97	40 15a 17b 18c 19d 22a 23b 24c 25d 27 28 20 34a 35b 36 37 38 39h 27a? 2b 3c 4d 5 6a? 46b 47c 48d 49 P 50g 14h
Be 11	22a 23b 24c 25d P 26a G 27a 40 15a 17b 18c 19d P 50a G 14a 2b 3c 4d 5e V 28a 20/34a 35b 36c 37d 38e P 39a 46b 47c 48d 49e V 33a

*) Nachtrag außerhalb der Serie, ohne Angabe der Einschubstelle

1	Hora est psallite	20	Rege nostro	39	Cui dies ista
2	Christus in alvum	22*	Hodie clarissimam	40	Forma speciosissimus
3	Cui caelestia	23	Olim promissus	41	Hodie Christus apparuit
4	Regnum aeternum	24	Laxare vincula	42	In quem desiderant
5	Qua inferos debellando	25	Regnum quod nullo	43	Visere genus
6	Quae nec coepit	26	Deus pater deo	44	Caelestium et terrenorum
7	Et medetur contritos	27	Quae fides per Christi	45	Rectorem regnorum
8	Supra omnium terrenorum	28	De manu eos	46	Invisibiliter in uterum
9	Quod terrenum principem	29	Mansuetus humilis	47	Quem stella ducente
10	Olim quem vates	30	Cui stella duce	48	Quod in suo baptismate
11	Qui montes in plana	31	Regnum iugiter	49	Qua liquidos latices
12	Ut regat suum	32	Quae caelum terras	50	Ut iudicet orbem
13	Ad domandum anguem	33	Qui credentes in te	51	Hodie descendit Christus
14	Deo filio et patri	34	Gaudendum est nobis	52	In uterum virginis
15	Ecclesiae sponsus	35	Quem prophetae venturum	53	Cui magi stella
16	Adoretur atque laudetur	36	Qui solus est dominus	54	Quod proprio baptismate
17	Iesus quem reges	37	Quae terrae machinam	55	Qua in vinum
18	Vidimus stellam	38	Quam angeli in caelis	56	Ut cunctum iudicet
19	Cui soli debetur				

*) Element 21 gehört (entgegen der Angabe in CT I) nur zum Offertorium (=Epiph off 13).

Nummern nachgestellte Kleinbuchstaben die Einschubstellen der Tropenelemente in den Bezugsgesang angezeigt. Welche Einschubstellen die Buchstaben bezeichnen, ergibt sich aus der Gesamtwiedergabe des Primärtextes zu Beginn der Tabelle. Ein Buchstabe bezeichnet innerhalb der Antiphon eine bestimmte Einschubstelle ganz unabhängig davon, wie diese in der betreffenden Handschrift markiert ist – durch ein dem Einschub vorangehendes oder auf ihn folgendes Schlüsselwort aus dem Primärtext. So kann etwa die Einschubstelle c in SG 484 durch das ihr vorangehende Stichwort «DOMINUS», in SG 382 durch das ihr nachfolgende «ET REGNUM» oder auch durch beide Stichworte bezeichnet sein. Dagegen geben die Buchstaben g, h und i das Ende der Psalmverse und des *Gloria patri* als Einschubstelle an, wenn diese auch in der betreffenden Handschrift durch die Stichworte «REGIS», «AMEN» bzw. «IUDICIO» markiert ist; das ist in den älteren Troparen SG 484, SG 381 und Wi 1609 der Fall. Da auf die Psalmverse und das *Gloria patri* in der Regel eine Wiederholung der Antiphon folgt, fallen die Einschubstellen g, h und i ihrer Position nach mit der Einschubstelle a, also dem Beginn der Antiphon zusammen; die späteren Tropare bezeichnen diese Einschubstellen generell mit «ECCE», unterscheiden also nicht, ob das betreffende Tropenelement nach dem Psalmvers, der Doxologie oder dem Versus ad repetendum steht. So ist beispielsweise als Einschubstelle der Tropenelemente 26 und 50 zum Psalmvers DEUS IUDICIUM in SG 484 g angegeben, in SG 376 a; als Einschubstelle der Doxologie-Tropen 14 und 39 in SG 484 h, in SG 378 ebenso a; als Einschubstelle des Tropenelementes 28 zum Versus ad repetendum in SG 484 i und in SG 376 wiederum a. Die späteren Tropare geben die Textinitia der beiden Psalmverse und des *Gloria patri* an; auf diese Weise gleichen sie den Informationsverlust aus, der durch das veränderte Angabeverfahren für die Einschubstellen eingetreten ist. Wo in einer Handschrift ein solches Textinitium erscheint, steht in der Tabelle P, G bzw. V.

Zwei naheliegende Probleme werden in der vorliegenden Untersuchung gelegentlich berührt, nicht aber systematisch behandelt: Die Frage nach der Herkunft einzelner Tropen kann in Einzelfällen gestellt, aber kaum endgültig beantwortet werden. Ebenso wird die zeitliche Schichtung und die Vorgeschichte des Bestandes vor seiner ersten «anthologischen» Erfassung in SG 484 (und ausschnitthaft in Wi 1609) und seine spätere Redaktion, wie sie in den vier «funktionalen» Troparen des elften Jahrhunderts ablesbar ist, nur in einem abschließenden Ausblick auf die Repertoiregeschichte angedeutet, in welchem skizzenhaft die wesentlich synchronische Betrachtungsweise der Untersuchung durch eine diachronische ergänzt wird.

Die in den Bänden I und III des *Corpus Troporum* bereits herausgegebenen Tropen werden unter den dort verwendeten Nummern der Tropenelemente zitiert (Fest/Bezugsgesang/Element). Für die noch nicht herausgegebenen Tropen der Marien- und Heiligenfeste wurde die Festangabe in analoger Weise abgekürzt und die in SG 484 vorkommenden Elemente in der Reihenfolge ihres Auftretens durchnumeriert. Die betreffenden Texte werden in der alphabetisch geordneten Edition der Tropenelemente leicht aufzufinden sein. Die verwendeten Quellen-Sigla sind ebenfalls die des CT; sie sind im Handschriften-Register des vorliegenden Bandes aufgelöst.

Die Lesarten der zitierten Tropentexte folgen der jeweils zugrundeliegenden Handschrift; wenn nicht anders angegeben ist dies SG 484. Stillschweigend werden Eigennamen groß, «XPICTUC» lateinisch und e *caudata* als e geschrieben. Textincipits werden nach der Edition in CT I und III normalisiert.

Die Notenbeispiele geben diastematisch lesbare Parallelüberlieferungen der Melodien wieder, die sich meist in Spätquellen aus dem deutschsprachigen Raum in Liniennotation erhalten haben. Dabei wurde darauf verzichtet, Abweichungen zwischen Neumenbefund und Liniennotation zu dokumentieren und zu diskutieren oder den ursprünglichen Melo-

dieverlauf zu rekonstruieren. Die Textlesarten in den Notenbeispielen entsprechen SG 484, jedoch sind relevante Varianten der jeweils transkribierten Quelle verzeichnet.

Die zur Transkription herangezogenen Quellen sind in der Textausgabe des CT in vielen Fällen nicht berücksichtigt; teilweise waren sie bislang unbekannt oder unbeachtet und werden für die Notenbeispiele dieser Untersuchung erstmals ausgewertet. Genauere Angaben zum Repertoire der betreffenden Handschriften und der Nachweis weiterer Aufzeichnungen von Sankt Galler Tropen in Handschriften mit Liniennotation würden den Rahmen des Beitrags sprengen; der *Musikalische Index zum Corpus Troporum* wird auch die im CT nicht mitausgewertete spätere Überlieferung dokumentieren[1].

Einleitungstropen des Hodie-Typs

Ein in allen Regionen des Tropenschaffens vorkommender Tropentypus sind solche Einleitungstexte, die mit dem Zeitadverb «Hodie» beginnen, gefolgt von einer mehr oder weniger umfassenden Präsentation des Festinhaltes und abgeschlossen durch formelhafte Wendungen, die eine Aufforderung zum Singen (wie «dicite eia», «cum propheta canamus») oder eine Aufforderung zum Dank («deo gratias eia») enthalten. Auch in Sankt Gallen sind Einleitungen dieses Typs zu 16 von insgesamt 26 im Tropar vorkommenden Festen überliefert. Die Mehrzahl dieser Texte (30) leitet den Introitus ein, nur wenige (4) die Communio, und zum Offertorium kommen gar keine Hodie-Tropen vor. Die starke Bindung des Typus an den Introitus deutet daraufhin, daß diese das Festthema formulierenden, die Präsenz der heilsgeschichtlichen Ereignisse und das Präsens ihrer liturgischen Feier unterstreichenden Texte wohl auch als Einleitung zur Messe als ganzer verstanden wurden. Auch ist die Mehrzahl der Texte thematisch weniger auf den Text der Introitus-Antiphonen als auf den jeweiligen Festinhalt bezogen.

Das textliche Schema dieses Typs (Zeitadverb – Festthema – Schlußformel) wird ganz unterschiedlich realisiert. Auf der einen Seite stehen stereotype Gebilde, in denen ohne explizierende Kommentare das zentrale Thema der Feier genannt wird:

Pent intr 8 SG 484, p. 130	Hodie spiritus sanctus processit a throno et replevit totum mundum, deo gratias, dicite, eia: SPIRITUS DOMINI REPLEVIT ORBEM TERRARUM
Purif BMV intr SG 484, p. 99	Hodie impleti sunt dies purgationis Marie secundum legem Moysi, deo gratias, eia, SUSCEPIMUS, DEUS MISERICORDIAM TUAM
Steph intr 8 SG 484, p. 24	Hodie beatus Stephanus triumphat in celis et accepit coronam glorie, deo gratias, eia! ETENIM SEDERUNT PRINCIPES
Innoc intr 9 SG 484, p. 52–53	Hodie gaudent in caelis lactantes martyres, dicite, filii, eia; dic domne: EX ORE INFANTIUM, DEUS, ET LACTENTIUM PERFECISTI LAUDEM

1 Siehe H. Hucke und A. Haug, «Musikalischer Index zum Corpus Troporum», *International Musicological Society. Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers read at the Third Meeting Tihany, Hungary, 19–24 September 1988*, Budapest 1990, 455–458. Auf diesem Index, den der musikhistorische Mitverfasser des vorliegenden Beitrags im Rahmen eines von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft finanzierten Projektes vorbereitet, basieren auch die im folgenden mitgeteilten Beobachtungen zum musikalischen Befund der Sankt Galler Tropen.

Nat III intr 6 SG 484, p. 6–7	Hodie natus est Christus; gaudent omnes angeli in celis; gaudete et vos, frâtres carissimi, et dicite, eia: PUER NATUS EST NOBIS
Nat III intr 19 SG 484, p. 9	Hodie exultent iusti, natus est Christus filius dei; deo gratias, dicite: PUER NATUS EST NOBIS
Resurr intr 21 SG 484, p. 113	Hodie exultent iusti, resurrexit leo fortis; deo gratias, dicite eia: RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM

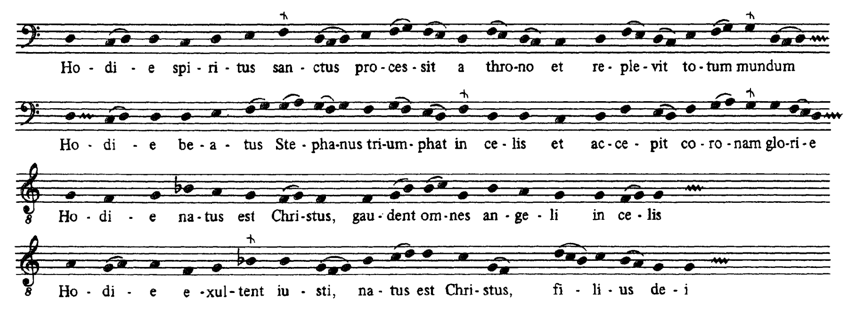
Andere Hodie-Einleitungen heben bestimmte Aspekte des Festthemas gezielt hervor. So wird etwa in der folgenden Einleitung zu Purificatio BMV nicht die Reinigung Marias genannt wie in dem oben zitierten *Hodie impleti sunt dies purgationis*, sondern die Darstellung Jesu im Tempel:

Purif BMV intr SG 484, p. 102	Hodie protestante Symeone puer summus in templo suo est manifestatus, in cuius laude vocibus devotis concinite: SUSCEPIMUS

Ebenso nennt das knappe, unvermittelte Einleitungselement «Hodie in terra pax est, PUER NATUS EST NOBIS» (Nat III intr 14) anders als das oben zitierte *Hodie natus est Christus* nicht die Geburt des Herren selbst, sondern, anspielend auf die Verkündigung der Engel an die Hirten, das Friedensthema, also nur einen Nebenaspekt des Weihnachtsereignisses.

Auch melodisch sind die Hodie-Tropen in vielen Fällen formelhaft gebaut. Notenbeispiel 1 illustriert dies an Ausschnitten aus einigen der oben zitierten Sankt Galler Hodie-Tropen nach der Fassung späterer Handschriften mit Liniennotation[2].

Notenbeispiel 1



2 *Hodie spiritus sanctus*: Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. LVIII [Civ 58], fol. 158v; *Hodie beatus Stephanus*: Aachen, Diözesanbibliothek,Codex 13 (XII) [Aa 13], fol. 108v; *Hodie natus* und *Hodie exultent iusti*: Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 610 [Ei 610], p. 609.

Die Ähnlichkeiten im melodischen Verlauf aller dieser Tropen lassen sich durch die Annahme gemeinsamer melodischer Modelle, vielleicht mithilfe der von Leo Treitler[3] in die Diskussion gebrachten Vorstellung einer «Matrix» verständlich machen. Eine Analyse der melodischen Verhältnisse zwischen den Hodie-Tropen aus Sankt Gallen und deren Interpretation setzte indessen eine umfassende Dokumentation über das Vorkommen und die Erscheinungsformen der zugrundeliegenden Modelle voraus, die in allen Regionen der Tropenüberlieferung in einer Vielzahl voneinander abweichender Aufzeichnungen und zu einer Vielzahl verschiedener Texte erkennbar sind.

Neben solchen formelhaften Hodie-Tropen stehen Kompositionen, die das zugrundeliegende Schema des Typus zwar erkennbar voraussetzen, es aber auf poetisch wie melodisch individuelle Weise realisieren. Der spektakulärste Fall einer solchen Individualisierung ist die Tuotilo zugeschriebene dialogische Einleitung zum Weihnachtsintroitus *Hodie cantandus est* (Nat III intr 25), ein anderes Beispiel *Hodie pectore mundo* (Nat III com 3), der seltene Fall eines Hodie-Tropus zur Communio (siehe Notenbeispiel 2)[4]:

Notenbeispiel 2

Ho - di - e pec - to - re mun-do et cor - de be - ni - gno ad sa - crum et im - men - sum

my - ste - - ri - um ac - ce - den - tes gra - tes ma-gnas auc - to - ri tam cel - se

gra - ti - e le - ti red - da - mus et gau - den - tes cum pro - phe - ta ca - na - mus:

Ei 610: canamus Ei 610: dicamus

VI - DE - RUNT OM-NES

In dieser besonderen Ausprägung des Typs ist weder das Thema des Festes noch der Inhalt des Bezugsgesanges gegenwärtig. Stattdessen bezieht sich der Tropus auf die liturgische Handlung, die sein Bezugsgesang begleitet, also auf den Ritus der Kommunion: Er fordert die Gläubigen auf, mit reinem Sinn und gutem Herzen sich dem heiligen und ungeheueren Mysterium zu nähern («ad sacrum et inmensum mysterium accedentes»), Gott für seine Gnade zu danken und freudig «mit dem Propheten» zu singen. Die Momente des Schemas der Hodie-Tropen sind zwar gegeben («Hodie», «grates...reddamus», «cum propheta canamus»), aber aufgrund seiner situativen Ausrichtung auf die Kommunion nimmt der Tropus Züge einer *antiphona ante communionem* an[5]. Und ohne Bezug auf ein bestimmtes Festthema verliert das «Hodie» seinen konkreten, gleichsam «kalendarischen» Sinn und meint nur noch die Aktualität des

3 Siehe L. Treitler, «Observations on the Transmission of Some Aquitanian Tropes», *Forum Musicologicum 3*, Winterthur 1982, 48f.

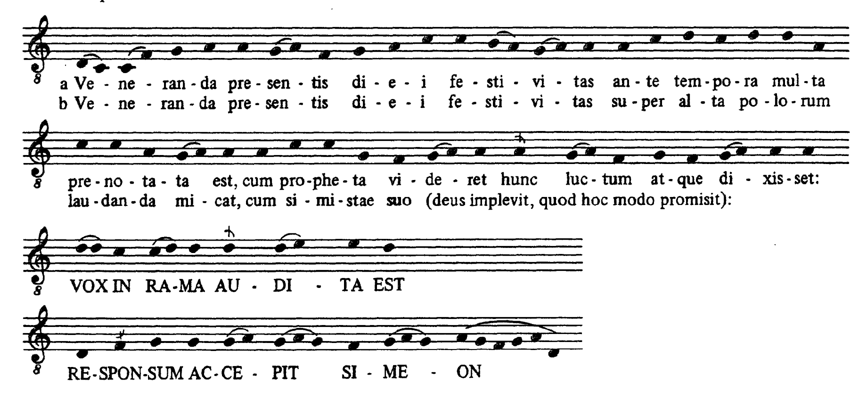
4 Ei 610, p. 609.

5 Siehe auch P. Stotz, *Ardua spes mundi*, 73–89 zu Ratperts Kommunionsdichtung *Laudes, omnipotens, ferimus*.

Ritus als solche. Unter den insgesamt 31 Communio-Tropen in SG 484 hat *Hodie pectore mundo* keine Parallele. Auch melodisch steht dieser Tropus formelhaften Gebilden des Typs *Hodie exultent iusti* fern.

Eine Paraphrase des Wortes «Hodie» eröffnet den in Notenbeispiel 3 (a) wiedergegebenen Einleitungstropus *Veneranda praesentis diei festivitas ante tempora* zur Innocentes-Communio (Innoc com 1)[6]. Sie entfaltet den liturgischen Begriff des «Hodie», indem sie den gegenwärtigen Tag der Feier in typologischer Perspektive zeigt: «ante tempora multa praenotata est». Ein Bezug zum Thema der Feier, dem Kindermord in Bethlehem, und zum Motiv der Rachelklage in der Antiphon VOX IN RAMA ist nur durch das «hunc luctum» in der letzten Zeile gegeben.

Notenbeispiel 3



Wenn man aufgrund der Quellenlage dieses Tropus – Belege im Lothringischen (Metz), im Rheinland (Mainz) und auf der Reichenau, Bereichen also, deren Tropenrepertoires gegenüber Sankt Gallen selbständige Profile aufweisen – annehmen möchte, er sei aus dem interregionalen Repertoire nach Sankt Gallen importiert worden, dann wird man sein nur in Sankt Gallen, Minden und Seeon belegbares, zu Beginn gleichlautendes Gegenstück *Veneranda praesentis diei festivitas super alta polorum* zur Purificatio-Communio RESPONSUM ACCEPIT (SG 484, p. 103) als eine – vermutlich in Sankt Gallen entstandene – Kontrafaktur betrachten. Der Text der Kontrafaktur ist in Notenbeispiel 3 (b) mitunterlegt.

Für Epiphanias enthält der Sankt Galler Tropenbestand drei Einleitungen des Hodie-Typs, alle zum Introitus (Epiph intr 41, 51 und 22). Zur Gruppe der einfachen formelhaften Texte gehört die mit einer Crux behaftete Einleitung Epiph intr 41: «Hodie Christus apparuit in mundo eia †aoui† ad praesepium deo gratias eia: ECCE ADVENIT». Die vier mit Neumen versehenen Vokale «aoui» stehen vermutlich stellvertretend für eine durch Fehler entstellte viersilbige Verbform. Trotz der Crux ist das Grundmuster des Typus erkennbar: Nach dem einleitenden «Hodie», das mit dem deiktischen «ECCE» des Primärtextes korrespondiert, wird das Festthema genannt; «Christus apparuit in mundo» ist eine christologisch verdeutlichende, glossenhafte

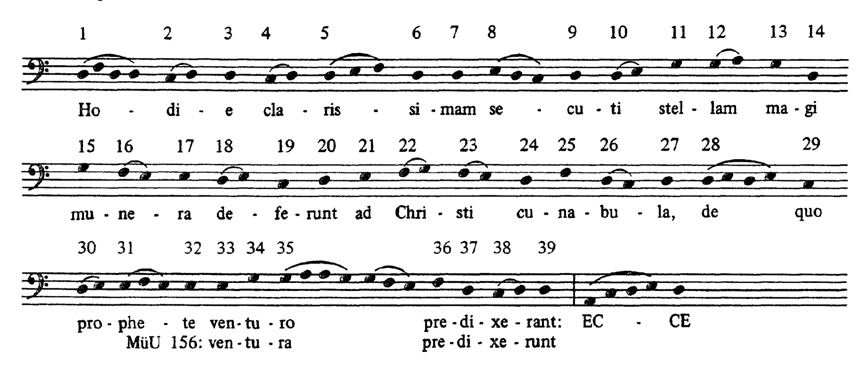
6 Nach Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, msc. lit. 45 [Ba 45], fol. 20/20v, der einzigen bekannten Aufzeichnung dieses Tropus in Liniennotation.

Paraphrase von «ADVENIT DOMINATOR DOMINUS». Der zweite Teil der Einleitung enthält die Dankformel «deo gratias» und allem Anschein nach eine Aufforderung, zur Krippe zu kommen. Beide Teile enden mit «eia».

Anders als in *Hodie Christus apparuit* ist in *Hodie descendit Christus in Iordane* (Epiph intr 51) mit der Taufe Christi im Jordan nur ein Teilaspekt der Epiphanias-Thematik präsent; jedoch ist dieser durch eine theologische Auslegung des biblischen Geschehens («ibi expurgat nostra facinora») in den Gesamtzusammenhang der Heilsgeschichte eingeordnet. Melodisch ist dieser auch in mehreren italienischen und aquitanischen Handschriften vorkommende Tropus zu der in Notenbeispiel 1 dokumentierten Gruppe zu rechnen, auch wenn keine seiner erhaltenen Aufzeichnungen in diastematisch lesbarer Notation den Neumen der ostfränkischen Handschriften so nahe kommt, daß eine gesicherte Aussage möglich wäre[7].

Die dritte Hodie-Einleitung des Epiphaniasfestes, *Hodie clarissimam secuti stellam* (Epiph intr 22), ist thematisch reicher; folgende Motive sind präsent: der Stern, die drei Könige, deren Gaben, die Krippe und die alttestamentliche Prophezeiung. Den melodischen Verlauf dieses Tropus, wie er – mit Abweichungen in Einzelheiten – in der Linienfassung des Moosburger Graduale (MüU 156, fol. 252) bewahrt ist, zeigt Notenbeispiel 4.

Notenbeispiel 4



Der Tropus gehört melodisch dem d-Modus an. Kadenzen auf dessen Finalton (in anderer Form auch in den Linienfassungen in Be 40608, fol. 32 und Vat 76, fol. 200) nach «munera», «cunabula» und «praedixerunt» gliedern den melodische Verlauf.

Dieser inhaltlich und melodisch individueller gestaltete Tropus ist, wie die Neumen erkennen lassen, mit drei anderen Hodie-Tropen in SG 484 und SG 381 melodisch weitgehend identisch: Mit dem Innocentes-Tropus *Hodie pro domino* (SG 484, p. 54–55), dem Gallus-Tropus *Hodie sanctissimi patroni* (SG 484, p. 183–184) und dem Otmar-Tropus *Hodie spiritus Otmari* (SG 484, p. 196–197)[8].

7 Näher als die in MMMAe III, S. 141 zugängliche Fassung in Apt 17, p. 88 stehen der Sankt Galler Neumenfassung die Tropare aus Nonantola (darunter das in der Faksimileausgabe bei G. Vecchi, *Troparium Sequentiarium Nonantolanum, Cod. Casanat. 1741*, Modena 1955, zugängliche RoC 1741, fol. 66) und Bobbio (To 18, fol. 27v).

8 Linienfassungen von *Hodie pro domino* im Moosburger Graduale, München Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 2° 156 [MüU 156], fol. 251v und Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex Rossi 76 [Vat 76], fol. 200.

Tabelle 3
Die Textstruktur der Tropen *Hodie clarissimam, Hodie pro domino, Hodie sanctissimi* und *Hodie spiritus Otmari*

1-3	4-7	8-10	11-12	13-14	15-17
Hodie	claríssimam	secúti	stellam	magi	múnera
Hodie	pro dómino	perémpta	sunt in-	fántum	mília
Hodie	sanctíssimi	patróni	nostri	Galli	ánima
Hodie	spíritus Otmári	terris re-	líctis	celos	ádiit

18-19	20-21	22-23		24	25-27
défe-	runt ad	Christi		cu-	nábula
quos oc-	cídit	Heró-	dis	se-	vítia
choris	supér-	nis iún-		cta	iúbilat
atque	choris	supér-		nis	iúngitur

28	29-30	31-32	33-35	36	37-39	
de	quo pro-	phéte	ventúro	pre-	díxerant	ECCE ADVENIT
de	quibus	ólim	prophéta	pre-	díxerat	EX ORE INFANTIUM
qua	propter	et nos	exulté-	mus	canéntes	SACERDOTES TUI
qua	propter	léti	deo nó-	stro	dicámus	IN VIRTUTE

Einen Vergleich aller vier Texte ermöglicht die Synopse in Tabelle 3. Als Texte zur gleichen Melodie gleichen sie einander auch in ihrem sprachlichen Bau: Alle haben sie an den melodischen Einschnittstellen bei 15–17, 25–27 und 37–39 Worte mit proparoxytonischer Betonung. Nur die Texte für Gallus und für Otmar, deren Wortgrenzen sich auch weitgehend decken, haben an der Kadenz 37–39 paroxytonisch betonte Wörter. Diese beiden Heiligentropen gleichen sich auch inhaltlich, und sogar im Wortlaut stimmen sie teilweise überein: «Galli anima»/«spiritus Otmari», «choris supernis iuncta»/«choris supernis iungitur» und «qua propter...canentes»/«qua propter...dicamus».

Die Melodie des Tropus steht wie gesagt im zweiten Modus. Tonartlich stimmt er also mit ECCE ADVENIT (Modus II) und EX ORE (Modus II), nicht dagegen mit SACERDOTES TUI (Modus III) und IN VIRTUTE (Modus VII) überein. Es sprechen also neben den beobachteten textlichen Verhältnissen auch musikalische Gründe dafür, daß die beiden nur in Sankt Gallen belegten Tropen für lokale Heilige dort entstandene Kontrafakturen sind und einer der beiden anderen Tropen das primäre Modell.

Von den Kontrafakturen steht der Gallus-Text *Hodie clarissimam* und *Hodie pro domino* näher als der Otmar-Text: *Hodie clarissimam* und *Hodie pro domino* haben an sämtlichen Kadenzstellen Assonanzreime. Der Gallus-Text bewahrt diese Assonanzen wenigstens an den beiden Binnenkadenzen, wogegen der Otmar-Text keine Assonanzreime mehr aufweist. Der Otmar-Text wird also nach dem Vorbild des Gallus-Text modelliert worden sein.

Von den beiden als primäres Modell in Frage kommenden Texten besteht *Hodie pro domino* aus einem Hauptsatz und zwei relativen Nebensätzen. Diese Satzglieder fallen genau mit den melodischen Abschnitten zusammen; die Kadenzen fungieren als Interpunktionszeichen. *Hodie clarissimam* besteht aus einem Hauptsatz und einem Nebensatz, und im Hauptsatz trennt die melodische Kadenz 15–17 das Akkusativobjekt von seinem Prädikat und seinem Subjekt: «magi munera | deferunt». Die Melodie wird daher wohl kaum als Vertonung von *Hodie clarissimam* formuliert worden sein, mit dessen Satzbau sie nicht in Einklang steht, sondern als Vertonung von *Hodie pro domino*, dessen Text sie sinnvoll gliedernd wiedergibt. Folglich dürfte *Hodie clarissimam* als eine Kontrafaktur zu *Hodie pro domino* entstanden sein.

Als Vorbild des Gallus-Tropus kämen freilich beide in Frage. Beobachtungen an der Stelle 18–27 (vergleiche Notenbeispiel 5) machen *Hodie clarissimam* als Vorbild des Gallus-Tropus wahrscheinlich:[9]

Notenbeispiel 5

	18	19	20	21	22	23		24	25	26	27
a Epiphania	de-	fe-	runt	ad	Chri-	sti		cu-	na-	bu-	la
b Innocentes	quos	oc-	ci-	dit	He-	ro-	dis	se-	vi-	ti-	a
c Gallus	cho-	ris	su-	per-	nis	iun-		cta	iu-	bi-	lat
d Otmar	at-	que	cho-	ris	su-	per-		nis	iun-	gi-	tur

Der Silbenzahl in diesem Abschnitt nach stimmt Gallus (2+3+2+3=10 Silben) mit Epiphanias (3+1+2+4=10 Silben) überein, nicht aber mit Innocentes (1+3+3+4=11 Silben); und, was schwerer wiegt, melodisch stimmen Gallus und Epiphanias mit der Neumenfolge *virga* + *clivis* + *tractulus* (fallende Kadenz) überein; dagegen hat Innocentes *pressus maior* + *pes* + *tractulus* (steigende Kadenz).

Zwei Verfahren, dem vorhandenen Tropenbestand zusätzliche Einleitungselemente zuzugewinnen, sind also im Bereich der Hodie-Tropen zu beobachten: Zum einen die «Generierung» neuer formelhafter Tropen auf der Basis einer «Matrix» und zum anderen die Kontrafaktur individuell formulierter Tropen.

Eine dritte Möglichkeit der mehrfachen Verwendung eines Tropus repräsentieren die Einleitungen der *Gaudendum*-Gruppe: Der hier nicht eingehender behandelte Epiphanias-Tropus *Gaudendum est nobis fratres carissimi* (SG 484, p. 78; Epiph intr 34) konnte

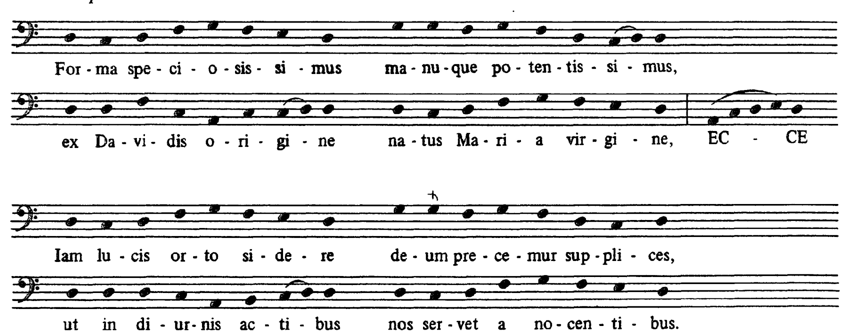
9 Noch die Linienfassungen des Moosburger Graduales (1355–1360) von *Hodie pro domino* und *Hodie clarissimam* bewahren Momente der in den Sankt Galler Neumen in Erscheinung tretenden melodischen Differenz an dieser Stelle.

mit geringfügig verändertem Text und gleicher Melodie auch für Laurentius (SG 484, p. 161), Agnes (SG 381, p. 319) und Dedicatio ecclesiae (SG 381, p. 323) verwendet werden, sowie in einigen bairischen Handschriften für Stephanus (Steph off 34, mit der Variante «sorores carissime» für das Nonnenkloster Kaufungen in Ka 15)[10].

Einleitungstropen in Form von Hymnenstrophen

Vier Einleitungstropen des Epiphaniasfestes in SG 484 haben den sprachlichen Bau und den melodischen Habitus von Hymnenstrophen: *Rege nostro* (Epiph intr 20), *Forma speciosissmus* (Epiph intr 40), *O redemptor* (Epiph off 13) und *Nato novo* (Epiph com 3). Bei der Melodie von *Forma speciosissimus* handelt es sich um eine wirkliche Hymnenmelodie, nämlich um eine der verbreiteten Singweisen des Hymnus *Iam lucis orto sidere*. Notenbeispiel 6 zeigt den Tropus in einer diastematisch lesbaren Aufzeichnung in SCan 7, fol. 298, die den Neumen in SG 484 weitgehend entspricht, und zum Vergleich den Hymnus in der Fassung aus Einsiedeln 366, p. 37 und Engelberg 8, fol. 136–136v (nach MMMAe I, 264f.):

Notenbeispiel 6



Mit dem Grundton d und dem plagalen Ambitus A-g zeigt der melodische Verlauf Merkmale des zweiten Modus, also der Tonart des Introitus *Ecce advenit*. Die erste und die vierte Zeile sind melodisch identisch. Sie steigen vom Grundton aus auf zur oberen Ambitusgrenze und kehren von dort absteigend zum Grundton zurück. Die zweite Zeile setzt an der oberen Ambitusgrenze ein und steigt zum Grundton ab. Mit Ausnahme der beiden Anfangstöne ist sie eine tongetreue Umkehrung der ersten Zeile. Die dritte Zeile beginnt und endet wie die beiden Rahmenzeilen auf dem Finalton, bewegt sich aber im Gegensatz zu diesen unterhalb desselben, und zwar in der Hymnenfassung durchgängig, in der Tropenfassung mit Ausnahme des f auf der zweiten Silbe von *Davidis*. Ihr Abstieg zur unteren Ambitusgrenze und die Rückkehr zum Grundton kann als eine Spiegelung des melodischen Verlaufes in den beiden Rahmenzeilen gehört werden. Aus dem Kontrastbezug der Binnenzeilen zu den Rahmenzeilen und aus deren Gleichheit entsteht eine festgefügte, ausgewogene und geschlossene melodische Form. Schematisch ist sie darstellbar als ABCA.

10 Die Tropen der *Gaudendum*-Gruppe behandelt eingehend Bodil Asketorp in ihrer in Vorbereitung befindlichen Ausgabe von Texten und Melodien der Tropen für Dedicatio ecclesiae im Rahmen des *Corpus Troporum*.

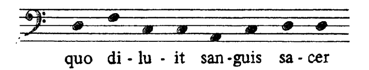
Dagegen hat der Text des Tropus *Forma speciosissimus* die Form AABB. Diese Konstellation tritt in der entsprechenden Reimstellung in Erscheinung, die aufgrund der dreisilbigen Reime deutlich vernehmbar ist. Syntaktisch sind alle vier Zeilen als Attribute zum Subjekt «DOMINATOR DOMINUS» abhängig vom Beginn der Antiphon. Inhaltlich handelt es sich um vier Aussagen über Christus, durch die das christologische Verständnis des ankommenden *dominator dominus* manifest wird. Innerhalb der durch Reim verbundenen Zeilenpaare sind auch Wortstellung und Satzbau parallel: Substantiv im Ablativ + Adjektiv im Superlativ (Zeile 1/2), Eigenname + Substantiv im Ablativ (Zeile 3/4). Auch inhaltlich gehören die Zeilen 1/2 und 3/4 paarweise zusammen: Zeile 1 und 2 nennen Eigenschaften des ankommenden Herrschers, Zeile 3 und 4 sprechen von seiner Herkunft.

Wi 1609 enthält auf fol. 8v ohne Festrubrik eine geringfügig umgearbeitete Version von *Forma speciosissimus* zum Introitus VULTUM TUUM, der in Sankt Gallen zur Assumptio BMV verwendet wird. Die Veränderung betrifft die Adjektive «speciosissimus», «potentissimus» und «natus»; statt im Nominativ erscheinen sie im Vokativ («speciosissime», «potentissime» und «nate») und beziehen sich nicht mehr auf den «DOMINATOR DOMINUS» des Epiphanias-Introitus, sondern auf ein vorausgesetztes «tu», das sich aus dem «TUUM» in der Antiphon VULTUM TUUM herleitet; gemeint ist also der von Maria geborene («natus») Christus. Da zwei der Adjektive in Reimstellung stehen, ergeben sich aus dieser Veränderung Assonanzen zwischen allen vier Textzeilen.

Sowohl der Hymnentext *Iam lucis orto sidere* als auch die Sankt Galler Tropentexte *Forma speciosissimus* haben die Versform 4x8pp. Hinsichtlich der Akzentfolge unterscheiden sie sich zu Beginn der Zeilen: *Iam lucis* hat mit Ausnahme der zweiten Zeile durchgehend steigenden Rhythmus, in *Forma* beginnen die Zeilen mit Ausnahme der zweiten mit fallendem Rhythmus. (Für die Zeit des Tropus gehen wir von einer akzentuierenden Lesung beider Texte aus. Bei *Iam lucis* treten Silbenlänge und Betonung ohnedies nur beim Wort «Deus» auseinander.) Diese Betonungsunterschiede wirken sich aber im Verhältnis von Text und Musik nur wenig aus. Nur zu Beginn der dritten Zeile, wo die Melodien von Hymnus und Tropus voneinander abweichen, könnte die Textbetonung auf den melodischen Verlauf rückgewirkt haben: Durch den auch in anderen Quellen bezeugten Terzsprung zum f wird die betonte Mittelsilbe in «Davidis» melodisch hervorgehoben[11].

Ein analoger Terzsprung kommt auch in der Überlieferung der Hymnenmelodie vor, und zwar in Einsiedeln 366 (p. 40 in margine), wo diese mit dem Text *Hic est dies verus Dei* verbunden ist, und der Anfang der dritten Zeile «quo diluit» lautet. Auch hier wird die betonte Silbe – in diesem Fall die zweite der Zeile – durch den Terzsprung hervorgehoben (siehe Notenbeispiel 7, nach MMMAe I, 278):

Notenbeispiel 7

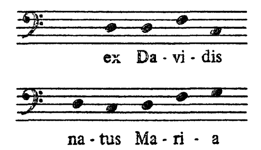


Ein zusätzlicher Effekt des Terzsprunges bei «Davidis» ergibt sich aus seinem Gleichklang mit dem Terzsprung bei «Maria» in der vierten Zeile: Die beiden korrespon-

11 So die Handschriften aus Cividale (wie Civ 58, fol. 27v) und aus Nonantola (RoC 1741, fol. 66/66v, die den Tropus eine Quinte höher notiert, füllt den Terzsprung aus, hat also a-h-c statt a-c).

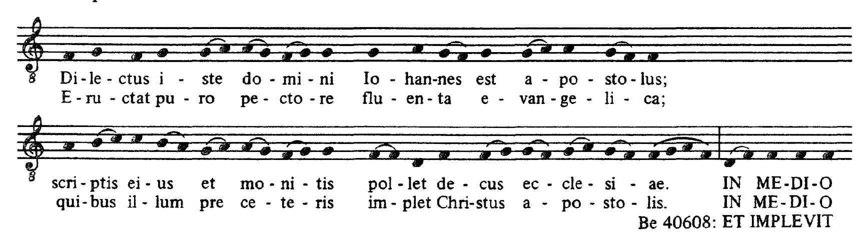
dierenden Eigennamen, die in unterschiedlichen Silbenpositionen stehen («Davidis» Silbe 2–4, «Maria» Silbe 3–5), also um eine Silbe gegeneinander verschoben sind, werden durch die melodische Korrespondenz miteinander parallelisiert (Notenbeispiel 8):

Notenbeispiel 8



Zwei Tropen des Hymnenstrophen-Typs, nämlich *Eructat puro pectore* (Ioh ev intr 1) und *Dilectus iste domini* (Ioh ev intr 2) zum Introitus IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE zum Fest Johannes Evangelista sind melodisch identisch, verhalten sich also zueinander wie zwei Strophen eines Hymnus. Sie werden aber in den beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Troparen auf verschiedenen Seiten und beide mit dem nachfolgenden Beginn des Introitus «IN MEDIO» aufgezeichnet, also als separate Tropen aufgefaßt (SG 484, p. 35 und 36; SG 381, p. 215 und 212). Nur in Ka 25, fol. 111v (und im späten clm 6419, fol. 104, aus Freising) folgen beide Tropen unmittelbar aufeinander, wodurch ein zweistrophiges Gebilde zustandekommt. Die Wiedergabe in Notenbeispiel 9 basiert auf der Linienfassung von Be 40608, fol. 25v (die beide «Strophen» als separate Tropenelemente – und zwar als Einleitung und als Binnenelement einer Tropenserie – enthält):

Notenbeispiel 9



Beide Tropenelemente haben unverkennbare textliche Bezüge zu den Strophen 2 und 3 des Johannes-Evangelista-Hymnus *De patre verbum prodiens* (AH 51, Nr. 161):

2.	Iohannes, virgo ceteris Dilectior apostolis, Rogatus apud Ephesum Conscripsit evangelium,	Dilectus iste domini, Iohannes est apostolus, scriptis cuius et monitis pollet decus ecclesiae. IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE APERUIT OS EIUS ET IMPLEVIT EUM DOMINUS...
3.	Eructans almo pectore Fluenta evangelica, Quae hausit in convivio Passuro mundi domino.	Eructat puro pectore fluenta evangelica, quibus illum pre ceteris implet Christus apostolis. IN MEDIO ECCLESIAE APERUIT OS EIUS ET IMPLEVIT EUM DOMINUS...

Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen Strophe 2 des Hymnus und *Dilectus iste domini* ist inhaltlicher Art: Beide Texte nennen Johannes als den «geliebten Apostel des Herrn» respektive «die vor allen anderen Aposteln geliebte *virgo*», und als Verfasser des Evangeliums. Dagegen stimmen die ersten zwei Zeilen von *Eructat puro pectore* fast wörtlich mit Strophe 3 des Hymnus überein. Die älteste Quelle für den Hymnus ist das Veroneser Hymnar Verona, Bibl. Cap. CIX [102] aus der Zeit um 1000. Wenn nicht Hymnus und Tropus auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückgehen, dann ist der Sankt Galler Tropus indirekt der älteste Beleg für die Existenz des Hymnnus, was Blumes Vermutung, dieser sei in Deutschland entstanden, stützt (AH 51, 186). Eine Singweise des Hymnus, die der Tropenmelodie entspräche, hat sich bislang nicht gefunden.

Daß der Tropus eine Reminiszenz an den Hymnus enthält, und nicht umgekehrt, ist wahrscheinlich: Der Hymnus hat in allen von den AH ausgewerteten Handschriften das Partizip präsens *eructans*, der Tropus die finite Verbform *eructat*. Im Kontext des Hymnus wäre *eructat* möglich, im Tropus wäre das Kontext voraussetzende *eructans* problematisch. Ginge der Hymnus auf den Tropus zurück, hätte kein Anlaß bestanden, *eructat* in *eructans* zu ändern, geht der Tropus wie vermutet auf den Hymnus zurück, ist die Änderung erklärlich[12].

Einleitungstropen in Hymnenstrophen-Form sind in Sankt Gallen einer der am häufigsten vorkommenden Tropentypen. Tabelle 4 verzeichnet sämtliche uns bekannten Propriumstropen dieses Typs in ostfränkischen Handschriften und gibt Auskunft über ihre Verbreitung. (In anderen Regionen tritt der Typus nur vereinzelt auf.) Ausgehend von dieser Übersicht lassen sich die folgenden Beobachtungen festhalten:

(a) Am häufigsten – in 18 von 24 Fällen – begegnen Tropen dieses Typs als Einleitung zum Introitus, und nur 3 mal zum Offertorium und 3 mal zur Communio. Die Texte zu Offertorium und Communio sind alle in Sankt Gallen und teilweise in weiteren ostfränkischen Quellen belegt. An Ostern und Epiphanias stehen in Sankt Gallen Texte dieses Typs für alle drei Antiphonen der Messe zur Verfügung.

(b) In Sankt Gallen haben alle mit Tropen ausgestatteten Feste von Weihnachten bis Petrus mindestens einen Introitus-Tropus dieses Typs. Für die nach Petrus folgenden Feste fehlen sie dagegen gänzlich. Die einzige Lücke in der Serie zwischen Weihnachten und Petrus ist Stephanus. In Wi 1609 steht am Ende des unabgeschlossenen Zyklus noch die oben erwähnte Umarbeitung des Epiphanias-Textes *Forma speciosissimus* für Assumptio BMV.

(c) 14 der insgesamt 19 Sankt Galler Texte sind auch in Minden, 10 auch in anderen ostfränkischen Handschriften nachweisbar, vier Texte auch in italienischen Quellen. Einer dieser vier Texte, *Dilectus iste domini*, ist auch in einer aquitanischen Quelle (Apt 18) belegt; vermutlich ist er über Italien dorthin gelangt. Zwei Texte sind nur in Sankt Gallen vor 1000 belegt, einer kommt nur in Wi 1609 vor.

(d) Nur zwei Texte (*Ecce iam Iohannes* und *Adest alma*) sind interregional verbreitet. Sie kommen in nordfranzösischen, aquitanischen, ostfränkischen und oberitalienischen Handschriften vor. Sie sind durch Lo 19768, auch durch Pa 1240 schon früh belegt. In diesen zwei Quellen sind sie die einzigen Texte dieses Typs. Die beiden Texte sind im

12 Die Frage, «ob der Tropus *Eructans verbum*...aus diesem Hymnus entlehnt sei oder eben umgekehrt», stellt schon B. Déri, «Zu den Tropen des Introitus 'In medio ecclesiae'. Die Introitus-Tropen im Kontext der Messe und des Offiziums», *International Musicological Society. Study Group Cantus Planus* (wie Anm. 1), 341–354, hier 345.

wesentlichen in denselben Handschriften überliefert. Keiner der beiden interregional verbreiteten Texte kommt aber in Sankt Galler Handschriften vor. Die einzigen ostfränkischen Belege stammen aus Mainz und von der Reichenau. Umgekehrt kommt kein Sankt Galler Text in Mainz vor und nur zwei auf der Reichenau.

(e) Zwei Texte sind zuerst in Ox 27 und Ba 6 vor und um 1000 überliefert. Textlich haben sie eine Besonderheit: Der eigentlichen (präexistenten?) Strophe vorangestellt und in diese syntaktisch integrierbar, steht das Zeitadverb «Hodie». In Regensburg waren mehrere Sankt Galler Tropen des Hymnenstrophentyps bekannt, die als Modell gedient haben könnten. Da aber die Neumen eine tonreichere Melodie zeigen, als sie für die Sankt Galler Tropen in Hymnenstrophenform charakteristisch ist, stellt sich die Frage, wieweit die beiden «hybriden» Texte aus dem Umkreis Sankt Emmerams überhaupt mit dem Sankt Galler Hymnenstrophen-Typus in Verbindung zu bringen sind.

Tabelle 4
Einleitungstropen in Form von Hymnenstrophen in ostfränkischen Handschriften

Fest/ Bezugsgesang	Textincipit	Sankt Gallen vor / nach 1000		Minden	Mainz	Reichenau	Regensburg	OST	NW	SW	IT
Nat III intr 1	*Laudemus omnes dominum**	+	+	+		+		+			
Nat III intr 105	*Hodie - Lux vera effulserat*						+	+			
Nat III intr 106	*Hodie - Aeterni patris filius*						+	+			
Ioh ev intr 24	*Ecce iam Iohannis adest*				+	+			+	+	+
Ioh ev intr 2	*Dilectus iste domini**	+	+	+			+	+		+	+
Ioh ev intr 1	*Eructat puro pectore*	+						+			+[1]
Ioh ev intr 20	*Quam trinitatis gloriam*	+	+	+			+	+			
Innoc intr 7	*Infirma mundi eligis**	+	+	+							
Epiph intr 20	*Rege nostro carne tecto**	+	+	+							
Epiph intr 40	*Forma speciosissimus**	+	+	+			+	+			+
Epiph off 13	*O redemptor ... salvatorque*	+						+[2]			
Epiph com 3	*Nato novo principe*	+	+	+		+	+	+			
Purif BMV intr ()	*Adest alma virgo parens*				+	+			+	+	+
Purif BMV intr 1	*Gratias agamus deo**	+	+	+							
Resurr intr 1	*Exsurge rector gentium**	+		+							
Resurr off 7	*Dura prius gentilitas*	+	+					+			
Resurr com 4	*Pro pecudum cruoribus*	+		+				+			
Ascens intr 1	*Ex numero frequentium**	+	+	+			+	+			+
Pent intr 2	*Consubstantialis patri**	+	+	+			+	+			
Ioh bapt intr 8	*Dei praeventus gratia**	+									
Petr intr 1	*Ecstasi sublimis Petrus**	+									
Assump BMV intr ()	*Forma speciosissime*	+[3]									
Laur off 1	*Deus orbis reparator*	+									
Fab+Seb com ()	*Sedens in monte dominus*	+									

1) Nur Venedig (Be 40608) 2) Nur in Weingarten (Stu 160) 3) Nur Wi 1609

Bevor dieser Überlieferungsbefund gedeutet werden kann, ist es notwendig, den Versbau und den Inhalt der betreffenden Texte genauer zu betrachten. Was sie alle gemeinsam haben, ist die vierzeilige Strophenform. Die Versformen dagegen sind durchaus verschieden.

(a) Am häufigsten – 10 mal – finden sich rhythmische iambische Dimeter (8pp) wie in *Forma speciosissimus*. Ein weiteres mal findet sich 8pp in der in der letzten Zeile allerdings irregulären Strophe *Quam trinitatis gloriam*. Gemeinsam haben alle diese

Verse die Silbenzahl und den Versausgang auf einem Proparoxyton. Was aber Betonungsfolge, Assonanz- und Reimstellung betrifft, sind sie sehr unterschiedlich gebaut. Als Variation des iambischen Dimeter kann der Bau dreier Texte verstanden werden: *Gratias agamus deo* und *Consubstantialis patri* (8p+3x8pp) sowie *Exstasi sublimis Petri* (8p+8pp+8p+8pp).

(b) Dreimal begegnet das rhythmische trochäische Septenar (2x[8p+7pp]): *Rege nostro carne tecto*, *Ecce iam Iohannes adest* und *Deus orbis reparator*. Bei der zweistrophigen Einleitung zum Offertorium des Laurentius-Festes *Deus orbis reparator* handelt es sich um die beiden Anfangsstrophen des gleichnamigen Hymnus in Vro 90, fol. 61v (MGH Poetae II, 253 als Werk des Hrabanus Maurus). Rhythmische trochäische Dimeter (8p) finden sich nur einmal: *Adest alma virgo parens / adest verbum caro factum*.

(c) Sonderformen sind 3x7pp+7p in *O redemptor omnium* und 4x7pp in *Nato novo principe*. Diese beiden Texte sind die Einleitungstropen zum Offertorium und zur Communio an Epiphanias. Ungewöhnlich gebaut sind die strophischen Teile der beiden hybriden Texte *Hodie – Lux vero effulserat* (2x7pp+8pp+7pp) und *Hodie – Aeterni patris filius* (8pp+2x7pp+8pp) in Ox 27 und Ba 6.

(d) Zehn Texte haben durchgehend Assonanzen oder mehr oder minder reine Reime. Dabei ist die Reimstellung stets wie in *Forma speciosissimus* aabb, was eine Zweiteilung der Strophe unterstreicht, die auch im Inhaltlichen häufig zu beobachten ist.

Inhaltlich beziehen sich die Texte alle auf das Thema des Festes. Meist ist eine thematische oder auch formale Gliederung in zwei Zeilenpaare deutlich. Und die meisten erfüllen auf unterschiedliche Weise traditionelle Funktionen des Tropus:

(a) Vier Texte legen den Beginn der Antiphon biblischen Sprechern in den Mund: Den Engeln in *Ex numero frequentium* (Ascensio), dem Apostel in *Pro pecudum* (Resurrectio), Johannes dem Täufer in *Dei praeventus* und Petrus in *Exstasi sublimis*.

(b) Sechs Texte enthalten eine Aufforderung zum Lobpreis.

(c) Zwei Texte stellen eine nähere Bestimmung zu einem grammatischen Subjekt in der Antiphon dar: *Forma speciosissimus* und *Consubstantialis patri*.

(d) In vier Texten wird Christus direkt angesprochen, in Form einer Aufforderung (*Exsurge rector gentium*), einer Anrede im Vokativ (*O redemptor*) oder in der zweiten Person (*Infirma mundi eligis*) oder eines regelrechten Gebetes (*Deus orbis reparator, / lux aeternae gloriae, / mihi, quaeso, paenitenti / praebe prius veniam*).

(e) Sieben Texte leisten eine liturgische Aktualisierung, durch Ausdrücke wie «hac die», «ista die», «adest» oder «nunc». «Hodie» kommt dagegen nur in den beiden oben genannten Sonderformen vor.

(f) Fünf Texte sind inhaltlich wie syntaktisch selbständige Formulierungen: *Dilectus*, *Eructat*, *Nato novo*, *Dura prius*, und *Sedens in monte*; alle anderen sind vom folgenden Bezugsgesang abhängig.

(g) Einige Texte exponieren die theologische Quintessenz der Feier, sei es in formelhaften Wendungen, wie *Adest alma*, oder auch durch individuellere Formulierungen wie *Laudemus* und insbesondere *Infirma mundi*.

Es ist nun aufschlußreich, diese Einzelbeobachtungen im Zusammenhang und im Hinblick auf Sankt Gallen zu betrachten. Nirgendwo sonst ist eine solche Vorliebe für diesen Tropentypus festzustellen. Auch bei der Reduzierung des Sankt Galler Tropenbestandes nach 1000 bleibt die Mehrzahl der Textes dieses Typs erhalten. Das bedeutet

indessen nicht, daß der Typus als solcher (also der Gedanke, Texte in Form von Hymnenstrophen als Einleitungstropen zu verwenden) aus Sankt Gallen stammt. Allerdings hat man in Sankt Gallen einen ganzen Zyklus solcher Tropen mit eigenem verstechnischen Profil begonnen: In Sankt Gallen ist die häufigste Versform der iambische Dimeter, der unter den in Sankt Gallen nicht vorkommenden Texten nur einmal verwendet ist; dort dominieren trochäische Versformen. Und die vier Sankt Galler Texte mit durchgehend trochäischen Versformen sind bezeichnenderweise auch in anderer Hinsicht Ausnahmen:

(a) *Rege nostro* ist der einzige Fall eines Sankt Galler Introitus-Tropus in trochäischen Versen. Neben ihm existiert allerdings ein zweiter Text für denselben Introitus in iambischen Dimetern. Zwei Einleitungen in Strophenform zum selben Fest kommen sonst nur noch bei Johannes Evangelista vor; dort haben sie aber dasselbe Versmaß (iambische Dimeter) und dieselbe Melodie.

(b) Dieselbe Versform hat *Deus orbis reparator*. Das ist aber der aus dem Hrabanus-Maurus-Hymnus entlehnte Text.

(c) *O redemptor omnium / salvatorque* mit der Form 3x7pp+7p ist nur in SG 484 und SG 381 und später in Stu 160 aus Weingarten belegt. Dieser Text ist offensichtlich eine Umarbeitung des auch auf der Reichenau, in Mainz und Regensburg bekannten Prosa-Tropus *O redemptor omnium cui reges* (CT I, 152), dessen melodische Gestalt nichts mit der eines Hymnus gemein hat. Den denkbaren Bearbeitungsvorgang verdeutlicht die folgende Gegenüberstellung der beiden Texte (SG 484, p. 88 und p. 72–73):

O redemptor omnium,	O redemptor omnium	7pp	a
	salvatorque gentium,	7pp	a
cui reges nunc et insule omnes	reges nunc et insule	7pp	b
offerunt munera sancta.	tibi offerunt laudes,	7p	b
	eia:		
REGES THARSIS	<REGES THARSIS>		

Der Beginn des Prosa-Tropus konnte als 7pp gelesen und als Anfangszeile einer Strophe verwendet werden. Eine dazu formal und inhaltlich parallele zweite Zeile, mit gleicher Silbenzahl und Assonanzbindung wurde hinzugefügt. Eine dritte und vierte Zeile gleicher Silbenzahl konnte durch geringfügige Veränderungen aus dem verbleibenden Text des Prosa-Tropus gewonnen werden. Als Ergebnis erhielt man ein weiteren Tropus in Gestalt einer Hymnenstrophe. Dieser erhielt, wie die Neumen zeigen, auch eine neue Melodie. Sie ist tonreicher als die der anderen Tropen in Strophenform, markiert aber die drei neu arrangierten proparoxytonischen Versausgänge mit der charakteristischen Kadenzwendung.

(d) Die mit dem Textbeginn der Vorlage *O redemptor omnium* vorgegebene Versform 7pp kommt in Sankt Gallen sonst nur noch in *Nato novo* vor. *Nato novo* ist neben *Laudemus omnes* der einzige Sankt Galler Text, der auch auf der Reichenau belegt ist. Er könnte in Sankt Gallen sehr wohl – woher auch immer – importiert sein.

Am Ostersonntag hat man Tropen in Strophenform nicht nur für den Introitus (*Exsurge rector*), sondern auch für Offertorium (*Dura prius*) und Communio (*Pro pecudum*). Das Bestreben, auch an Epiphanias Tropen dieses Typs für alle drei Antiphonen der Messe zu besitzen, könnte den Import von *Nato novo* und die Umarbeitung von *O redemptor* veranlaßt haben. Ein weiterer Sankt Galler Tropus zum Epiphanias-Offertorium könnte sich diesem Bestreben verdanken: *Pacifico regi* (Epiph off 11) in SG 484, SG 381, Wi 1609 und Be 11. Er hat melodisch und textlich den Habitus einer

Hymnenstrophe, entspricht aber mit seinem irregulären Bau 6p+7pp+7p+8p keiner der sonst vorkommenden Formen.

Ein interessanter Grenzfall ist die Einleitung *Hodie spiritus sancti gratia* zur Communio an Pfingsten (Pent com 1), die nur in SG 484, SG 381, Be 11 und in Mü 14083 aus Regensburg nachweisbar ist: Dieser Text scheint sich einerseits am Typus der Hodie-Tropen zu orientieren, andererseits an den Einleitungen in Hymnenstrophenform. Sein stereotyper Beginn entspricht melodisch vielen anderen Tropen des Hodie-Typs. Der weitere Verlauf läßt das Bestreben erkennen, die Sinneinheiten des Textes durch Reime als vier Zeilen erscheinen zu lassen: 2x11pp+6p+9pp mit der Reimfolge aabb. Die durch Reim verbundenen Zeilenpaare entsprechen Hauptsatz und Nebensatz. Auf diese Weise wird der Eindruck einer Zweiteiligkeit des Textes hervorgerufen, wie sie bei anderen Tropentexten in Strophenform zu beobachten ist. Der Text erinnert an die beiden Tropen in Strophenform in Ox 27 und Be 11, denen ein «Hodie» vorausgeht.

Rhythmische Verse als Tropen der Messe kommen, wenn auch nur vereinzelt, in allen Regionen der Tropenüberlieferung vor[13]. Ob Sankt Gallen den Impuls zu Tropen dieser Art von auswärts empfangen hat, mag dahingestellt bleiben. (Die Möglichkeit war gegeben: Die beiden überregional am weitesten verbreiteten Vertreter des Typs, die trochäischen Verse *Adest alma virgo parens* und *Ecce iam Iohannes adest*, sind zwar nicht in Sankt Gallen selbst nachweisbar, doch sind sie in Mainz und auf der Reichenau belegt, Orte also, mit denen Sankt Gallen in Kontakt stand.) Unverkennbar ist auf alle Fälle die besondere Bedeutung, die Tropen in Hymnenstrophenform in Sankt Gallen beigemessen wurde. Diese zeigt sich zum einen in der Häufung von Tropen dieses Typs in den ältesten Sankt Galler Troparen, zum anderen in der Bildung eines liturgischen Zyklus rhythmischer Einleitungen zu den Introiten aller mit Tropen ausgestatteten Feste von Weihnachten bis Petrus, mit Ausnahme von Stephanus[14].

Bei der Verbindung inhaltlicher Merkmale liturgischer Tropen mit formalen Merkmalen der Hymnendichtung handelte es sich in Sankt Gallen offenbar nicht um die vereinzelte und unreflektierte Aufnahme einer im Offizium beheimateten Gesangsform in die Messe. Wenigstens bei dem Zyklus rhythmischer Introitus-Tropen scheint es sich vielmehr um eine Art poetisches Experiment zu handeln, Tropendichtung unter die formale Bedingung der rhythmischen Strophe zu stellen. Als Versform wurde der iambische Dimeter gewählt. Die einzige Ausnahme ist die «Dublette» für Epiphanias, das trochäische Septenar *Rege nostro*. (Daß der einzige Text mit abweichendem Versmaß liturgisch eine Dublette darstellt, läßt vermuten, daß er zunächst nicht zum Zyklus gehörte). Für ein solches Experiment waren in Sankt Gallen die Voraussetzungen günstig: Für rhythmische Dichtung und deren gesanglichen Vortrag bestand eine Tradition, deren älteste Zeugnisse der Leidener Vossianus latinus 69 (ohne Notation; cf. MGH Poetae IV, 449) und (mit Neumen) die durch Dieter Schaller bekannt gewordene Handschrift Neapel, Biblioteca Nazionale, IV G 68, aus dem neunten Jahrhundert sind[15]. Zum experimentellen Charakter des Zyklus würde die Vermutung passen, daß

13 Siehe G. Orlandi, «Metrical Problems in Tropes», *La tradizione dei tropi liturgici, Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici Parigi (15–19 ottobre 1985) – Perugia (2–5 settembre 1987)*, Spoleto 1990, 183–196 sowie die Studie von D. Norberg, «Problèmes métriques dans les séquences, les offices et les tropes», im vorliegenden Band 361–369.

14 Hierzu G. Björkvall und A. Haug, «Primus init Stephanus. Eine Sankt Galler Prudentius-Vertonung aus dem zehnten Jahrhundert», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 48 (1992), 57–78.

15 D. Schaller, «Frühmittelalterliche lateinische Dichtung in einer ehemals St. Galler Handschrift», *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* 93 (1964), 272–292.

er von einem einzigen Verfasser stammt. Wolfram von den Steinen hat die in der Tabelle oben auf Seite 134 mit einem * markierten Texte als Dubia in seine Notker-Ausgabe aufgenommen[16]. Die kleine Zahl der über diesen Zyklus hinaus vorhanden Texte dürften aus dem Wunsch entstanden sein, zusätzliche Tropen in rhythmischen (wenn auch nicht nur in iambischen) Versen zur Verfügung zu haben, vorallem auch für Offertorien und Communio-Antiphonen zentraler Festtage und insbesondere für die im ursprünglichen Zyklus nicht mit einer solchen Dichtung bedachten Feste nach Petrus.

Zitat und Paraphrase des Primärtextes

Zahlreiche Tropentexte sind Paraphrasen ihres Primärtextes. Sie umschreiben den gegebenen Text, sei es um seinen Inhalt zu nuancieren, etwa um einen Psaltertext christologisch zu interpretieren, sei es um die Formulierung zu variieren, nicht selten in poetischer Form, etwa als Hexameter. Als eigenen Tropentyp hat John Johnstone solche Tropen erkannt, die textlich – nicht melodisch – mit einem meist wörtlichen Zitat des nachfolgenden Bezugsgesanges beginnen, auf das in der Regel eine Akklamation («laus tibi Christe», «laudate dominum eia») oder – wie in den Hodie-Tropen – eine Aufforderung an den oder die Sänger zum Anstimmen des Bezugsgesanges folgt («eia dic domne eia» oder «eia dicite filii carissimi»; der «domnus» ist der Zelebrant oder Cantor, die «filii» sind offenbar die Schola oder der Chor). Johnstone bezeichnet sie als Paraphrasen-Tropen: «...the term 'paraphrase trope' is in common usage and it will be used here, but with the restricted meaning of tropes that begin with a quotation from their base chant»[17]. Das Zitat aus dem Primärtext erklingt in der Regel auf einer Art Rezitationston. Ein solcher Kontrast der melodischen Stillagen zwischen Tropus und Bezugsgesang ist den Untersuchungen Johnstones zufolge ein Kennzeichen der Tropen dieses Typs zu den Offertoriums-Antiphonen; textlich entsprechende Tropen zu den Versen der Offertorien sind melodisch reicher[18].

Paraphrasentropen erscheinen vorwiegend zum Offertorium, gelegentlich auch zur Communio, und nur in seltenen Fällen zum Introitus. Sie gehen in der Regel einem geschlossenen Teil des Bezugsgesanges voraus, im Falle des Offertoriums der Antiphon und den einzelnen Versen. Sie sind in allen Regionen mit Ausnahme Englands bekannt und gehören allem Anschein nach zur ältesten Schicht des Tropenschaffens. Bereits unter den wenigen Tropentexten der frühen Handschrift Mü 14843 (Toul [?], um 900) finden sich fünf solche «Paraphrasen-Tropen»[19].

Keine andere Handschrift enthält so viele «Paraphrasen-Tropen» wie die beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Tropare. Die insgesamt 41 Tropenelemente in SG 484, die mit einem Zitat des nachfolgenden Primärtextes beginnen, sind auf nur neun Feste verteilt. Den umfangreichsten Bestand haben Weihnachten und Ostern. Von den Heiligenfesten haben nur Gallus und Omnium Sanctorum Tropen dieses Typs. Der Bestand von SG 484 ist in Tabelle 5 zusammengestellt.

16 W. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter und seine geistige Welt*, Bern 1949, Editionsband, 152–154 und Kommentar 191.

17 J. Johnstone, *The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmission, and Function*. Diss., Ohio State University 1984, 151.

18 Johnstone, *Offertory Trope* (wie Anm. 17), 154–190.

19 Zu den Tropenaufzeichnungen in dieser Handschrift siehe R. Jacobsson und L. Treitler, «Tropes and the Concept of Genre», *Pax et Sapientia. Studies in Text and Music of Liturgical Tropes and Sequences*, ed. R. Jacobsson, Stockholm 1985, 78–87.

Tabelle 5
Tropenelemente in SG 484, die mit einem Zitat des nachfolgenden Primärtextes beginnen

Fest/Bezugsgesang	Textincipit des Tropus	Primärtext	Bemerkung
Nat III intr 21	*Notum fecit dominus*	NOTUM FECIT	
Nat III off 2	*Tui sunt caeli*	TUI SUNT	
Nat III off 4	*Orbem terrarum*	ORBEM TERRARUM	
Nat III off 5	*Iustitia et iudicium*	IUSTITIA	
Nat III off 6	*Praeparatio sedis tuae*	PRAEPARATIO	
Nat III off 6bis	*Praeparatio sedis tuae*	PRAEPARATIO	
Nat III off V 8	*Magnus et metuendus*	MAGNUS ET METUENDUS	
Nat III off V 9	*Tu humiliasti*	TU HUMILIASTI	
Nat III off V 10	*Misericordia et veritas*	MISERICORDIA	
Nat III com 2	*Viderunt omnes fines*	VIDERUNT OMNES	
Steph off 1	*Elegerunt apostoli*	<ELEGERUNT>	
Steph off 3	*In virtute tua*	IN VIRTUTE	3 und 3bis melodisch und textlich verschieden
Steph off 3bis	*In virtute tua*	IN VIRTUTE	
Steph off V 4	*Magna est gloria*	<MAGNA EST>	
Steph off V 5	*Super eum domine*	<SUPER EUM>	
Ioh ev off 3	*Iustus ut palma*	IUSTUS UT PALMA	
Innoc off 5	*Anima nostra*	ANIMA NOSTRA	
Innoc off V 6	*Nisi dominus*	NISI QUOD	
Innoc off 7	*Contritus est inimicus*	LAQUEUS <CONTRITUS EST>	Tropierung der Repetenda
Innoc off 8	*Anima nostra*	ANIMA NOSTRA	
Innoc off V 9	*Nisi quia dominus*	[TORRENTEM]	Stichwort für Einschubstelle fehlerhaft für NISI QUIA, der zweiten Hälfte des Verses NISI QUOD?
Innoc com 2	*Vox in Rama*	VOX IN RAMA	
Epiph off 12	*Reges Tharsis*	REGES THARSIS	
Resurr off 2	*Terra tremuit...leo fortis*	TERRA TREMUIT	
Resurr off V 3	*Notus est dominus*	NOTUS EST DOMINUS	
Resurr off V 5	*In pace factus est*	ET FACTUS EST IN PACE	
Resurr off 11	*Terra tremuit et quievit*	TERRA TREMUIT	
Resurr off V 12	*Factus est in pace*	[IBI CONFREGIT]	Fehlerhaft für ET FACTUS EST?
Resurr off V 13	*Ibi confregit*	IBI CONFREGIT	
Resurr off 11bis	*Terra tremuit et quievit*	TERRA TREMUIT	11 und 11bis melodisch verschieden
Resurr off [34]	*Dum resurgeret*	DUM RESURGERET	
Resurr off 14	*Alleluia eia*	ALLELUIA	
Resurr com 1	*Pascha nostrum*	PASCHA NOSTRUM	
Pent off 2	*Confirma hoc deus*	CONFIRMA HOC	
Pent off V 3	*Cantate domino*	CANTATE	
Pent off V 4	*Regna terrae*	REGNA TERRAE	
Pent com 2	*Factus est repente*	FACTUS EST REPENTE	
Gall off 4	*Posuisti domine*	POSUISTI DOMINE	
Gall off V 5	*Magna est gloria*	MAGNA EST GLORIA	Textlich und melodisch identisch mit Steph off V 4
Gall off V 6	*Super eum domine*	IMPONES SUPER EUM	Textlich und melodisch identisch mit Steph off V 5
Omn SS off 4	*Laetamini in domino*	LAETAMINI IN DOMINO	

Für das Epiphaniasfest enthalten SG 484 und SG 381 nur einen Tropus, den Johnstone als «paraphrase trope» bezeichnen würde, nämlich *Reges Tharsis et insulae*. Zur Communio VIDIMUS STELLAM enthalten sie den Tropus *Viderunt stellam*, der zwar eine Paraphrase des Primärtextes darstellt, diesen aber zugleich den sonst nicht genann-

ten *magi* in den Mund legt. Der Tropus richtet sich also nicht als «liturgisches Signal» an die Sänger, sondern integriert die Communio in das biblische Geschehen, indem er die Sprecher identifiziert:

SG 484, p. 89 Viderunt stellam magi in oriente fulgentem,
et dixerunt domino regi:
VIDIMUS STELLAM EIUS IN ORIENTE.

Tropen dieses Typs, die für das Verständnis des liturgischen Tropus von grundsätzlicher Bedeutung sind, kommen in Sankt Gallen nur in den beiden ältesten Handschriften vor.

Meloforme Tropen

Bei fast der Hälfte aller in den beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Handschriften aufgezeichneten Tropen zu den Propriumsgesängen der Messe handelt es sich um meloforme Tropen, also um Zusätze rein melodischer Natur. Bis auf wenige Ausnahmen handelt es sich um Melismen zur Introitus-Antiphon und ihren Versen. In SG 484 sind insgesamt rund 600 verschiedene Erweiterungsmelismen zu 31 Introiten aufgezeichnet. Meloforme Tropen sind auch zu Festen überliefert, zu denen die Sankt Galler Tropare keine Texttropen enthalten, wie die Dominica I in Quadragesima, die Feriae I–IV nach Ostern, sowie für «Commune-Introiten», die in Sankt Gallen für bestimmte Heiligenkategorien verwendet wurden, wie etwa INTRET IN CONSPECTU, INVOCABIT ME, OS IUSTI und PROTEXISTI[20].

Konkordanzen zu einem Teil der meloformen Tropen in SG 484 und SG 381 finden sich nur in Wi 1609 (Freising) und Lo 19768 (Mainz), vereinzelt auch in Ba 6 (Regensburg) und Ox 27 (Eichstätt). Alle diese Handschriften sind vor 1000 entstanden. Und alle vor 1000 entstandenen ostfränkischen Tropare enthalten meloforme Introitustropen. Diese sind also einerseits in a l l e n ostfränkischen Troparen des zehnten Jahrhunderts und andererseits n u r in diesen nachweisbar. Wenn dieser Quellenbefund nicht täuscht, entstammen sie einer älteren Schicht der Tropenpoduktion, die um 1000 bereits im Verschwinden begriffen war.

Zu keinem Introitus sind soviele Melismen überliefert wie zum Introitus des Epiphaniasfestes. Zu ECCE ADVENIT sind in SG 484 nicht weniger als 15 Serien mit insgesamt 55 Melismen aufgezeichnet. Von diesen 55 Melismen treten 36 auch in textierter Form auf. Zu einer Serie dieser Melismen enthalten SG 484 und SG 381 zwei verschiedene Textierungen.

SG 484, p. 86/87 sind mehrere Serien meloformer Tropen zum Introitus ECCE ADVENIT aufgezeichnet. Die Aufzeichnungen beginnen mit dem Textinitium der Antiphon ohne Notation. Nach «ADVENIT» erscheint das erste eingeschobene Melisma. Ebenso sind die Einschubstellen der folgenden Melismen in den Ablauf des Introitus durch die Stichworte angegeben. Ergänzt man die Stichworte zum vollständigen Text der Antiphon, ergibt sich für die Melismenserie oben auf p. 87 (Epiph intr mel 48–52) der folgende Gesamtverlauf:

20 Die hier vorgelegten Beobachtungen zu den meloformen Introitustropen folgen der Darstellung bei A. Haug, «Das ostfränkische Repertoire der meloformen Introitustropen», *International Musicological Society. Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, September 1990*, Budapest 1992, 413–426, eine bereits abgeschlossene und eingehendere Untersuchung des Phänomens wird an anderer Stelle vorgelegt werden.

ECCE ADVENIT mel 48
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS mel 49
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS mel 50
ET POTESTAS mel 51
<ET IMPERIUM>

Das letzte Wort der Antiphon – «IMPERIUM» – tritt weder in dieser noch in irgend einer anderen Melismen-Serie zu ECCE ADVENIT als Stichwort auf. Und das scheint die Regel zu sein: Keine der erhaltenen Serien meloformer Tropen zum Introitus enthält ein Erweiterungsmelisma am Ende der Antiphon. Bei dem nächsten Stichwort in der vorliegenden Serie – «REGIS» – handelt es sich um das letzte Wort des Psalmverses. Das letzte Melisma der auf der selben Seite unten aufgezeichneten Serie (mel 55) folgt auf das Stichwort «AMEN». Es ist also am Ende des *Gloria patri* angehängt. Anders als am Ende der Antiphon sind Melismen am Ende von Psalmvers und *Gloria patri* die Regel.

Es sind also bei den meloformen Tropen zum Introitus zwei Typen von Erweiterungsmelismen zu unterscheiden: Eingeschobene Melismen im Inneren der Antiphon und angehängte Melismen am Ende des Psalmtones. Erweiterungsmelismen am Ende des Psalmtones kommen als meloforme Tropen zu den Psalmversen und zur Doxologie vor. Sie sind auch in einigen ostfränkischen Troparen belegt, die keine Binnenmelismen zur Antiphon enthalten.

SG 484, p. 80/81 steht der Einleitungs-Tropus *Forma speciosissimus* gefolgt von einer Serie meloformer Tropen. Anders als in den soeben betrachteten Fällen geht in der vorliegenden Aufzeichnung dem melodisch erweiterten Introitus ein Texttropus als Einleitung voraus. Bei dem letzten Stichwort dieser Serie – «IN IUDICIO» – handelt es sich um das Ende des Versus ad repetendum IUDICARE POPULUM. Aufgrund der Stichworte ergibt sich folgender Ablauf:

ECCE ADVENIT mel 1
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS mel 2
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS mel 3
ET POTESTAS mel 4
<ET IMPERIUM>
<IUDICARE POPULUM...TUOS>
IN IUDICIO mel 15

Auf p. 62/63 sind zur Antiphon ECCE ADVENIT nocheinmal dieselben vier Melismen (Epiph intr mel 1–4) aufgezeichnet wie auf p. 80/81. Hier sind diese Melismen aber mit Texten verbunden. Zuerst steht der Text und danach das ihm zugehörige Melisma. Die Stichworte aus der Antiphon stehen jeweils vor den Texten und werden vor den darauf folgenden Melismen wiederholt. Texte und Melismen haben also dieselben Einschubstellen:

ECCE ADVENIT *Christus in alvum virginis*
<ECCE> ADVENIT mel 1

<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS *Cui celestia et terrestria*
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS mel 2

<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS *Regnum eternum quod numquam*
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS mel 3

ET POTESTAS *Qua inferos debellando*
<ET PO>TESTAS mel 4

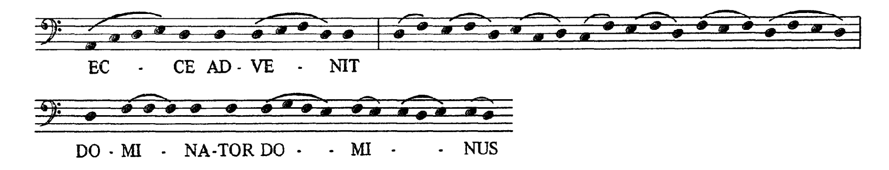
Die Silbenzahl der Textelemente entspricht der Zahl der Töne in den jeweils folgenden Melismen. Die Texte sind mit Einzeltonneumen versehen. Der in den Einzeltonneumen sich abzeichnende melodische Verlauf entspricht dem durch die Gruppenneumen der Melismen dargestellten. Die Tropentexte und die meloformen Tropen sind also melodisch identisch.

Auf p. 65/66 in SG 484 erscheinen dieselben Melismen in Verbindung mit anderen Texten:

ECCE ADVENIT	*Olim quem vates*
<ECCE> ADVENIT	mel 1
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS	*Qui montes in plana*
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS	mel 2
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS	*Ut regat suum populum*
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS	mel 3
<ET PO>TESTAS	*Ad domandum angue<m>*
<ET POTES>TAS	mel 4

Notenbeispiel 13 unten auf S. 149 verdeutlicht das Verhältnis der Texte zueinander und zu den Melismen: Die sprachlichen Bausteine und die durch die Neumenzeichen definierten melodischen Ausschnitte sind kongruent. Die unterschiedlichen Texte geben sich als Textierungen derselben Melismen zu erkennen. Die mit *Olim quem vates* beginnende Serie von Textierungen ist auch in einer Handschriften mit Liniennotation nachweisbar, was eine melodische Rekonstruktion der Melismen ermöglicht. Notenbeispiel 10 zeigt das zwischen «ECCE ADVENIT» und «DOMINATOR DOMINUS» eingeschobene erste Melisma dieser Serie (Be 40608, fol. 25v):

Notenbeispiel 10



Die Beobachtungen lassen sich anhand von Tabelle 6 zusammenfassen. Diese bietet ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der meloformen Tropen zum Introitus ECCE ADVENIT und der mit ihnen verbundenen Texte. Die erste Spalte enthält die Stichworte für die Einschubstellen. Die Nummern der Melismen stehen in der zweiten Spalte. Die mit den Melismen verbundenen Texte sind in der dritten Spalte verzeichnet, zitiert mittels der CT-Sigla. Die restlichen Spalten geben Auskunft, in welchen anderen Handschriften die betreffenden Melismen und Texte vorkommen. Die Einschubstellen der Texte erscheinen in der ersten Spalte in Petit. Unterschiedliche Versionen desselben Melismas haben die gleiche Nummer und sind durch Kleinbuchstaben unterschieden.

Tabelle 6
Erweiterungsmelismen zum Epiphanias-Introitus und ihre Textierungen

Einschubstelle	Melisma	Textelement	Handschriften			
			SG 484	SG 381	Wi 1609	Ba 6
		1 *Hora est psallite*	p. 62 +	p. 225 +		
ADVENIT		2 *Christus in alvum*	+	+		
ADVENIT	1		+	+		
DOMINUS		3 *Cui caelestia*	p. 63 +	+		
DOMINUS	2		+	+		
EIUS		4 *Regnum aeternum*	+	+		
EIUS	3		+	+		
POTESTAS		5 *Qua inferos*	+	+		
POTESTAS	4		p. 64 +	+		
AMEN		6 *Quae nec coepit*	+	+		
AMEN	5		+	+		
<AMEN>		6 *Quae nec coepit*		p. 218 +		
DOMINUS		7 *Et medetur*	+	p. 226 +		
DOMINUS	6		+	+		
EIUS		8 *Supra omnium*	+	+		
EIUS	7		p. 65 +	+		
REGIS		9 *Quo terrenum*	+	+		
REGIS	8		+	+		
ADVENIT		10 *Olim quem vates*	+	+		
ADVENIT	1		+	+		
DOMINUS		11 *Qui montes*	+	+		
DOMINUS	2		p. 66 +	+		
EIUS		12 *Ut regat*	+	+		
EIUS	3		+	+		
POTESTAS		13 *Ad domandum*	+	p. 227 +		
POTESTAS	4		+	+		
AMEN		14 *Deo filio*	+	+		
AMEN	9		p. 67 +	+		
		20 *Rege nostro*			f. 5v +	
		22 *Hodie clarissimam*	p. 74 +	p. 228 +		
ADVENIT		23 *Olim promissus*	p. 75 +	+	+	
ADVENIT	10		+	+	+	
DOMINUS		24 *Laxare vincula*	+	+	+	
DOMINUS	11		+	+	+	
EIUS		25 *Regnum quod nullo*	+	+	+	
EIUS	12		+	+	+	
REGIS		26 *Deus pater deo*	p. 76 +	+	+	
REGIS	13		+	+	+	
AMEN		27 *Quae fides*	+	+	+	
AMEN	14		+	+	+	
IUDICIO		28 *De manu eos*	+	+	+	
IUDICIO	15		+	p. 229 +	+	
ADVENIT		29 *Mansuetus humilis*	+	+		
ADVENIT	16		p. 77 +	+		
DOMINUS		30 *Cui stella duce*	+	+		
DOMINUS	17		+	+		
EIUS		31 *Regnum iugiter*	+	+		
EIUS	18		+	+		
POTESTAS		32 *Quae caelum*	+	+		
POTESTAS	19		+	+		
IUDICIO		33 *Qui credentes*	p. 78 +	+		
IUDICIO	20		+	+		

			SG 484		SG 381		Wi 1609	Ba 6
		34 *Gaudendum est*		+		+		
ADVENIT		35 *Quem prophetae*	p. 79	+	p. 230	+		
ADVENIT	21			+		+		
DOMINUS		36 *Qui solus est*		+		+		
DOMINUS	22			+		+		
EIUS		37 *Quae terrae*		+		+		
EIUS	23			+		+		
POTESTAS		38 *Quam angeli*	p. 80	+		+		
POTESTAS	24			+		+		
AMEN		39 *Cui dies ista*		+		+		
AMEN	25			+		+		
		40 *Forma speciosissimus*		+		+		
ADVENIT	1			+	p. 231	+		
DOMINUS	2		p. 81	+		+		
EIUS	3			+		+		
POTESTAS	4			+		+		
IUDICIO	15			+		+		
		40 *Hodie Christus apparuit*		+		+		
ADVENIT		42 *In quem desiderant*		+		+		
ADVENIT	26			+		+		
DOMINUS		43 *Visere genus*		+		+		
DOMINUS	27		p. 82	+		+		
EIUS		44 *Caelestium*		+		+		
EIUS	28			+		+		
		51 *Hodie descendit*	p. 84	+	p. 232	+		
ADVENIT		52 *In uterum virginis*		+		+	f. 93v	+
ADVENIT	29			+	p. 233	+		+
DOMINUS		53 *Cui magi stella*		+		+		+
DOMINUS	30			+		+		+
EIUS		54 *Quod proprio*		+		+		+
EIUS	31		p. 85	+		+		+
POTESTAS		55 *Qua in vinum*		+				
<POTESTAS>		55 *Qua in vinum*				+		
IMPERIUM		55 *Qua in vinum*						+ [!]
POTESTAS	32			+		+		+
REGIS		56 *Ut cunctum*		+		+		
DEUS<...REGIS>		56 *Ut cunctum*						+
AMEN	33			+		+		+
ADVENIT	34			+		+		
DOMINUS	35a			+		+		
EIUS	36a			+		+		
EIUS	37			+		+		
EIUS	38			+		+		
ADVENIT	39			+		+		
ADVENIT	40		p. 86	+		+		
DOMINUS	41			+		+		
EIUS	42			+		+		
AMEN	43			+		+		
ADVENIT	44			+		+		
DOMINUS	41			+		+		
DOMINUS	45			+				
EIUS	46			+		+		
REGIS	47			+		+		

		SG 484	SG 381	Wi 1609	Ba 6
ADVENIT	40	+	p. 234 +		
DOMINUS	35a	+	+		
EIUS	36b	p. 87 +	+		
ADVENIT	48	+	+		
DOMINUS	49	+	+		
EIUS	50	+	+		
POTESTAS	51	+	+		
REGIS	13	+	+		
REGIS	52	+	+		
ADVENIT	33	+	+		
DOMINUS	53	+	+		
EIUS	54	+	+		
AMEN	55	+	+		

A <ECCE> ADVENIT
<DOMINATOR> DOMINUS
<ET REGNUM IN MANU> EIUS
<ET> POTESTAS
<ET IMPERIUM>

P <DEUS IUDICIUM TUUM REGI DA ET IUSTITIAM TUAM FILIO> REGIS

G <GLORIA PATRI ... SAECULORUM> AMEN

V <IUDICARE POPULUM TUUM IN IUSTITIA ET PAUPERES TUOS IN> IUDICIO

Die meloformen Tropen Epiph intr mel 1–4 treten in der Tabelle dreimal auf: Mit den Texten Epiph intr 2–5, mit den Texten 10–13 und einmal ohne Texte. Insgesamt verzeichnet die Tabelle 55 meloforme Tropen, die in 15 Serien mit dem Introitus verbunden sind. Die Zusammensetzung der Serien ist nicht stabil. Besonders in den letzten drei Serien sind mehrfach Melismen enthalten, die auch in anderen Serien auftreten. Austauschbar erscheinen insbesondere die Melismen nach dem Psalmvers, dem GLORIA PATRI und nach dem Versus ad repetendum. So steht 15 einmal am Ende der Serie 10–14 und einmal am Ende der Serie 1–4. Andererseits tritt die Serie 1–4 in Verbindung mit zwei unterschiedlichen AMEN-Melismen – 5 und 9 – auf. Die Binnenmelismen der Antiphon und die dem Psalmton angehängten Melismen sind also nur lose miteinan-

der verbunden. (Das AMEN-Melisma 6 tritt in SG 484 und SG 381 sogar mit verschiedenen anderen Introiten der gleichen Tonart auf.) Wie die Tabelle zeigt, entspricht das Repertoire von SG 381 weitgehend dem von SG 484, was auch bei den anderen Introiten der Fall ist. Zur Melismenserie 10–15 und ihren Textierungen begegnen Konkordanzen in Wi 1609, zu Serie 29–33 und ihren Textierungen im Regensburger Tropar Ba 6 (siehe das Faksimile von Ba 6, fol. 93v in CT I, pl. XXII).

Die Textierung zum Psalmvers-Melisma 15 (SG 484, p. 76) fällt durch ihre sonderbare Satzstellung auf; statt beispielsweise «Scilicet liberando eos de manu fortissimorum hostium» lautet der Text: «De manu eos scilicet fortissimorum hostium liberando». Wie aus Notenbeispiel 11 ersichtlich ist, decken sich bei dieser Satzstellung die Wortgrenzen auf das Genaueste mit den Tongruppengrenzen des Melismas.

Notenbeispiel 11

IN IUDICIO | De | manu eos | scilicet | fortissimorum | hostium | liberando |

Der untersuchte Befund der meloformen Tropen zum Epiphaniasfest bietet mehrere Indizien für eine Priorität der Melismen vor den mit ihnen verbundenen Texten:

(a) Die Mehrzahl der Melismen ist in sämtlichen Handschriften nur in textloser Form erhalten.

(b) Einige Serien von Melismen erscheinen in einer Handschrift mit und in anderen ohne Texte.

(c) Einige Serien von Melismen erscheinen in ein und derselben Handschrift einmal mit und einmal ohne Texte.

(d) Eine Serie von Melismen erscheint in einer Handschrift mit zwei verschiedenen Texten.

(e) Auffällige Satzstellung kann als Folge des Versuchs erklärt werden, den Bau des Textes möglichst eng an den Bau des Melismas anzupassen.

Zusätzliche Indizien dafür, daß die Texte tatsächlich nachträglich an vorhandene Melismen adaptiert worden sind, ergeben sich im nächsten Abschnitt, in dem die Texte eingehender untersucht werden sollen. Für eine Interpretation der Texte als Textierungen ist es unerheblich, ob man davon ausgeht, daß die Melismen in allen Fällen ursprünglich in textloser Gestalt, als meloforme Tropen gesungen worden sind, oder ob man die Priorität der Melismen vor den Texten primär nicht als ein historisches, sondern als ein technisches Verhältnis betrachtet.

Die meloformen Tropen verdienen nicht nur als Träger von Tropentexten Beachtung, sondern als melodische Gebilde sui generis und als aufschlußreiche Zeugnisse einer schöpferischen Auseinandersetzung fränkischer Sänger mit der melodischen Gestalt der *cantilena romana*[21].

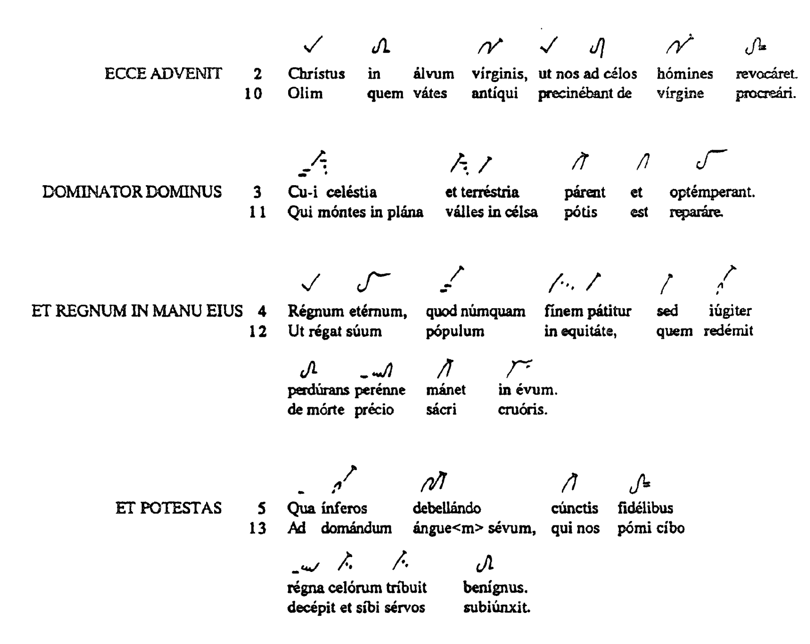
21 Weitere Beispiele meloformer Introitustropen bei A. Haug, «Neue Ansätze im 9. Jahrhundert», *Die Musik des europäischen Mittelalters* (Neues Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 2), Laaber 1991, 101.

Textierungen meloformer Tropen

Wie aus Tabelle 6 ersichtlich ist, treten von den 55 meloformen Tropen zum Introitus ECCE ADVENIT 41 auch in textierter Form auf. Sowohl in die Antiphon eingeschobene als auch an den Psalmvers und die Doxologie angehängte Melismen sind in den ältesten Sankt Galler Troparen mit Texten verbunden. Damit hat Epiphanias von allen Festen nicht nur den umfangreichsten Bestand an Melismen, sondern auch an Melismatextierungen. Ebenso wie die Serien textloser Melismen meistens ohne eine Einleitung auftreten, sind auch drei der Serien textierter Melismen in den ältesten Handschriften ohne ein textliches Einleitungselement aufgezeichnet.

Zu den Melismen 1–4 zur Introitus-Antiphon ECCE ADVENIT sind, wie bereits erwähnt wurde, zwei verschiedene Textierungen überliefert: die Tropenelemente 2–5 und 10–13. Notenbeispiel 12 ermöglicht den Vergleich dieser Textierungen miteinander und mit ihren Melismen (SG 484, p. 62–64 und p. 65–67).

Notenbeispiel 12



Die Texte in beiden Serien spiegeln die melodische Gliederung des Melismas wie sie in den Neumen in Erscheinung tritt. Die Wortgrenzen fallen meist zusammen mit den Grenzen zwischen den Neumen und sind deshalb auch zwischen den beiden Texten

weitgehend deckungsgleich. Ein solcher Befund ist charakteristisch für melogene Texte im allgemeinen[22].

Syntaktisch und inhaltlich beziehen sich die Texte der Serien 2-3-4-5 und 10-11-12-13 jeweils auf den ihnen vorausgehenden Abschnitt der Antiphon. Auch stehen sie inhaltlich dem Primärtext sehr nahe und entfalten ihn, meist ausgehend von einem einzelnen Wort, in unterschiedlicher Weise. An der ersten Einschubstelle nach ECCE ADVENIT verdeutlichen die Texte, wer der Ankommende ist. Element 2 nennt dabei ausdrücklich Christus, seine Geburt durch eine Jungfrau und den heilsgeschichtlichen Sinn seines Kommens: «uns Menschen in den Himmel zurückzuholen». Zusammen mit dem vorausgehenden Abschnitt des Primärtextes bildet dieses Tropenelement eine syntaktische Einheit, in der «Christus» grammatisch als neues Subjekt fungiert. Element 10 nennt, in Form eines relativen Nebensatzes zum Hauptsatz im Primärtext, Christus nur indirekt als den, «von dem die alten Propheten einst vorausgesagt haben, daß er von einer Jungfrau geboren würde». Indem die Tropentexte ein neues grammatisches Subjekt einführen, verändern sie auch die syntaktische Funktion des nachfolgenden Abschnittes des Primärtextes: Das Subjekt «DOMINATOR DOMINUS» wird zur Apposition. An der zweiten Einschubstelle, also nach «DOMINATOR DOMINUS», illustrieren die Tropentexte das Thema des Weltenherrschers: Element 3 verweist auf den Gehorsam der Welt, Element 11 auf die Allmacht Gottes.

Syntaktisch sind beide Elemente Relativsätze, deren Pronomina auf den vorausgehenden Primärtext bezogen sind. An der nächsten Einschubstelle kommentieren die Elemente 4 und 12 das vorausgehende «ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS»: Element 4 wiederholt das Wort «REGNUM» und fügt einen Relativsatz bei, in dem der immerwährende Fortbestand der Königsmacht formuliert wird; Element 12 beginnt mit einem finalen Nebensatz und vertieft in einem weiteren Relativsatz die Aussage durch die heilsgeschichtliche Dimension der Königsmacht: «UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, damit er sein Volk in Gerechtigkeit leite, welches er vom Tod erlöst hat, um den Preis seines heiligen Blutes.» An der letzten Einschubstelle nach «POTESTAS» wird die göttliche Stärke genauer bestimmt, als ein Mittel, das Böse zu bezwingen. Darüberhinaus setzten die beiden Elemente unterschiedliche thematische Akzente. Element 5: «UND DIE STÄRKE, duch welche er die bösen Mächte bezwang und gnädig allen Gläubigen das Himmelreich zuteilte.» Element 13: «UND DIE STÄRKE, die rasende Schlange zu bezwingen, die uns mit dem Kosten des Apfels betrogen und als ihre Sklaven unterjocht hat.» Element 5 ist erneut ein Relativsatz, Element 13 beginnt mit einer Gerundivkonstruktion mit finaler Bedeutung.

22 Siehe K. Schlager, «Die Neumenschrift im Licht der Melismentextierung», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981), 296–316, sowie G. Björkvall und A. Haug, «Texting Melismas – Criteria for and Problems in Analyzing Melogene Tropes», International Musicological Society, *Kongreßbericht Madrid 1992* (in Druck). – G. Orlandi, «Metrical Problems» (wie Anm. 13), 189, Anm. 24 interpretiert sowohl *Christus in alvum* als auch den Psalmtontropus *De manu eius* (Epiph intr 28) als «a couple of dimeters (8pp) followed by a paroxytone tetrasyllabic word». Demgegenüber ist zu bedenken, daß Silbenzahl und Gliederung dieser beiden Texte durch Tonanzahl und melodische Gliederung vorhandener Melismen festgelegt ist. Das bedeutet freilich nicht, daß nicht über das Ausfüllen der durch die Melodie vorgegeben Form hinaus eine bestimmte Betonungsfolge intendiert gewesen sein kann; diese könnte aber auch das Ergebnis des Versuches sein, den Tonfall der Worte dem Gang der melodischen Bewegung anzugleichen. Die Auswirkung der melodischen Struktur von Melismen auf die Akzentstruktur der ihnen adaptierten Texte ist noch nicht systematisch untersucht.

Ein interessanter Sonderfall einer Doppeltextierung desselben Melismas begegnet in einer Marginalie in SG 484, p. 135. Dort ist zu einem Melisma aus einer längeren Serie von Melismen zum Introitus SPIRITUS DOMINI eine Textierung aufgezeichnet. Die Aufzeichnung beginnt rechts neben dem Melisma und setzt auf dem unteren Blattrand fort. (Der Beginn in CT III als Pent intr 97 und seine Fortsetzung als Pent intr 9[23].) Am Ende des Troparteiles von SG 484, p. 254–255 ist eine Serie von Textierungen zu denselben Melismen eingetragen (Pent intr 10–13 sowie eine – in CT III nicht enthaltene – Textierung des AMEN-Melismas). Die beiden parallelen Textierungen zeigt das folgende Notenbeispiel; hier sind nicht nur die Wortgrenzen miteinander und mit den Neumengruppen kongruent, sondern auch die Wortakzente:

Notenbeispiel 13

Quod	claret	hac díe	cúnctis in	ecclésia	permanéntibus
Qua	linguas	confúsas	hódie	in órganum	reformáverat

«Qua linguas confusas hodie in organum reformaverat» (der Beleg in SG 484 mit der Lesart «reformaverat» ist in CT III, 170 nicht berücksichtigt) kommentiert das «SCIENTIAM VOCIS» aus dem vorausgehenden Primärtext: «DAS VERMÖGEN ZU SPRECHEN ..., durch welches er [der Heilige Geist] heute verworrene Reden in ein *organum* umgeformt hat»[24]. Dagegen hat *Quod claret hac die* keinen eindeutigen syntaktischen Bezug zum vorausgehenden Abschnitt der Antiphon. Er ist eher eine Art zusammenfassender Kommentar zum gesamten vorausgehenden Primärtext: «..., was heute offenbar ist für alle, die in der Kirche sind.» Verglichen mit *Qua linguas confusas* wirkt dieser für eine Melismentextierung dieser Art untypische Text nicht wie ein Teil einer Serie, sondern wie eine isoliert stehende ad-hoc-Eintragung.

Die gleichen meloformen Tropen werden also mit unterschiedlichen thematischen Akzenten textlich konkretisiert. Die Tropenelemente geben eine Art Wort-Kommentar zum liturgischen Primärtext. Dabei tritt die Thematik des Festes meist nicht explizit in Erscheinung. Dies bestätigt auch der folgende Vergleich sämtlicher Textierungen von Melismen mit der Einschubstelle nach «MANU EIUS»:

4 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Regnum eternum, quod numquam finem patitur sed iugiter perdurans perenne manet in evum.

8 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS Supra omnium terrenorum principum fasces excelsum atque sublime.

12 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Ut regat suum populum in equitate, quem redemit de morte precio sacri cruoris.

25 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Regnum, quod nullo defectu corrumpi umquam possit vel minui perpetim.

---

23 Vgl. den Hinweis bei W. Arlt, «Von den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen der Tropen zur Rekonstruktion ihrer Geschichte», *La tradizione* (wie Anm. 13), 460.

24 Auf eine Übersetzung von «organum» wird verzichtet, um einer Auswertung dieses bislang unbeachteten, im Lichte von Fritz Reckows Untersuchungen zum Organum-Begriff aufschlußreichen Beleges nicht vorzugreifen; F. Reckow, «Organum-Begriff und frühe Mehrstimmigkeit. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Bedeutung des 'Instrumentalen' in der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Musiktheorie», *Forum Musicologicum* 1, Basel 1975, 31–167.

31 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Regnum iugiter perdurans atque permanens per cuncta secla.

37 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Que terre machinam atque polorum et maris fluenta firmans suspendit.

44 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Celestium et terrenorum atque infernorum cum triplici machina.

54 ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS, Quod proprio baptismate fidelibus commendat.

Element 12 kommentiert den vorangehenden Abschnitt des Primärtextes als ganzen; die Elemente 8 und 44 bilden Attribute zu «regnum»; Element 54 und 37 beziehen sich als Relativsätze auf unterschiedliche Substantive des Primärtextes, auf «regnum» bzw. auf «manus»; die bereits miteinander verglichenen Elemente 4 und 12, zwei Textierungen desselben Melismas, setzen inhaltlich ganz unterschiedliche Akzente:

4 UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, das ewige Reich, das niemals ein Ende erleidet, sondern, immerzu fortdauernd, in Ewigkeit besteht.

12 UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, damit er sein Volk in Gerechtigkeit leite, welches er vom Tod erlöst hat, um den Preis seines heiligen Blutes.

Dagegen sind die Elemente 4, 25 und 31, die alle drei mit einer Wiederholung des Wortes «regnum» beginnen, einander auch im weiteren Verlauf inhaltlich weitgehend gleich. Die Aussage ist ungefähr dieselbe, der Wortlaut richtet sich offensichtlich nach den in Bau und Länge unterschiedlichen Melismen:

4 UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, das ewige Reich, das niemals ein Ende erleidet, sondern, immerzu fortdauernd, in Ewigkeit besteht.

25 UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, das Reich, das durch keinen Schaden jemals zerstört oder verringert werden kann.

31 UND DAS REICH IST IN SEINER HAND, das Reich, immerzu fortdauernd und fortbestehend durch alle Zeiten.

Solche inhaltlich übereinstimmenden, im Wortlaut unterschiedlichen Textierungen unterschiedlicher Melismen mit derselben Einschubstelle in den Primärtext – und damit demselben thematischen Ausgangspunkt – finden sich mehrfach im ältesten Sankt Galler Repertoire. Ein weiteres Beispiel sind die folgenden Elemente aus zwei (im übrigen unterschiedlichen) Textierungsserien des Osterintroitus, in SG 484, p. 104–105 (Resurr intr 2-3-5) bzw. 107–108 (Resurr intr 9-11-14):

2 RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM, ALLELUIA, A quo numquam licet incarnatus recessi.

9 RESURREXI ET ADHUC TECUM SUM, ALLELUIA, A quo numquam recessi, licet in carne paruerim.

3 POSUISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM, ALLELUIA, Quia iusso (also nicht iussu wie in Elem. 11) tuo ad tempus mortem gustavi.

11 POSUISTI SUPER ME MANUM TUAM, ALLELUIA, Quia iussu tuo mortem degustavi.

5 DOMINE PROBASTI ME ET COGNOVISTI ME; TU COGNOVISTI SESSIONEM MEAM ET RESURRECTIONEM MEAM, Qui de morte turpissima ad resurrectionis gloriam me perduxisti.

14 DOMINE PROBASTI ME ET COGNOVISTI ME; TU COGNOVISTI SESSIONEM MEAM ET RESURRECTIONEM MEAM, Qui me de morte turpi assumptum sedere tecum in gloria facis.

2 ICH BIN AUFERSTANDEN UND BIN NOCH BEI DIR, ALLELUIA, von dem ich, trotz meiner Fleischwerdung, niemals gewichen bin.

9 ICH BIN AUFERSTANDEN UND BIN NOCH BEI DIR, ALLELUIA, von dem ich niemals gewichen bin, obwohl ich im Fleisch erschienen bin.

3 DU HAST DEINE HAND ÜBER MICH GEHALTEN, ALLELUIA, weil ich auf deinen Befehl zur vorbestimmten Zeit den Tod geschmeckt habe.

11 DU HAST DEINE HAND ÜBER MICH GEHALTEN, ALLELUIA, weil ich auf deinen Befehl den Tod geschmeckt habe.

5 HERR, DU HAST MICH ERFORSCHT UND ERKANNT; DU KANNTEST MEIN SITZEN UND MEIN AUFSTEHEN, Du, der du mich vom schändlichsten Tod zur Herrlichkeit der Auferstehung geführt hast.

14 HERR, DU HAST MICH ERFORSCHT UND ERKANNT; DU KANNTEST MEIN SITZEN UND MEIN AUFSTEHEN, Du, der du mich vom schändlichen Tod genommen und mich in Herrlichkeit mit dir sitzen läßt.

Hier sind die Differenzen sowohl der Aussage als auch der Formulierung so minimal, daß sich die Frage nach dem Anlaß dieser merkwürdigen «Dubletten» unausweichlich stellt. Man hat den Eindruck, als handele es sich um eine Art «Übungen» in der Kunst der Textadaption. Ein solches Interesse an der «handwerklichen» Seite eines bestimmten Tropentyps weist in den Bereich der Schule.

Von den miteinander verglichenen Textierungen an der Einschubstelle nach «ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS» enthält einzig Element 54 mehr als nur einen Kommentar des Primärtextes: Es geht zwar auch von dem Wort «regnum» aus, bezieht aber dann mit der Taufe Christi ein Thema des Festes mit ein. Dasselbe ist in zwei weiteren Elementen dieser (weiter unten genauer untersuchten) Serie der Fall: Element 53 nennt die Könige, deren Gaben und den sie leitenden Stern, Element 55 das Weinwunder. Auf diese Weise ergänzen die Tropenelemente die allgemeine Maiestas-Thematik der Antiphon durch spezifische Themen des Epiphaniasfestes, und unterscheiden sich dadurch von der Mehrzahl der Epiphanias-Tropentexte dieses Typs. Eine weitere solche Ausnahme ist etwa Epiph intr 30; es ist als einziges Binnenelelement seiner Serie festspezifisch (SG 484, p. 77):

ECCE ADVENIT DOMINATOR DOMINUS,
Cui stella duce magi detulerunt tria dona thuris et auri et myrre.

Ein anderes Beispiel dieser Art ist folgende Textierung eines Binnenmelismas zur Introitusantiphon VULTUM TUUM am Fest Assumptio BMV, durch welche diese «marianisch» gedeutet wird (SG 484, p. 163):

VULTUM TUUM DEPRECABUNTUR OMNES,
O regina celorum, domina Maria!

Die Epiphanias-Melismen 17–20 (siehe Tabelle 6), die, wie oben bereits erwähnt, auch zum Introitus VULTUM TUUM für Assumptio BMV erscheinen, wurden auch in Verbindung mit beiden Antiphonen textiert; die Textierungen für Epiphanias stehen in

SG 484 auf p. 77–78, die entsprechenden Textierungen für Assumptio auf p. 166–167. Der in seinem Verhältnis zum Bezugsgesang nur tonartlich und melodisch bestimmte meloforme Tropus wird durch verschiedene, auf unterschiedliche Bezugstexte und Festanlässe hin formulierte Textierungen konkretisiert.

Zwei extreme Möglichkeiten einer textlichen Konkretisierung meloformer Tropen lassen sich im Bestand der Tropentexte zu den Introiten CONFESSIO (Laurentius) und SACERDOTES TUI (Gallus) beobachten. SG 484, p. 178 sind ohne Angabe einer Festrubrik drei Serien von Melismen zu SACERDOTES TUI aufgezeichnet. Dieser Introitus wird in Sankt Gallen für verschiedene Heiligenfeste verwendet. Das Sankt Galler Graduale des frühen elften Jahrhunderts (Codex 339 der Stiftsbibliothek) enthält Formulare mit SACERDOTES TUI für Silvester, Urbanus und Martinus; ein eigenes Formular für Gallus kommt nicht vor. Melismen und Tropentexte unter der Rubrik «DE SANCTO GALLO» stehen in SG 484, p. 182–186. Dort tauchen auch zwei der Melismen-Serien zu SACERDOTES TUI von p. 178 derselben Handschrift wieder auf. Eine der Serien ist textiert und wird durch die Einleitung *Hodie sanctissimi patroni nostri Galli* eröffnet und auf diese Weise mit dem Fest verbunden. Man könnte erwarten, daß auch die SACERDOTES-Melismen durch ihre Textierung zu «Gallus-Melismen» würden, daß also die textliche Konkretisierung der Melismen auf eine liturgische Konkretisierung des unspezifischen Introitus-Textes für die Feier des «Sanctissimus patronus noster Gallus» zielt. Das ist aber nicht der Fall. Die Textierungen kommentieren nämlich zur den Text des Introitus (SG 484, p. 184–185):

SACERDOTES TUI, DOMINE,
Qui es verus sacerdos et rex summus atque immensus,
INDUANT IUSTITIAM,
Ut tibi placere possint sanctis meritis;
ET SANCTI TUI EXULTENT
In exultatione sempiterne trinitatis;
PROPTER DAVID SERVUM TUUM,
Quem exaltasti de pastore in regem,
NON AVERTAS FACIEM CHRISTI TUI.

Aufgegriffen werden also in *Qui es verus* das vorausgehende «DOMINE», in *Ut tibi placere* das unmittelbar vorausgehende «INDUANT IUSTITIAM» und die «SACERDOTES» des Beginns, in *In exultatione* das vorausgehende «EXULTENT» und endlich in *Quem exaltasti* der «DAVID» des Introitus. Auch die erste Serie von Textierungstropen des Gallusfestes in SG 484 ist inhaltlich nicht auf den Heiligen, sondern einzig auf den Text des Introitus bezogen, weshalb sie auch in Kremsmünster (Kre 309, fol. 182–182v) für den dortigen *Patronus* Martinus verwendet werden konnte (SG 484, p. 182–183):

SACERDOTES TUI, DOMINE,
In lege prisca sed magis in nova letantes
INDUANT IUSTITIAM
Pro gemma atque purpura necnon aureo decore
ET SANCTI TUI EXSULTENT
In temet non inanis speciebus;
PROPTER DAVID SERVUM TUUM,
Videlicet istum electum manu fortem,
NON AVERTAS FACIEM CHRISTI TUI.

Diese Serien von Textierungen sind also ebenso festunspezifisch wie die Melismen selbst. Erst durch vorangestellte Einleitungstropen werden sie für das Fest spezifiziert. Völlig verschieden ist dagegen das Verhältnis zwischen den Melismen-Textierungen und dem Introitus-Text in der folgenden Sankt Galler Serie zum Introitus des Laurentiusfestes, CONFESSIO, die in SG 484 ohne eine Einleitung aufgezeichnet ist (SG 484, p. 156–157):

CONFESSIO ET PULCHRITUDO
Beati Laurentii ab omnibus admiranda incredulis;
IN CONSPECTU EIUS
Angelus astabat, qui illius sudorem absterserat.
SANCTITAS ET MAGNIFICENTIA
Tali honore martyrem merito condignum et ornandum fecerunt.
<Psalm> CANTATE DOMINO ... OMNIS TERRA,
Qua sanctus Laurentius in tormentis constantissime
tyrannicam confuderat rabiem.

Diese Texte handeln, wenn auch in sehr allgemeinen Wendungen, vom Heiligen Laurentius, dessen Namen sie zweimal nennen, und seinem Martyrium.

In der Anpassung dieser Texte an die Melismen sind (ebenso wie bei den Textierungen des Gallus-Festes) Unschärfen festzustellen, sogar geringfügige Differenzen zwischen der Zahl der Silben und der Töne. Auch sind die Textierungen ohne interlineare Notation aufgezeichnet, und SG 484, p. 159, wo die CONFESSIO-Melismen ohne Texte erscheinen, sind mehrfach Korrekturen in der Notation zu erkennen, die die Tonanzahl von Neumen zu betreffen scheinen. Diese Unschärfen in der Textanpassung könnten darauf hindeuten, daß die Textierungstropen bestimmter Heiligenfeste in SG 484 einer späteren Zeit entstammen als etwa die oben untersuchten Textierungstropen des Epiphanias-Introitus, denen wir uns jetzt wieder zuwenden wollen.

Die Elemente 53–55 sind, wie schon erwähnt, unter den Textierungen meloformer Tropen zu ECCE ADVENIT insofern eine Ausnahme, als sie nicht nur auf den Introitus bezogen sind, sondern auch auf Themen des Epiphaniasfestes. Da ist es bemerkenswert, daß auch zu dieser Serie eine Dublette überliefert ist, die ihr in SG 484 und SG 381 unmittelbar vorausgeht, allerdings eine Dublette gänzlich anderer Art. Bei den Elementen des Paralleltextes handelt es sich nämlich – wie die Notation eindeutig zeigt – nicht um Textierungen meloformer Tropen, sondern um Textvertonungen, also um logogene Tropenelemente. Ein Vergleich dieser beiden Serien wird ihr Verhältnis verdeutlichen:

	SG 484, p. 82–84		SG 484, p. 84–85
	ECCE ADVENIT		ECCE ADVENIT
46	Invisibiliter in uterum virginalem ad dissolvendam mortis damnationem DOMINATOR DOMINUS,	52	In uterum virginis deus, perditos ut nos liberet, DOMINATOR DOMINUS,
47	Quem stella ducente magi venerantur ab oriente, ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS,	53	Cui magi stella duce munera tulerant, ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS,
48	Quod in suo baptismate universis pie viventibus commendat, ET POTESTAS,	54	Quod proprio baptismate fidelibus commendat, ET POTESTAS,

49 Qua liquidos latices in vini mutaverat species, ET IMPERIUM DEUS IUDICIUM TUUM ... FILIO REGIS,	55 Qua in vinum hodie latices mutavit, ET IMPERIUM DEUS IUDICIUM TUUM ... FILIO REGIS,
50 Ut iudicet orbem in equitate et salvos faciat contritos corde et humiles mente.	56 Ut cunctum iudicet in equitate seculum.

Die beiden Tropenserien sind in allen ihren Elementen thematisch kongruent. Häufig stimmen sie auch im Wortlaut überein. Alle Elemente knüpfen an den jeweils vorausgehenden Bezugstext an, und zwar meist mit dem selben Wort: «In-»/«In», «Quem»/«Cui», «Quod»/«Quod», «Qua»/«Qua» und «Ut»/«Ut».

Die Serien sind also offenbar nicht unabhängig voneinander entstanden. Die Elemente der logogenen Serie sind länger als die der melogenen. Zum einen sind ihre Formulierungen rhetorisch elaborierter: «universis pie viventibus» statt «fidelibus» und «liquidos latices in vini . . . species» statt «in vinum . . . latices»; zum anderen enthält sie zusätzliche Aussagen: «invisibiliter in uterum» statt «in uterum», «stella ducente . . . ab oriente» statt «stella duce» und «iudicet . . . in equitate et salvos faciat contritos corde et humiles mente» statt «iudicet . . . in equitate». Die anderen Unterschiede wirken sich kaum auf die Länge der Texte aus, und ändern auch wenig an deren Aussage. Das Verhältnis zwischen den korrespondierenden Elementen gleicht dem oben beobachteten zwischen Textierungen verschiedener Melismen mit gleichem Inhalt, wo es galt, dieselbe Aussage unter der formalen Bedingung unterschiedlicher Melismen unterschiedlich zu formulieren. Das Verhältnis zwischen der logogenen und der melogenen Serie ist schwieriger zu erklären; war die logogene Vorbild für die melogene oder umgekehrt?

Beide Möglichkeiten lassen sich durchspielen. Wenn der logogene Tropus Vorbild war, dann wären die knapperen Formulierungen der melogenen Paralleltexte durch die Begrenzung und die Gliederung der Melismen bedingt: Man hätte redundante Wendungen reduziert, hätte verzichtbare Worte und Satzteile weggelassen, und durch den Austausch und die Umstellung einzelner Worte hätte man Fügung und Tonfall der Worte der Gliederung und dem Bewegungsduktus der Melismen adaptiert. Wenn umgekehrt die Textierungen Vorbild für den logogenen Tropus waren, wären die ursprünglich melogenen Formulierungen, losgelöst von den Melismen, von denen sie geformt sind, entfaltet und erweitert worden.

Wichtiger aber als die Frage nach der Priorität einer der beiden Serien ist die Beobachtung, daß sie dieselben Themen unter den technischen Bedingungen unterschiedlicher Tropentypen unterschiedlich formulieren; deutet sie doch darauf hin, daß bei der Formierung des Sankt Galler Tropenbestandes neben thematischen Aspekten auch ein Experimentieren mit den Möglichkeiten des Erweiterns existenter Gesänge eine Rolle spielte, die wir als «Tropentypen» klassifizieren.

Während meloforme Introitustropen, wie oben dargestellt, sich nur in SG 484, SG 381, Wi 1609, Lo 19768 und Ba 6 nachweisen lassen, ist ein Teil ihrer Textierungen im ganzen ostfränkischen Raum bis in das spätere Mittelalter hinein verbreitet. Sporadisch sind sie, wie Tabelle 7 zeigt, auch außerhalb des ostfränkischen Raumes nachweisbar. Wie aus den verzeichneten Quellenbelegen deutlich hervorgeht, spielte dieser in Sankt Gallen so dominierende Tropentypus außerhalb des ostfränkischen Raumes nur eine periphere Rolle:

Tabelle 7
Belege für Sankt Galler Melismentextierungen außerhalb des ostfränkischen Raumes

Tropenelemente	Quellenbelege			
	ITALIEN		AQUITANIEN	
Nat III intr 2, 6, 8	Pavia	Ivr 60		
Nat III intr 5	Mantova	Vro 107		
Steph intr 2	Como	Vce 186		
	Forlimpopoli	Mod 7		
	Pomposa	Pad 47		
Steph intr 3-4	Forlimpopoli	Mod 7		
	Pomposa	Pad 47		
Steph intr 5	Como	Vce 186		
	Pomposa	Pad 47		
	Cividale	Civ 56 Civ 58 Civ 79		
Steph intr 6	Forlimpopoli	Mod 7		
	Pomposa	Pad 47		
Ioh ev intr 3	Pistoia	Pst 121		
	Nonantola	Bo 2824	Apt	Apt 18
Ioh ev intr 4-6	Pistoia	Pst 121		
	Venedig	Be 40608	Apt	Apt 18
Innoc intr 2-4			Limoges	Pa 909
			Limoges/Aurillac	Pa 887
			Apt	Apt 17
			Saint Yrieix	Pa 903
			Moissac	Pa 1871
			Südwestfrankreich	Pa 1118
Innoc intr 12	?	Chieti 2 (Fragment)		
Epiph intr 10-13	Mantova	Vro 107		
	Venedig	Be 40608		
	Benevento	Ben 35 (nur 10, 12 und 13)*		
Epiph intr 23-25	Nonantola	RoC 1741 Bo 2824 RoN 1343		
Ascens intr 2-4	Mantova	Vro 107		
	Benevento	Ben 35 Ben 39 Ben 40		
Assump BMV intr 10-15	Bologna	RoA 123**		
Assump BMV intr 16, 18-20	Mantova	Vro 107		
	Pavia	Ivr 60		
Ioh bapt intr 2-5	Volterra	Vol 39		
	Mantova	Vro 107		

*) ohne Notation **) aufgeteilt auf zwei Serien: 12-13-15, 10-11-14

(a) Für Elemente aus neun Sankt Galler Serien, vorwiegend des Weihnachtsfestkreises, gibt es eine sich von Como über Pistoia bis Benevento erstreckende italienische Streuüberlieferung: Elemente für fünf Feste sind in Mantova belegt, für zwei in Nonantola und Benevento; alle anderen Handschriften haben Tropen dieses Typs nur für ein einziges Fest.

(b) Eine dieser Serien (Ioh ev intr 3–6) ist bereits um 1000 im provenzalischen Apt belegt, eine weitere (Innoc 2–4) in sechs aquitanischen Troparen des ausgehenden zehnten und des elften Jahrhunderts. Es ist bezeichnend, daß die in Apt 18 vor-

kommende Serie auch in italienischen Handschriften vorkommt, nicht aber die in den frühen aquitanischen Troparen aus Auch, Aurillac und Limoges anzutreffende. Apt 18 hat auch sonst mehrfach Konkordanzen mit dem italienischen Tropenrepertoire. Auch die Sankt Galler Textierungen könnten auf dem Weg über Italien nach Apt gelangt sein[25].

(c) Überhaupt keine Konkordanzen zu Sankt Galler Textierungen finden sich in den Quellen des Nordwestens.

Textierungen meloformer Tropen machen in Sankt Gallen den Großteil aller Binnenelemente aus. Sie unterscheiden sich, wie diese Textanalysen gezeigt haben, nicht allein aufgrund ihrer Entstehungsweise von logogenen Tropen. Es hat den Anschein, als habe die Textierung einzelner interpolierter Melismen zu einem kommentierenden Verweilen bei einzelnen Stellen des Primärtextes geführt. Dieser wird gleichsam «punktuell», von Abschnitt zu Abschnitt, von Einschubstelle zu Einschubstelle, thematisch aufgenommen und geht nicht als ganzer in einem inhaltlich übergreifenden Tropenkomplex auf. Dadurch eignet den einzelnen Tropenelementen ein gewisser «statischer» Charakter. Die Kunst und der Anreiz, solche Tropen zu schaffen, könnte nicht zuletzt im Technischen und Formalen gelegen haben, in der möglichst genauen Adaption der Worte an ein bestehendes Melisma.

Daß Tropen dieses Typs außerhalb des Sankt Galler Einflußbereiches nur sporadisch vorkommen, könnte damit zusammenhängen, daß dort auch die Melismen selbst nicht nachweisbar sind, ihr verringertes Vorkommen in den späteren Sankt Galler Troparen mit dem Verschwinden der Melismen seit etwa 1000: Wo die Melismen als solche nicht oder nicht mehr bekannt sind, geht eine genuine Pointe melogener Texte, die Spannung zwischen melodischem und textlichem Bau, zwischen vertrauter Melodie und neuem Text, verloren.

Textierungen von Melismen am Ende von Psalmversen und Doxologie

Tropen zu den Psalmversen und zur Doxologie sind eine in allen Regionen bekannte Tropenkategorie. Als Tropen zu den Teilen des Introitus-Gesanges, die dem spezifischen Festinhalt ferner stehen als die Introitus-Antiphon verhalten sie sich in der Regel auch neutral zum Thema des Festes. Besonders die Tropen zu der stets gleichlautenden Doxologie haben häufig den Charakter allgemeinen Lobpreises. Außerhalb Sankt Gallens gehen Tropen zu den Psalmversen diesen in der Regel als Einleitungen voraus; ebenso fungieren Doxologie-Tropen dort in der Regel als Einleitungen zur Doxologie. Ein Beispiel für diese in Sankt Gallen nur ausnahmsweise belegbare Form steht (mit Konkordanzen nur in SG 381 und Lo 19768) in SG 484, p. 10:

Date gloriam deo nostro et dicite, fratres, eia et eia:
GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO ET SPIRITUI SANCTO <. . .> SAECULORUM AMEN.

Die für Sankt Gallen charakteristische Form der Tropierung von Psalmversen und Doxologie ist indessen die Textierung der ihnen angehängten meloformen Tropen. Solche Melismentextierungen nach den Psalmversen und der Doxologie sind meist zusammen mit einer Serie von Binnentextierungen zur Antiphon aufgezeichnet. Aller-

25 G. Björkvall, *Les deux tropaires d'Apt*, CT V, 167–168.

dings sind sie nicht immer fest mit einer bestimmten Serie verbunden. Ebenso wie die entsprechenden Melismen können sie in verschiedenen Serien auftreten oder sich sogar mit verschiedenen Introiten derselben Tonart verbinden.

Wie aus Tabelle 6 ersichtlich, enthalten die Tropare SG 484 und SG 381 zum Introitus des Epiphaniasfestes neun Tropenelemente dieses Typs sowohl zum *Gloria patri* als auch zu den Psalmversen *Deus iudicium tuum* und *Iudicare populum tuum*. Die Texte dieser Tropen lauten (Lesart der Psalmverse nach dem Versikular in SG 381, p. 61):

DEUS, IUDICIUM TUUM REGI DA ET IUSTITIAM TUAM FILIO REGIS
9 Quo terrenum principem subegit filiosque regni redemit.
26 Deus pater deo eternus regi eterno.
56 Ut cunctum iudicet in equitate seculum.

IUDICARE POPULUM TUUM IN IUSTITIA ET PAUPERES TUOS IN IUDICIO
28 De manu eos scilicet fortissimorum hostium liberando.
33 Qui credentes in te coronas et lapsis donas veniam miserando.

GLORIA PATRI, ET FILIO, ET SPIRITUI SANCTO; SICUT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NUNC ET SEMPER ET IN SAECULA SAECULORUM, AMEN
6 Que nec coepit nec cessabit, sed permanet cunctis seculis seculorum.
14 Deo, filio et patri perenni cum spiritu sit gloria et regnum iuge, amen.
27 Que fides per Christi nobis humanam innotuit apparitionem.
39 Cui dies ista celebris rutilat per orbem.

Ebenso wie die im vorangehenden Abschnitt besprochenen Textierungen meloformer Binnentropen beziehen sich auch diese Tropenelemente auf den ihnen vorausgehenden Abschnitt des Primärtextes. Die beiden Psalmverse (Ps 71, 2) handeln von Gottes Gerechtigkeit und seinem Gericht; in beiden Versen sind «iudicium» und «iustitia» die zentralen Begriffe. Element 56 paraphrasiert dieses Thema ohne es wesentlich zu erweitern: «GOTT, GIB DEIN GERICHT DEM KÖNIGE UND DEINE GERECHTIGKEIT DEM KÖNIGSSOHN, Auf daß er die ganze Welt richte in Gerechtigkeit!» Element 26 nimmt aus dem Vers die Worte «deus» und «regi» auf und interpretiert sie christologisch, indem es den Gott des Psalms als «deus pater» bestimmt, den König des Psalms als «deus rex aeternus», also als dessen Sohn Christus: «GOTT, GIB DEIN GERICHT DEM KÖNIGE UND DEINE GERECHTIGKEIT DEM KÖNIGSSOHN, Ewiger Gott-Vater, dem ewigen Gott-König!» Die Elemente 9, 28 und 33 machen das eschatologische Verständnis von «iudicium» und «iustitia» explizit: 9 kontrastiert die Unterwerfung des «princeps terrenus» mit der Erlösung der Söhne des Gottesreiches; 33 ergänzt das Bild des richtenden Gottes im Psalmvers durch das des barmherzigen, der den Sündern verzeiht und die Gläubigen belohnt: «AUF DASS ER RICHTE DEIN VOLK IN GERECHTIGKEIT UND DEINE ARMEN NACH DEM RECHT, Du, der du krönst, die an dich glauben, und in deiner Barmherzigkeit den Sündern vergibst.»

Andere Psalmvers-Tropen rücken den Psalmtext in die thematische Perspektive des Festes. SG 484 enthält auf p. 175 folgende Textierung eines umfangreichen meloformen Tropus zum Psalmvers *Eructavit cor meum* des Introitus *Gaudeamus* zum Fest Nativitas BMV:

DEUS, IUDICIUM TUUM REGI DA ET IUSTITAM TUAM FILIO REGIS
ERUCTAVIT COR MEUM VERBUM BONUM, DICO EGO OPERA MEA REGI
Miranda et cunctis seclis stupenda,
quod mater eterni regis et creatoris mei existo
atque virgo permaneo.

Der Text scheint zunächst nur die «OPERA MEA» des Psalmverses zu kommentieren: «MEINE WERKE, Die wunderbar und ewig erstaunlich sind»; im folgenden Nebensatz tritt aber Maria als Sprecherin hervor, wodurch das «EGO» des Psalmverses mit Maria identifiziert und die ganze Aussage, den Psalmvers eingeschlossen, ihr in den Mund gelegt wird: «weil ich die Mutter des ewigen Königs und meines Schöpfers bin und Jungfrau bleibe.» Wie die Tropen zu den Psalmversen des Epiphanias-Introitus diese christologisch interpretieren, so interpretiert dieser Tropus den Psalmvers ERUCTAVIT COR MEUM mariologisch.

Das Verhältnis solcher Psalmvers-Tropen zum Psalmvers gleicht dem der *antiphona ad introitum* zum, einstmals vollständigen, Psalm: Sie interpretieren ihn. Dagegen handelt es sich bei den Tropen zur Introitusantiphon um eine «Interpretation der Interpretation»[26]. Weniger komplex ist das Verhältnis von Tropus und Psalmvers, wo wie in vielen Textierungen von Binnenmelismen, ein isoliertes Wort aufgegriffen und genauer bestimmt wird (Innoc intr 6; SG 484, p. 51):

> DOMINE, DOMINUS NOSTER, QUAM ADMIRABILE EST NOMEN TUUM IN UNIVERSA TERRA,
> Non solum terra sed et ubique gloriosum atque serenum.

Von den Tropenelementen zum *Gloria patri* für Epiphanias paraphrasieren 6 und 14 dieses durch doxologische Formeln; Element 6 variiert das Motiv des immerwährenden Lobpreises; Element 14, eine selbständige doxologische Formulierung, bekräftigt das Lobpreis mit einem eigenen «amen». Schwieriger zu interpretieren sind die Elemente 27 und 39. Element 27 läßt sich übersetzen mit: «Welcher Glaube durch Christi menschliche Erscheinung für uns offenbart wurde.» Mit «fides» wird die Doxologie als Ganze als eine Art Bekenntnisformel gemeint sein. Diese Deutung wird bestätigt durch die Elemente Ioh ev intr 9 (SG 484, p. 41) und das in CT III nicht enthaltene *Cuius nobis catholicae* (SG 484, p. 255, die Textierung eines in SG 484 auf p. 135 notierten meloformen Tropus zu SPIRITUS DOMINI), in dem mit «fides» die Doxologie als Formulierung der Trintätslehre gemeint ist:

> GLORIA PATRI <. . .> AMEN,
> Cuius fidei cognitionem doctor iste mire nobis commendat.
>
> Ein Glaube, dessen Kenntnis uns auf wundersame Weise dieser Lehrer (Johannes der Evangelist) überbringt.
>
> GLORIA PATRI <. . .> AMEN,
> Cuius nobis catholice atque perfecte fidei spiritus infundat idem gratiam.
>
> Ein allgemeiner und vollkommener Glaube, dessen Gnade der Heilige Geist ebenso in uns eingießt.

In Element 39 besteht die Schwierigkeit darin, daß das Relativpronomen im Dativ Singular «cui», wenn man das Tropenelement auf die Doxologie beziehen möchte, nur auf den «filius» bezogen werden kann, «dem dieser Tag auf Erden herrlich strahlt». Plausibler freilich läse sich der Relativsatz bezogen auf die Antiphon, die ja nach der Doxologie wiederholt wird; die «dies ista» wird dann zu einem «hodie» im Sinne einer Hodie-Einleitung:

26 H. Möller, «Die Feier des Metzer Osteroffiziums im 9. Jahrhundert», *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes*, Sigmaringen 1991, 310.

Dem dieser Tag auf Erden herrlich strahlt,
SIEHE, ER IST GEKOMMEN, DER HERR UND HERRSCHER . . .

Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß Textierungen eines AMEN-Melismas inhaltlich zugleich auf die vorausgehende Doxologie und auf die nachfolgenden Wiederholung der Antiphon bezogen sein können, wird auch das andernfalls unverständliche nur zwei Worte umfassende Element Nat III intr 13 interpretierbar; es steht in SG 484, p. 8 (sowie in SG 381 und SG 376) nur mit dem vorausgehenden Schlüsselwort «AMEN», in SG 378, p. 44 (und anderen Handschriften) aber zwischen den Schlüsselworten «AMEN» und «PUER»:

GLORIA PATRI <. . .> AMEN
Cuius potentissimus
PUER <NATUS EST NOBIS>

Als Korrelat des Relativpronomens «Cuius» (das einen Singular voraussetzt) könnten die drei Personen der Trinität als eine Person zu denken sein, so wie es ausdrücklich formuliert ist in dem ebenfalls nur zwei Worte umfassenden Element «GLORIA PATRI . . . AMEN, Trinitati ineffabili» (Gallus intr 6); das Adjektiv «potentissimus» kann schwerlich den «filius» der Doxologie als mächtigste Person der Trinität auszeichnen, dagegen sehr wohl den «puer» der Antiphon als «mächtigsten aller Knaben». Die bestehende Textierung dieses ungewöhnlich kurzen AMEN-Melismas fungiert also als ein textliches Verbindungsglied zwischen Doxologie und repetierter Antiphon wie die *differentiae* des Psalmtons als melodisches.

Element 6, *Quae nec coepit*, wird nicht nur für die Doxologie von ECCE ADVENIT verwendet, sondern auch für die zweier anderer Introiten des zweiten Tons: VULTUM TUUM (SG 484, p. 164) und EX ORE INFANTIUM (Zü 97, p. 5; in SG 381, p. 218 von anderer Hand ohne Schlüsselwort auf der Seite vor Beginn der Innocentes-Tropen, vermutlich zu diesen gehörig). Ein Tropentext, der wie dieser inhaltlich nur auf das *Gloria patri* bezogen ist, konnte im Prinzip zu allen Introiten verwendet werden, zu denen der meloforme Tropus gesungen werden konnte, den er textiert; textlich haben solche Doxologie-Tropen gleichsam «Ordinariumcharakter». Auch das Phänomen einer «Selbstthematisierung» einer konkreten liturgischer Gesangsform im Medium ihrer Tropen ist aus dem Bereich der Ordinariumgesänge vertraut. Im Falle der Doxologie wird diese in ihren Tropen als trinitarische Bekenntnisformel («fides») oder als Form liturgischen Lobpreises («laus») angesprochen; so in der folgenden Textierung des AMEN-Melismas aus der überregional verbreiteten Serie Ioh ev intr 3–6; die Formulierung enthält ein Zitat aus Psalm 118, 72 (iuxta Hebr.) «Melior mihi est lex oris tui super milia auri et argenti.» («Besser ist mir das Gesetz Deines Mundes als Tausende von Gold und Silber»); die Umstellungen lassen sich aus der Wunsch erklären, die Worte der melodischen Gliederung des Melismas anzugleichen (SG 484, p. 37):

GLORIA PATRI <. . .> AMEN:
Milibus argenti melior laus ista vel auri.

Dieses Lob ist besser als Tausende von Silber oder Gold.

Um die Textierung eines AMEN-Melismas, und damit um einem Doxologie-Tropus des Sankt Galler Typs, handelt es sich allem Anschein nach auch bei dem folgenden Text; er steht in SG 484, p. 49 am Ende einer Serie meloformer Tropen zum Introitus INTRET IN CONSPECTU für Confessores; weder für den Text noch für das ihm folgende Melisma ist die Einschubstelle angegeben; mit den «famuli devoti» des Tropus können

sehr wohl die gefeierten Confessores gemeint sein:

<GLORIA PATRI . . . AMEN>.
Sancta trinitas, famulos devotos custodi per aevum.

Heilige Dreifaltigkeit, schütze die heiligen Diener in Ewigkeit!

Auf der anderen Seite finden sich auch Doxologie-Tropen, die inhaltlich auf das Thema des Festes bezogen und dadurch an einen bestimmten Introitus gebunden sind (Resurr intr 23; SG 484, p. 113):

GLORIA PATRI . . . AMEN:
Hec laus tibi non defuit, cum mortem pro nobis subisti, Christe, domine.
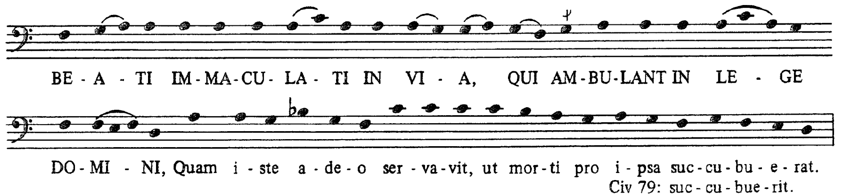
Diese Lobpreisung wurde Dir (auch damals) zuteil, als Du für uns den Tod erlitten hast, Christus, Herr.

In Tabelle 8 sind sämtliche in SG 484 vorkommenden Tropen dieses Typs zusammengestellt. Von den insgesamt 42 Texten tropieren 23 den Psalmvers, 15 das *Gloria patri* und 4 den Versus ad repetendum. Den umfangreichsten Bestand haben Epiphanias und Ostern. Zu den Introiten sämtlicher mit Tropen ausgestatteter Feste mit Ausnahme des Petrusfestes sind Textierungen dieser Art überliefert.

Textierungen von Erweiterungsmelismen am Ende des Psalmtons, die für Sankt Gallen typische Form der Tropen zu den Psalmversen und zum *Gloria patri*, sind eine Sonderform der Textierung meloformer Tropen. Nur sie sind auch außerhalb der Sankt Galler Tropargruppe gelegentlich zusammen mit dem textierten Melisma aufgezeichnet. Mehrere solche Aufzeichnungen enthält etwa das Eichstätter Tropar (Ox 27, fol. 62, 64/64v, 69, 73v, 77v und 78v).

Was das Verständnis der Sankt Galler Tropen zu den Psalmversen und zum *Gloria patri* in späteren Handschriften erschwert, ist der Umstand, daß sie in diesen nicht wie in SG 484, SG 381 und Wi 1609 mit ihrem primären und sinngemäßen Schlüsselwort, also dem Versende bzw. dem *Amen,* aufgezeichnet sind, sondern mit dem Beginn der nachfolgenden Introitus-Antiphon; dadurch ist ihre inhaltliche wie grammatische Zugehörigkeit zu einem Psalmvers oder zum *Gloria patri,* aus der sie meist erst verständlich werden, nicht mehr auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen: sie erscheinen als Einleitungstropen. Vermutlich ist die daraus entstehende Schwierigkeit, die eigentliche Funktion dieser Tropen zu erkennen, auch ein Grund, weshalb sie in späteren Handschriften und in Handschriften außerhalb des ostfränkischen Raumes nur sporadisch zu finden sind, auch wenn die betreffenden Handschriften Sankt Galler Textierungen meloformer Tropen als Binnenelemente überliefern. Aus diesem Grund liegen zu diesen Tropen auch nur in wenigen Fällen Konkordanzen in diastematisch lesbarer Notation vor. Eines der seltenen Beispiele (Steph intr 6) ist in Notenbeispiel 14 wiedergegeben (nach Civ 79, fol. 12v):

Notenbeispiel 14



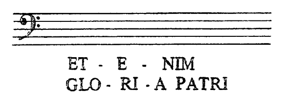


Tabelle 8
Textierungen meloformer Tropen zu den Psalmversen und zur Doxologie in SG 484

Element	Seite	Primärtextincipit	Einschubsteile	Textincipit des Tropenelementes
Nat III intr 5	6	CANTATE DOMINO	FECIT	*Ex se natum sine matre*
Nat III intr 13	8	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cuius potentissimus*
Nat III intr 30	16	CANTATE DOMINO	FECIT	*Miro modo cum de virginis*
Steph intr 6	23	BEATI IMMACULATI	DOMINI	*Quam iste adeo*
Steph intr 7	24	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cuius hic trinitatis*
Steph intr 14	25	BEATI IMMACULATI	DOMINI	*Cuius hic sanctus*
Ioh ev intr 9	41	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cuius fidei cognitionem*
Ioh ev intr 14	43	BONUM EST CONFITERI	ALTISSIME	*Agmina quod caelorum*
	49	INTRET IN CONSPECTU*		
		GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Sancta trinitas*
Innoc intr 6	51	DOMINE DOMINUS	TERRA	*Non solum terra*
Innoc intr 8	52	DOMINE DOMINUS	TERRA	*Qui adhuc hominibus*
Innoc intr 8	56	DOMINE DOMINUS	TERRA	*Qui adhuc hominibus*
Epiph intr 6	64	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Quae nec coepit*
Epiph intr 9	65	DEUS IUDICIUM	REGIS	*Quo terrenum*
Epiph intr 14	66	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Deo filio et patri*
Epiph intr 26	76	DEUS IUDICIUM	REGIS	*Deus pater deo aeternus*
Epiph intr 27	76	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Quae fides per Christi*
Epiph intr 28	76	IUDICET POPULUM	IN IUDICIO	*De manu eos scilicet*
Epiph intr 33	78	IUDICET POPULUM	IN IUDICIO	*Qui credentes in te*
Epiph intr 39	80	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cui dies ista*
Epiph intr 56	85	DEUS IUDICIUM	REGIS	*Ut cunctum iudicet*
Purif BMV intr 6	91	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cum vocibus excelsis*
Resurr intr 5	105	DOMINE PROBASTI	MEAM	*Qui de morte turpissima*
Resurr intr 6	105	INTELLEXISTI	INVESTIGASTI	*Qui me ad mortem*
Resurr intr 14	108	DOMINE PROBASTI	MEAM	*Qui me de morte*
Resurr intr 19	109	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Quae angelis est veneranda*
Resurr intr 23	113	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Haec laus tibi non*
Resurr intr 24	113	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Quam archangeli*
Ascens intr 5	121	OMNES GENTES	EXULTATIONIS	*Qui vobis terrigenis*
Pent intr 7	130	BENEDIC ANIMA	VEHEMENTER	*Qui mundo despectos*
Pent intr [99]	255	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Cuis nobis catholicae*
Ioh bapt intr 7	144	BONUM EST CONFITERI	ALTISSIME	*Qui trinae machinae*
Laur intr 5	157	CANTATE DOMINO	TERRA	*Qua sanctus Laurentius*
Laur intr 9	159	CANTATE DOMINO	TERRA	*Cui canunt caelorum*
Assump BMV intr 8	164	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Quae nec coepit*
Assump BMV intr 15	167	ERUCTAVIT COR MEUM	REGI	*Ipsi soli omnipotenti*
Nat BMV intr 7	175	ERUCTAVIT COR MEUM	REGI	*Miranda et cunctis*
Michael intr 5	181	BENEDIC ANIMA	EIUS	*Spiritalis gratiae*
Gall intr 5	183	MEMENTO DOMINE	EIUS	*Qui consueverat matris*
Gall intr 11	185	MEMENTO DOMINE	EIUS	*Quique spiritu sancto*
Gall intr 12	185	GLORIA PATRI	AMEN	*Trinitati ineffabili*
Omnium SS intr 6	191	BENEDICAM DOMINUM	MEO	*Quam laudem omnibus*
Otmar intr 7	198	MAGNA EST GLORIA	EUM	*Qualem saeculi gloria*

*) Incipit der Introitusantiphon; die Aufzeichnung steht ohne Festrubrik.

Tropenkomplexe mit logogenen Binnenelementen

Logogene Binnenelemente, also eingeschobene Texterweiterungen mit eigener Musik, sind im ältesten Sankt Galler Repertoire ausgesprochen selten. Meist treten sie als Bestandteil zusammenhängender Serien auf, zu denen dann auch ein Eröffnungselement gehört. Tabelle 9 verzeichnet alle Tropenkomplexe in SG 484, deren Binnenelemente nach der Notation zu urteilen logogen sind: Sie sind nicht-syllabisch vertont und ohne ein nachfolgendes Melisma aufgezeichnet. Wo die Notation weitgehend syllabisch ist, aber kein Melisma folgt, wie etwa im Falle der Binnenelemente des Tropus *O rex regum* zum Offertorium des Gallus-Festes (SG 484, p. 186–187) ist die Bestimmung der Texte als logogene Tropen nur mit Vorbehalt möglich.

Tabelle 9
Logogene Tropenkomplexe in SG 484 und ihre Konkordanzen

Fest/ Bezugs-gesang	Textincipit des ersten Elementes	Sankt Gallen vor	/ nach 1000	Minden	Mainz	Reichenau	Regens-burg	OST	NW	SW	I
Nat III intr 14-18	*Hodie in terra pax*	+			+	+[2]					
Nat III intr 22-24	*Nativitas est hodie*	+									
Steph intr 16-22	*Domine Iesu Christe*	+	+					+	+		
Steph off 6-8	*Omnium virtutum gemmis*	+	+	+							
Ioh ev intr 15-18	*Quoniam dominus*	+	+	+		+	+	+			+
Ioh ev off 1	*Sollemnitatem dilecti*	+	+	+			+	+			
Ioh ev off 2	*Christi domini specialis*	+		+	+	+					
Ioh ev off 3	*Iustus ut palma*[4]	+	+								
Epiph intr 15-19	*Ecclesiae sponsus*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Epiph intr 45-50	*Rectorem regnorum*	+	+[1]	+[1]							
Purif BMV intr 7-13	*Hodie quemadmodum*	+	+	+			+	+	+		
Resurr off 1/9-11	*Ab increpatione*	+	+[1]	+	+			+	+	+	+
Ioh bapt off 1-3	*Nativitatem venerandi*[5]	+	+	+			(+)[2]	+			
Gall off 1-3	*O rex regum omnium*	+	+	+			+	+			+[3]
Omnium SS off 1-4	*Quos dedit hunc mundum*	+	+	+			+	+			

1) Nur Binnenelemente mit anderer Einleitung 2) Nur Eröffnungselement 3) RoA 123 "Unus martyr"
4) Paraphrasentropus (siehe *Tabelle 5*) 5) Kontrafaktur zu Ioh ev off 1

Von den insgesamt zwölf Tropenserien mit logogenen Binnenelementen sind nur der Epiphanias-Tropus *Ecclesiae sponsus* (Epiph intr 15-17-18-19) und der Tropus *Ab increpatione* zum Oster-Offertorium (Resurr off 1-9-10) interregional verbreitet. Diese beiden Serien sind in ihrer Beschaffenheit und in ihrem Verhältnis zum Bezugsgesang sehr verschieden.

In *Ecclesiae sponsus* ist die Festthematik im Eröffnungselement 15 und in den Binnenelementen 16–19 gegenwärtig: Die Taufe Jesu im Jordan als Typus der christlichen Taufe in den Epitheta des Eröffnungselementes; das Licht in Zusammenhang mit der Taufe und die Taufe als Hochzeitsmysterium, in dem Christus als Bräutigam und die Kirche als Braut erscheint; die drei Könige mit ihren heiligen Gaben und der Stern in den Binnenversen. Die Elemente 17 und 18 sind fast wörtlich aus Mt 2, 1–2 zitiert: «Ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Hierosolimam dicentes: ubi est, qui natus est, rex Iudaeorum? Vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente et venimus adorare eum.» Durch die Integration der Antiphon in den der Bibel entnommenen Text des Tropus erscheint das «ECCE ADVENIT Iesus» als Antwort auf die Frage «ubi est» der Könige. Dadurch

kommt ein quasi-dramatisches Moment in das Verhältnis von Tropus und Antiphon. Der letzte Abschnitt des Primärtextes «ET POTESTAS ET IMPERIUM» erscheint als Fortsetzung der doxologischen Formulierung in Element 19, die ihrerseits auf den vorausgehenden Primärtext bezogen ist. Die Aufzählung von Epitheta im Eröffnungselement erinnert an *Forma speciosissimus*. Dagegen unterscheiden sich die Binnenelemente durch die Verarbeitung von Bibeltext und das Fehlen einer durchgehenden syntaktischen Ausrichtung auf die vorausgehenden Primärtextabschnitte grundlegend von anderen Serien von Binnenelementen in Sankt Gallen. *Iesus quem reges gentium*, das zweite Binnenelement von *Ecclesiae sponsus*, ist strophisch geformt 2x8pp+8p+10p. Auf der Reichenau hat man eine Paraphrase des ganzen Komplexes in Hexameterform geschaffen (Epiph intr 59-60-61-62)[27].

Der Tropenkomplex *Ab increpatione et ira* tritt in der Mehrzahl der rund 50 Handschriften, in denen er überliefert ist, in der Reihenfolge Resurr off 1-9-10 auf. In SG 484 sind alle drei Elemente aufgezeichnet, aber nicht in dieser Anordnung: Das Eröffnungselement 1 steht von den beiden anderen isoliert auf p. 114, den Binnenelementen 9 und 10 geht auf p. 132–33 die ausschließlich in ostfränkischen Quellen anzutreffende Einleitung *Gaudete et cantate* voraus. Alle drei Elemente haben formelhaften Charakter und bestehen fast gänzlich aus Reminiszensen an Bibelstellen und andere liturgische Texte der Osterzeit. Es besteht kein fester syntaktischer Zusammenhang zwischen den Tropenelementen und dem Primärtext; nur das Element *Ab increpatione* ist vom nachfolgenden Beginn der Antiphon syntaktisch abhängig[28].

Bei den übrigen zehn Serien mit logogenen Binnenelementen spricht die Quellenlage für Sankt Galler Herkunft. Sie lassen sich in drei Gruppen unterteilen.

– Eine erste Gruppe bilden die beiden Serien der dritten Weihnachtsmesse Nat III intr 14–18 und Nat III intr 22–24 (beide Serien nach SG 484, p. 7f. bzw. 12 in CT I, 313–314), deren Elemente weitgehend aus wörtlichen Zitaten oder freien Paraphrasen von Bibelstellen oder anderen liturgischen Texten des Weihnachtsfestkreises bestehen: Die Elemente 16 («Potestas eius est in celo et in terra»), 17 («Et regnum in manu eius») und 23 («Cuius potestas est in hoc saeculo») gleichen der Stelle «ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS ET POTESTAS ET IMPERIUM» im Introitus ECCE ADVENIT und desssen biblischem Vorbild 1 Par 29, 12. Element 18 («Magnus et metuendus et pius super omnes») entspricht weitgehend Ps 88, 8, der als Vers zum Offertorium TUI SUNT verwendet ist, und zu dem SG 484 und SG 381 auch einen «Paraphrasentropus» enthalten (Nat III off 8). Ein assoziativer Zusammenhang mit dem Primärtext besteht durch das folgende «MAGNI CONSILII ANGELUS» der Antiphon. Element 24 («Deus fortis pater futuri seculi») ist ebenso wie der Text der Antiphon ein wörtliches Zitat aus Is 9, 6. Die Elemente des Tropus bilden ein Mosaik präformierter Wendungen und Formeln. Sucht man im Sankt Galler Bestand nach einem eventuellen Vorbild für diesen Typ, wird man sogleich an *Ab increpatione* denken.

– Die zweite Gruppe umfaßt drei Serien zu den Offertorien IUSTUS UT PALMA

27 Zu *Ecclesiae sponsus* siehe R. Jacobsson und L. Treitler, «Medieval Music and Language: A Reconsideration of the Relationship», *Studies in the History of Music* I, New York 1983, 14–21, und L. Treitler, «Speaking of Jesus», *Liturgische Tropen. Referate zweier Colloquien des Corpus Troporum in München (1983) und Canterbury (1984)*, München 1985, 125–130.

28 Zur Überlieferung des Tropenkomplexes *Ab increpatione* siehe G. Björkvall, «The Last Judgment: the Apocalyptic Theme in the Easter Offertory Trope *Ab increpatione et ira*», *Feste und Feiern* (wie Anm. 26), 255–266, Johnstone, *The Offertory Trope* (wie Anm. 17), 79–99 sowie S. Rankin, «From Tuotilo to the First Manuscripts», im vorliegenden Band, 395–413.

(Iohannes baptista), POSUISTI (Gallus) und LAETAMINI (Omnium Sanctorum). Diese Tropen sind inhaltlich vorallem an dem die einzelnen Elemente umgebenden Primärtext orientiert, mit dem sie auch syntaktisch verbunden sind; insofern erinnern sie an die durch Melismentextierung entstandenden Binnenelemente. Zusammen mit *Ab increpatione et ira* und dem zur dritten Gruppe zu rechnenden *Omnium virtutum gemmis* enthält SG 484 insgesamt fünf Komplexe mit logogenen Binnenelementen zu Offertorium-Antiphonen (die als Binnenelemente auftretenden Paraphrasentropen nicht mitgerechnet). Dagegen kommen Textierungen meloformer Tropen zum Offertorium nur in dem erwähnten Ausnahmefall Epiph off 1–6 vor.

– Eine dritte Gruppe bilden die vier Komplexe *Domine Iesu Christe* (Steph intr 16–22), *Omnium virtutum gemmis* (Steph off 6–8), *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus* (Ioh ev intr 15–18) und *Hodie quemadmodum* (zum Introitus SUSCEPIMUS für Purificatio BMV). Aus dieser Gruppe soll als erstes exemplarisch der Stephanus-Tropus *Domine Iesu Christe* (SG 484, p. 31–33) genauer betrachtet werden. Die auf den Bezugsgesang modal im Ganzen und melodisch im Einzelnen abgestimmte Vertonung der Tropenelemente basiert durchgehend auf einem begrenzten Formelmaterial, wodurch ohne offenliegende tongetreue Entsprechungen der Eindruck melodischer Geschlossenheit entsteht, der leichter wahrzunehmen als analytisch dingfest zu machen ist. Das Eröffnungselement ist länger und von zahlreichen zwei oder drei Töne umfassenden Tongruppen durchsetzt, wogegen in den kürzeren Binnenelementen eine weitgehend syllabische Deklamation nur durch wenige Zweitongruppen aufgelockert ist. Oberflächlich entspricht das melodische Erscheinungsbild des Komplexes dadurch der für Sankt Gallen so kennzeichnenden Konstellation einer ausgedehnteren und melodisch reicheren Einleitung, auf die kürzere und melodisch kargere Binnenelemente folgen.

Textlich stellt das erste Element des Komplexes aber durchaus keine Einleitung im engeren Sinne dar: Weder nennt es den Namen des Heiligen, noch enthält es ein Zeitadverb, noch sonst irgendeinen Bezug auf die liturgische Feier. Es eröffnet einen Tropentext, der mit dem aus Psalm 118, 23 entnommenen Text der Antiphon zu einem thematisch kohärenten, in dem Hilferuf «ADIUVA ME» gipfelnden Gebet verschmolzen, als direkte Rede dem Heiligen Stephanus in der Stunde seines Martyriums in den Mund gelegt ist. Zunächst Text und Übersetzung dieses in vieler Hinsicht unkonventionellen Tropus:

«Domine, Iesu Christe, summe princeps,
quia te predicabam et colui
et in tuo nomine multa operatus sum miracula,
ETENIM SEDERUNT PRINCIPES,
Qui se existimabant legis esse peritos
suisque mendaciis me vincere cupiebant,
ET ADVERSUM ME LOQUEBANTUR,
Me seductorem legisque mosayce blasphematorem esse dicentes;
ET INIQUI PERSECUTI SUNT ME
Cum lapidibus interficientes
communemque cunctis sepulturam mihi denegantes.
ADIUVA ME, DEUS MEUS,
In quo omnem spem meam fiduciamque positam habeo.»
QUIA SERVUS TUUS EXERCEBATUR IN TUIS IUSTIFICATIONIBUS.

BEATI IMMACULATI IN VIA,
QUI AMBULANT IN LEGE DOMINI,
Pro qua venerandus Stephanus
usque ad mortem viriliter disputando certavit.

GLORIA PATRI ET FILIO ET SPIRITUI SANCTO,
SICUT ERAT IN PRINCIPIO ET NUNC ET SEMPER
ET IN SAECULA SAECULORUM, AMEN:
Hac quidem laude bonum est insistere
et trinitatem semper honorare.

«Herr Jesus Christus, höchster Fürst,
weil ich von Dir gepredigt und Dich verehrt
und in Deinem Namen viele Wunder vollbracht habe,
SASSEN DIE FÜRSTEN,
die sich der Gesetze kundig dünkten,
und wollten mich besiegen mit ihren Lügen
UND SPRACHEN GEGEN MICH,
indem sie sagten, ich sei ein Verführer
und ein Lästerer gegen das mosaische Gesetz,
UND DIE UNGERECHTEN VERFOLGTEN MICH,
töteten mich mit Steinen,
und verweigerten mir das allen zukommende Begräbnis.
HILF MIR, HERR MEIN GOTT,
auf den ich alle meine Hoffnung und mein Vertrauen gesetzt habe,
DENN DEIN DIENER IST DEINEN GEBOTEN TREU ERGEBEN.»

SEELIG SIND DIE MAKELOS SIND AUF IHREM LEBENSWEG,
DIE IM GESETZ DES HERRN WANDELN,
um dessen willen der zu verehrende Stephanus
bis zum Tode in tapferem Streit gekämpft hat.

EHRE SEI DEM VATER UND DEM SOHN UND DEM HEILIGEN GEIST,
WIE ES WAR IM ANFANG, UND JETZT, UND IMMERDAR
UND VON EWIGKEIT ZU EWIGKEIT AMEN:
In diesem Lobpreis ist es gut beständig zu sein
und stets die Dreieinigkeit zu ehren.

Der Text setzt unvermittelt mit der direkten Rede ein, ohne Ankündigung des Sprechenden. Die Anrede «Domine Iesu Christe, summe princeps» spielt auf die Worte «Domine Iesu, suscipe spiritum meum» an, mit denen sich Stephanus in der biblischen Darstellung seines Martyriums (Act 7, 57–59) an Christus wendet. Der Tropus inszeniert den Introitus als eine Rekapitulation der Ereignisse, die zum Tode des Heiligen geführt haben. Erst wo der Introitus selbst sich von der Antiphon, in deren Text der ungenannte Sprecher gegenwärtig ist, mit dem Psalmvers in die dritte Person wendet, verändert sich auch die Perspektive des Tropus: Erst hier, und nicht schon an der dafür traditionellen Stelle im ersten Element, wird der Name des Heiligen genannt, und sein Martyrium aus der Sicht der liturgischen Kommunität resummiert. Und erst wo der Primärtext selbst mit dem *Gloria patri* sich von dem besonderen Festereignis abwendet und in allgemeinem Lobpreis ausklingt, ist auch der Tropus nicht mehr auf das Thema des Festes bezogen, sondern thematisiert, in der oben beobachteten Manier Sankt Galler Doxologie-Tropen, das *Gloria patri* als die trinitarische Standardform liturgischen Lobpreises als solche.

Auch melodisch verhalten sich die einzelnen Elemente des Tropus als Teile eines übergreifenden Zusammenhanges. Wo das Ende eines Tropenelementes eine syntaktische oder inhaltliche Zäsur darstellt, wie es am Ende der Elemente 1, 3, 4, 6 und 7 der Fall ist, ist auch der melodische Einschnitt durch Kadenzwendungen auf dem Finalton deutlicher ausgeprägt, als dort, wo der sprachliche Zusammenhang zwischen Tropenelement und Primärtext fortlaufend ist, wie am Ende der Elemente 2 und 5; an diesen Stellen enden die Elemente des Tropus «offen» auf dem a. Notenbeispiel 15 zeigt die Übergangsstellen zwischen den Elementen 2, 3, 4 und 5 und dem jeweils folgenden Abschnitt des Bezugsgesanges[29]:

Notenbeispiel 15

2 ... me vin - ce - re cu - pi - e - bant ET AD-VER-SUM ME LO-QUE-BAN-TUR. B

3 ... blas-phe-ma - to - rem es - se di - cen - tes; ET I - NI - QUI ... C

4 ... mi - hi de - ne - gan - tes. AD - IU - VA ME ... D

5 ... po - si - tam ha - be - o, QUI - A SER - VUS ... E

Auch der Johannes-Tropus *Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus*, für den wir auf Beobachtungen Balázs Déris verweisen können, stellt einen textlich wie melodisch kohärenten Komplex dar, der den gesamten Bezugstext umfaßt und diesen auf subtilste Weise in einem neuen Ganzen aufgehen läßt[30].

Zu dieser dritten Gruppe logogener Tropenkomplexe in Sankt Gallen gehört auch *Hodie quemadmodum*, zu dem wir keine diastematische Konkordanzquelle kennen. Er ist in SG 381, p. 239–240 und in der Mehrzahl der ostfränkischen Handschriften auf folgende Weise aufgebaut (Susc 7-8-9-10)[31]:

Hodie quemadmodum patriarchis antiquis repromissum est
et sicut revelante spiritu sancto a prophetis praedictum est,
SUSCEPIMUS, DEUS,
Omnipotens genitor, fons et origo
et totius pietatis incomprehensibilis auctor,
MISERICORDIAM TUAM,
Christum, videlicet dominum,
qui est salus et redemptio generis humani
IN MEDIO TEMPLI TUI,
Quando parentes eius in domum domini illum ducebant
et senex iustus Simeon suscepit eum in ulnas suas
SECUNDUM NOMEN TUUM, DEUS,
Quod est magnificum et admirabile

---

29 Nach der Edition des Tropus bei A. Haug, «Neue Ansätze» (wie Anm. 21), 110–111.

30 Déri, «Zu den Tropen» (wie Anm. 12), 350–351.

31 Eine Interpretation dieses Tropus gibt P. Dronke, «Types of Poetic Art in Tropes», *Liturgische Tropen* (wie Anm. 27), 10–13.

cunctisque gentibus ad invocandum salutare;
ITA ET LAUS TUA
Ab universa creatura tua magnificabitur
et usquequaque dilatabitur
IN FINES TERRAE; IUSTITIA PLENA EST DEXTERA TUA.

Gegenüber den Komplexen für Stephanus und Johannes (*Domine Iesu Christe* und *Quoniam dominus*) weist *Hodie quemadmodum* nicht zu übersehende Besonderheiten auf:

a) Das erste Element beginnt mit dem Wort «Hodie» und gleicht auch in seinem weiteren Verlauf den Einleitungen des Hodie-Typs. Ein Zusammenhang mit den Binnenelementen ist kaum erkennbar. In Mü 14322 (Sankt Emmeram), Wi 1845 (Seeon) und in Ud 78 (Weingarten) erscheint das Element denn auch als selbständiger Einleitungstropus, und in Ka 15 (für Kaufungen) erscheinen umgekehrt die Binnenelemente ohne dieses erste Element. Eine solche Loslösung des ersten Elementes kommt in den beiden anderen Komplexen nicht vor.

b) Das zweite Element ist an einer Stelle in den Introitus eingeschoben, die in Sankt Gallen sonst niemals als Einschubstelle verwendet wird, nämlich zwischen «SUSCEPIMUS DEUS» und «MISERICORDIAM TUAM».

c) Die Aufzeichnung in SG 484 (wohl von anderer Hand nachgetragen) ist in der Koordination von Tropenelementen und Bezugsgesang fehlerhaft:

   Hodie quemadmodum
   SUSCEPIMUS DEUS
   <MISERICORDIAM> TUAM
   Omnipotens genitor
   <IN MEDIO TEMPLI> TUI
   Christum videlicet
   <IN MEDIO TEMPLI> TUI
   Quando parentes
   SECUNDUM <NOMEN TUUM> DEUS
   Quod est magnificum
   ITA <ET LAUS> TUA
   Ab universa
   IN FINES TERRAE <IUSTITIA PLENA EST DEXTERA TUA>

   Omnipotens ist erst nach «TUAM» eingeschoben und nicht nach «DEUS». Vermutlich rechnete der Schreiber nicht mit dieser in Sankt Gallen sonst ungebräuchlichen Einschubstelle. Dadurch ist aber *Christum* von seiner Stelle nach «TUAM» verdrängt und erscheint stattdessen nach «TEMPLI TUI», der angestammten Stelle von *Quando*. Wohl um die Verschiebung auszugleichen, wiederholt der Schreiber dann vor *Quando* das Stichwort «TUI», was freilich sinnlos ist und den Fehler vollends offenbart. In SG 381 sind die Verhältnisse eindeutig, da der Primärtext zwischen den Tropenelementen ausnahmsweise vollständig ausgeschrieben ist.

Diese Besonderheiten wären durch die Vermutung erklärbar, ursprünglich habe nicht *Hodie quemadmodum*, sondern *Omnipotens* den Komplex eröffnet. *Christum* wäre dann als erstes Binnenelement an der ersten gebräuchlichen Einschubstelle nach «TUAM» gefolgt. Nachträglich erst wäre die konventionelle Hodie-Einleitung hinzugekommen und *Omnipotens* hätte man an einer zusätzlichen Einschubstelle nach «DEUS» untergebracht; sein syntaktischer Bezug zu «SUSCEPIMUS DEUS» blieb bei

dieser Verschiebung erhalten und wurde nur in seiner Richtung umgekehrt. Der Komplex könnte also ursprünglich folgenden Aufbau gehabt haben:

Omnipotens genitor
SUSCEPIMUS DEUS
MISERICORDIAM TUAM
Christum videlicet dominum
IN MEDIO TEMPLI TUI
Quando parentes
SECUNDUM NOMEN TUUM DEUS
Quod est magnificum
ITA ET LAUS TUA
Ab universa creatura
IN FINES TERRAE IUSTITIA PLENA EST DEXTERA TUA

Wenn das Element *Omnipotens* nicht ein Binnenelement, sondern die Eröffnung des ganzen Komplexes war, dann steigt auch die Wahrscheinlichkeit, daß die *Casus Sancti Galli* Ekkehards IV. diesen Tropus meinen, wenn sie *Omnipotens genitor fons et origo* als ein Werk Tuotilos zitieren. Insgesamt nennt der bekannte – im ganzen glaubwürdige, im einzelnen einer kritischen Interpretation bedürftige – Werkkatalog in Kapitel 46 die folgenden fünf Textincipits[32]:

«Hodie cantandus»
«Omnium virtutum gemmis»
«Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus»
«Omnipotens genitor fons et origo»
«Gaudete et cantate»

Folgende Tropenelemente mit diesen Incipits sind in den Sankt Galler Troparen enthalten:

Nat III intr 25	*Hodie cantandus*
Steph off 6	*Omnium virtutum gemmis*
Ioh ev intr 15	*Quoniam dominus Iesus Christus*
Purif BMV intr []	*Omnipotens genitor fons et origo*
Resurr off 8	*Gaudete et cantate*

Wenn Ekkehard mit *Omnipotens genitor fons et origo* tatsächlich den von uns rekonstruierten Komplex meint, dann handelt es sich bei drei der fünf in seinem Werkkatalog genannten Tropen um Tropen des Typs, den wir als logogene Komplexe bezeichnen. Und da in den ältesten Sankt Galler Handschriften insgesamt nur elf Tropen dieses Typs enthalten sind, ist dies ein durchaus bemerkenswerter Befund. Denn wichtiger als die Frage, ob Tuotilo tatsächlich der Schöpfer der ihm von Ekkehard zugeschriebenen Tropen ist, ist für unsere Untersuchungen der Umstand, daß auch Ekkehard oder die Sankt Galler Haustradition, in der seine Verfasserangaben stehen, offensichtlich solche Tropen, die wir als logogene Tropenkomplexe bezeichnen, mit dem Namen Tuotilos assoziiert, und sie dadurch implizit von anders gearteten Tropen unterscheidet. Wollte man in diesem Sinne Ekkehards wohl nur Beispiele nennende Aufzählung fortsetzen, würde man ohne Zögern als nächstes den oben untersuchten Stephanus-Tropus *Domine Iesu Christe* nennen.

32 Ekkehard IV., *Casus Sancti Galli*, ed. H. F. Haefele, Darmstadt 1980, 104.

So wie man sich *Ab increpatione et ira* als Vorbild für die beiden oben besprochenen Serien der Gruppe 1 denken kann, so käme, wenn man für die logogenen Tropenkomplexe des «Tuotilo-Typs» der Gruppe 3 ein Vorbild sucht, *Ecclesiae sponsus* in Frage, zumal andere überregional verbreitete logogene Tropenkomplexe als gerade diese beiden in Sankt Gallen nicht nachweisbar sind. Durchaus denkbar ist freilich, daß Tuotilo die mit seinem Namen verbundenen Tropendichtungen ohne ein Vorbild geschaffen hat, und damit einen Tropentyp, der sich, wie unsere Untersuchungen gezeigt haben, grundlegend von der Mehrzahl der aus Sankt Galler Troparen bekannten und wie es scheint von allen anderen in Sankt Gallen entstandenen Tropen unterscheidet. Daß Ekkehard den Unterschied der melodischen Faktur zwischen syllabischen Textierungen meloformer Tropen und melodisch reicheren logogenen Binnenelementen meint, wenn er schreibt, er habe Beispiele für Tropen Tuotilos genannt, «ut, quam dispar eius melodia sit ceteris, si musicus es, noris», ist zumindest eine plausible Hypothese[33].

Fragen der Repertoiregeschichte

Die vorliegende Untersuchung hatte sich zum Ziel gesetzt, die Vielfalt der in den ältesten Sankt Galler Troparen überlieferten Tropen nach Unterschieden und Ähnlichkeiten sowohl der zugrundeliegenden Prinzipien als auch ihrer Konkretisierung in den einzelnen Formulierungen zu gruppieren.

Ein erster grundlegender Unterschied ist der zwischen rein melodischen Erweiterungen, also meloformen Tropen, und Textzusätzen unterschiedlicher Art. Bei den Textzusätzen galt es, logogene, als Textvertonung entstandene, Tropen von Textierungen meloformer Tropen zu unterscheiden. Im Zusammenhang mit dieser Unterscheidung hat es sich als hilfreich erwiesen, Einleitungselemente und Binnenelemente getrennt zu untersuchen. Einleitungselemente sind stets logogen. Dagegen sind die Binnenelemente des Sankt Galler Bestandes in den weitaus meisten Fällen durch die Textierung meloformer Tropen entstanden. Auch logogene Binnenelemente kommen vor, treten aber meist als Bestandteile zusammenhängender Komplexe auf, die den gesamten Primärtext umfassen, und denen auch ein Eröffnungselement (das keine «Einleitung» sensu stricto ist) fest zugehört.

Die Textierungen meloformer Tropen haben sich als ein Typus sprachlich wie inhaltlich eigenen Gepräges erwiesen. Unter diesen sind die Textierungen der melodischen Erweiterungen des Psalmtones eine besondere Gruppe. Die Interpretation dieser Textierungen als Tropen zum Psalmvers, zur Doxologie und zum Versus ad repetendum, also zu den Teilen des Introitus-Gesanges, die auf den Psalmton gesungen werden, ist eine entscheidende Voraussetzung für das Verständnis des komplexen Gesamtaufbaus tropierter Introitus-Gesänge.

Bei der Untersuchung der Textierungen hat sich gezeigt, daß teilweise Doppeltextierungen desselben Melismas – sowohl zur selben Antiphon als auch zu unterschiedlichen Antiphonen derselben Tonart – und inhaltliche Dubletten zu unterschiedlichen Melismen vorliegen, eine Beobachtung, die wichtige Indizien für die Priorität der Melismen liefert, eine Priorität, die nicht primär als ein historisches oder gar gattungsgenetisches, sondern als kompositionstechnisches Verhältnis interpretiert werden kann.

33 ebda.

Die minimalen und meist trivialen Differenzen des Wortlautes zwischen den inhaltlichen Dubletten erklären sich bei den Textierungstropen schwerlich aus der Absicht, die Aussage zu variieren, sondern machen oft den Eindruck von Übungen in der Kunst, einen gegebenen Inhalt in den Formgrenzen unterschiedlich gebauter Melismen zu formulieren. Darin und im Nebeneinander inhaltlich identischer Serien, von denen die eine durch Textierung meloformer Tropen zustande kam, die andere durch Vertonung eines Textes, manifestiert sich ein Interesse an den unterschiedlichen Kompositionsprinzipien verschiedener Tropentypen.

Der in Sankt Gallen so ausgeprägte Unterschied zwischen Binnentropen und Einleitungen – ein Unterschied der Kompositionsprinzipien, der im melodischen Erscheinungsbild zutage tritt – hat in der Diskussion um die «Entstehung» der Tropen eine zentrale Rolle gespielt: Man hat für die Einleitungen oder für die Binnenelemente als Ausgangspunkt der Gattungsgenese plädiert[34]. Die Alternative ist an sich problematisch; daß aber Binnenelemente und Einleitungen wie in anderen Regionen des Tropenschaffens[35] so auch in Sankt Gallen nicht unbedingt gleichzeitig entstanden sein müssen und in vielen Fällen nicht ursprünglich zusammenhängen, dafür gibt es deutliche Indizien: Zum einen sind Serien meloformer Tropen in textlosem Zustand mit einem Einleitungselement versehen. Zum anderen sind weder zu den Serien meloformer Tropen, noch zu den Serien ihrer Textierungen, noch zu Serien logogener Binnenelemente in allen Fällen Einleitungselemente überliefert.

Von der Beobachtung her, daß es sich bei den Binnenelementen in den Sankt Galler Tropenhandschriften in so hohem Maße um Textierungen vorformulierter Melismen handelt, ergibt sich auch eine Antwort auf die – ausgehend von Leo Treitlers Beobachtungen zur aquitanischen Tropenüberlieferung[36] nach einer Erklärung für die Eigenarten der Sankt Galler Überlieferung suchenden – Fragen Helmut Huckes,

> «ob wir es auch bei der musikalischen Aufzeichnung der St. Galler Tropen mit der Aufzeichnung einer Vortragsweise oder aber von Anfang an mit der Aufzeichnung von Melodien zu tun haben. Ob also das Verhältnis zwischen Text und Musik in den St. Galler Tropen das gleiche wie in den aquitanischen Tropen oder ein anderes ist, ob der St. Galler Tropendichter zugleich Melodist war.»[37]

Zwar wissen wir nicht, in welchem Umfang «der St. Galler Tropendichter zugleich Melodist war», aber daß die Aufzeichnungen textloser wie textierter Melismen «Aufzeichnungen von (festliegenden) Melodien» sind, und daß das Verhältnis zwischen Text und Musik wenigstens bei der Mehrzahl der Binnenelemente ein anderes als in den aquitanischen Tropen ist, sollte diese Untersuchung gezeigt haben.

Unter den Einleitungstropen dominieren Texte des Hodie-Typs und die für Sankt Gallen so charakteristischen Tropen in Form von Hymnenstrophen. Bei der Untersuchung der Hodie-Tropen hat sich die Kontrafaktur als ein Verfahren herausgestellt, das in überraschendem Ausmaß angewendet wurde, um zusätzliche Einleitungen zu gewinnen. Ein Teil der Tropen des Hymnenstrophen-Typs bildet einen verstechnisch homoge-

---

34 Siehe hierzu die auf S. 119 des vorliegenden Beitrags genannten Arbeiten von Weakland und Huglo, sowie H. Husmann, «Sinn und Wesen der Tropen, veranschaulicht an den Introitustropen des Weihnachtsfestes», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 16 (1959), 135–147.

35 Vgl. die in R. Jacobssons Beitrag zum vorliegenden Band untersuchten Tropenkomplexe zum Petrus-Fest.

36 Treitler, «Observations» (wie Anm. 3), passim.

37 H. Hucke, «Zur melodischen Überlieferung der Tropen», *Liturgische Tropen* (wie Anm. 27), 124.

nen liturgischen Zyklus, der (mit einer Lücke bei Stephanus) alle Feste von Weihnachten bis Petrus umfaßt. Dieser Zyklus konnte als eine Art poetisches Experiment gedeutet werden, traditionelle Inhalte des Tropus unter die formale Bedingung rhytmischer Dichtung zu stellen, für die in Sankt Gallen eine längere Tradition bestand.

Ebenso wie die ein Interesse am Dichtungsverfahren verratenden inhaltlichen Dubletten unter den Textierungen meloformer Tropen darf man vermutlich auch die rhythmischen Tropentexte mit dem Bereich der Klosterschule in Verbindung sehen. Dagegen spielen Hexameter, eine ebenfalls als Produkt der Schule zu sehende Versform, im Sankt Galler Tropenbestand eine verblüffend periphere Rolle.

Hexameter-Tropen kommen nur sporadisch an wenigen Festen vor und nur als Einleitungselemente. Dieser Befund gewinnt Kontur, wenn man die Zahl der Hexameter-Tropen auf der Reichenau und in Mainz dagegenhält: Allein für die Feste des Weihnachtskreises, für die SG 484 insgesamt nur 7 Elemente enthält, enthalten Ba 5 und Lo 19768 jeweils 29 Elemente. Tabelle 10 gibt eine Übersicht über die Verbreitung der zehn in Sankt Gallen belegten Tropen in Hexameterform. Von diesen entfallen sechs auf die drei Antiphonen der Messe am Stephanusfest. Unter diesen ist die Prudentius-Vertonung *Primus init Stephanus* das weitaus spektakulärste Beispiel eines Sankt Galler Tropus in Hexameterform[38].

Tabelle 10
Verzeichnis der Hexameter-Tropen

Fest/ Bezugsgesang	Textincipit	Sankt Gallen vor / nach 1000		Minden	Mainz	Reichenau	Regensburg	OST	NW	SW	I
Nat III com 1	*Cernere quod verbum*	+		+	+	+			+	+	+
Steph intr 1	*Primus init Stephanus*	+	+	+	+			+			
Steph intr 15	*Christum cernentis*	+		+				+			
Steph off 3	*In virtute tua*	+			+						
Steph com 1	*Gaudia mente*	+		+	+						
Steph com 3	*Dum foret afflatus*	+			+	+			+		
Steph com 5	*Sicque genu flexu*	+			+	+			+		
Resurr intr 20	*Postquam factus homo*	+	+		+		+	+	+		+
Pent off V 6	*Psallite dilecti*	+							+	+	
Petr off 1	*Vocibus excelsis*	+							+	+	

Von allen diesen Tropentypen in Sankt Gallen heben sich nach ihrer Analyse deutlicher als zuvor die wenigen «durchkomponierten» Komplexe logogener Tropen des «Tuotilo-Typs» ab. Somit ergab die Unterscheidung nach Tropentypen nicht zuletzt eine neue Grundlage für die Frage nach dem Anteil Tuotilos am Corpus der Sankt Galler Tropen.

Für die Frage nach der Geschichte des Tropenbestandes, der in den beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Troparen erstmals in solcher Breite in Erscheinung tritt, der Frage also nach seiner Entstehung und zeitlichen Schichtung sowie nach seinem Fortbestand in den späteren Troparen, konnte die Untersuchung der in ihm vorkommenden Tropentypen nicht mehr als eine Vorarbeit sein.

Zur Frage nach der «ältesten greifbaren Gestalt des Sankt Galler Tropars»[39] haben

38 *Primus init Stephanus* ist Thema des oben in Anm. 14 genannten Aufsatzes.
39 Dies der Titel des oben auf S. 119 genannten Artikels H. Husmanns.

sich immerhin einige Hinweise ergeben. So stützen mehrere Beobachtungen die Vermutung, daß die Feste nach Petrus im neunten Jahrhundert noch nicht mit Tropen versehen waren: Die Hodie-Tropen zu den Introiten für Gallus und Otmar haben sich als Kontrafakte eines Epiphanias-Tropus desselben Typs erwiesen; der Zyklus der Introitustropen des Hymnenstrophentyps endet mit Petrus; der Hymnenstrophen-Tropus zum Offertorium des Laurentius-Festes ist einem Hymnus entlehnt; unter den meloformen Tropen für Assumptio finden sich mehrfach Entlehnungen aus dem Bestand von Epiphanias, wobei dieselben Melismen teilweise für Assumptio neu textiert wurden, und der Hymnenstrophen-Tropus für Assumptio in Wi 1609 ist eine Umarbeitung des fast gleichlautenden Textes für Epiphanias; die durch Textierung meloformer Tropen entstandenen Binnenelemente für Gallus und Otmar sind adaptionstechnisch weniger vollkommen als die anderer Feste, könnten also später oder unter anderen Voraussetzungen entstanden sein als diese. Es ist bemerkenswert, daß der so umfangreiche Tropenbestand für Epiphanias geradezu als eine Art «pool» für Entlehnungen und Umarbeitungen gedient zu haben scheint.

Der untersuchte Bestand der ältesten Handschriften wurde in den späteren Troparen nicht unverändert beibehalten. Wie Tabelle 2 zeigt, enthalten die Handschriften SG 376, SG 378, SG 380 und SG 382 für Epiphanias durchweg nur Introitustropen, die auch in den beiden ältesten Troparen enthalten sind, jedoch ist deren Bestand auf weniger als die Hälfte reduziert. Auch die Zahl der Tropen zum Offertorium und zur Communio ist drastisch verringert. Der in den älteren Handschriften so frequente Typus der «Paraphrasentropen» ist in den späteren gar nicht mehr vertreten.

Man darf annehmen, daß eine Tropenserie, an deren Ende in SG 484 und SG 381 ein Element zum Psalmvers steht, insgesamt als Tropierung der Antiphon bei ihrem ersten Erklingen gedacht war, und eine Serie, die mit einem Element zum *Gloria patri* endet, insgesamt als Tropierung der nach dem Psalmvers wiederholten Antiphon. Entsprechendes gilt für Serien, die mit einem Element zum Versus ad repetendum enden. Wie aus Tabelle 2 ersichtlich ist, folgen in SG 484 und SG 381 Serien aufeinander, deren letzte Elemente dieselbe Funktion haben: Element 28 und 33 gehören (wie die Einschubstelle i, also nach «IN IUDICIO», indiziert) beide zum Versus ad repetendum; danach folgt unmittelbar eine Serie, die mit einem Element zum *Gloria patri* endet (Element 39 mit der Einschubstelle h nach «AMEN»); Element 50 und 56 gehören beide zum Psalmvers (Einschubstelle g nach «REGIS»). Die Tropenserien sind also in SG 484 und SG 381 nicht durchgehend nach der liturgischen Funktion ihrer Elemente angeordnet und waren nicht als eine Folge möglicher Aufführungen des Introitus-Gesanges gedacht: Die beiden älteren Sankt Galler Tropare sind – im Sinne einer Unterscheidung von Wulf Arlt – keine «im engeren Sinne funktionalen» Quellen sondern «Sammelhandschriften»[40].

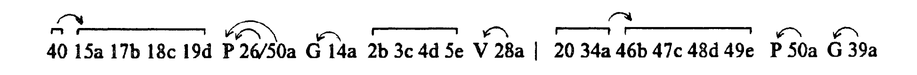
Der Inhalt der vier späteren Tropare kann als eine Redaktion des älteren Bestandes interpretiert werden, ähnlich den Redaktionsvorgängen, die Wolfram von den Steinen für die Sequenzen beschrieben hat, und für die er «liturgische Gesichtspunkte» für maßgeblich hielt. Susan Rankin zufolge machen die Tropare des elften Jahrhunderts den Eindruck eines «'settled' liturgical repertory»[41]. Sie erlauben «unmittelbar den Rückschluß auf eine tatsächliche Verwendung des Bestandes – sofern es sich nicht um

40 Arlt, «Von der einzelnen Aufzeichnung» (wie Anm. 23), 458.
41 Rankin, «From Tuotilo», im vorliegenden Band, 399.

den bei liturgischen Handschriften wohl seltenen Fall einer programmatischen Setzung handelt, die nie eingelöst wurde»[42].

Erkennbar ist als Ziel der Redaktion, Tropenserien für eine liturgische Aufführung des Introitus auszuwählen und zusammenzustellen, bei der die Antiphon einmal mit dem Psalmvers, einmal mit dem *Gloria patri* und einmal mit dem Versus ad repetendum erklingt. (Für eine weitere Wiederholung der Antiphon nach dem Versus ad repetendum werden keine Tropen bereitgestellt.) Tabelle 11 faßt diese funktionsbestimmte Anordnung der Tropenelemente in SG 376 zusammen: Für das Hauptfest beginnt die Tropierung mit der logogenen Serie 15-17-18-19, mit der vorangesetzten Einleitung 40 in Hymnenstrophenform. Es folgen die beiden Psalmton-Elemente 26 und 50, durch die Rubrik «vel» als Alternativvarianten zu dieser Einschubstelle ausgewiesen. Das unmittelbar folgende Textinitium des *Gloria patri* setzt eine Wiederholung der Antiphon voraus, zu der keine Tropen bereitgestellt werden. Das *Gloria patri* selbst ist mit Element 14 tropiert. Es folgt die Serie von Binnenelementen 2-3-4-5 zur zweiten Wiederholung der Antiphon. Am Ende dieser Serie steht das Element 28 zum Versus ad repetendum. Der Introitus an der Oktav ist weniger reich mit Tropenelementen ausgestattet: Die Serie beginnt mit der aus einem Hymnenstrophen-Element und *Gaudendum* zusammengesetzten Einleitung 20+34, gefolgt von der logogenen «Dublette» 46-47-48-49, beschlossen von dem ebenfalls logogenen Psalmton-Element 50. Am Ende steht das Textinitium «GLORIA PATRI» gefolgt von Element 39, einer Melismentextierung zur Doxologie.

Tabelle 11
Das Repertoire der Epiphanias-Tropen in SG 376



Daß die Elemente 26 und 50 Tropen zum Psalmvers, die Elemente 14 und 39 Tropen zum *Gloria patri* sind und Element 28 ein Tropus zum Versus ad repetendum, ist in der Aufzeichnungsweise der älteren Tropare deutlicher erkennbar als in der späteren: In den älteren Troparen ist die Einschubstelle von Element 26 und 50 durch das vorausgehende Stichwort «REGIS» (Buchstabe g in der Tabelle) markiert, die Einschubstelle von Element 14 und 39 durch das vorausgehende «AMEN» (Buchstabe h) und die von Element 28 durch das vorausgehende Ende des Versus ad repetendum, «IN IUDICIO» (Buchstabe i). Die späteren Tropare haben ein anderes Verfahren, Tropus und Bezugsgesang zu koordinieren; sie geben die Einschubstellen der Tropenelemente durch das nach dem Einschub folgende Schlüsselwort an. Infolgedessen ist in den späteren Troparen die Einschubstelle der funktional unterschiedlichen Elemente zum Psalmvers, zum *Gloria patri* und zum Versus ad repetendum einheitlich durch das nachfolgende Stichwort «ECCE» (Buchstabe a) angegeben, also durch den Beginn der Antiphon, die ja nach allen diesen Elementen wiederholt wird. Den durch das veränderte Koordinationsverfahren eingetretenen Informationsverlust gleichen die Textinitien von Psalmvers (P), *Gloria patri* (G) und Versus ad repetendum (V) vor dem Stichwort «ECCE» aus.

42 Arlt, ebda.

Eine abschließende Bemerkung gilt den Tendenzen der Redaktion im Hinblick auf die Frequenz bestimmter Tropentypen, die sich so oder ähnlich auch im Bestand der anderen Feste beobachten lassen.

Bei den Einleitungen fällt auf, daß alle drei Hodie-Tropen des älteren Bestandes ausgeschieden, dagegen beide Texte des Hymnenstrophen-Typs erhalten geblieben sind, und zwar nicht als selbständige Elemente, sondern zusammengekoppelt mit dem Eröffnungselement des logogenen Komplexes *Ecclesiae sponsus* bzw. mit der *Gaudendum*-Einleitung. Diese «Doppelelemente» bilden spektakuläre Eröffnungen zum Introitus des Hauptfestes und seiner Oktav und ermöglichten es, trotz der aufgrund der reduzierten Zahl von Serien begrenzten Verwendung für Einleitungselemente, die Vertreter eines vermutlich als lokale Eigenart geschätzten Tropentyps dem Ritus zu erhalten.

Bei den Binnenelementen betrifft die drastischste Veränderung die meloformen Tropen: sie sind alle ausgeschieden. Und mit ihnen auch die meisten ihrer Textierungen: nur eine der acht Serien ist erhalten, allerdings ohne die in den älteren Handschriften übliche Aufzeichnung der zugehörigen Melismen in textloser Gestalt. Dagegen sind sämtliche logogenen Binnenelemente des älteren Bestandes beibehalten: die des Komplexes *Ecclesiae sponsus* und die logogene «Dublette» 46-47-48-49. Damit hat sich das Verhältnis zwischen logogenen Elementen und Textierungen gegenüber den älteren Troparen umgekehrt: Nur 17 der 55 Elemente in SG 484 sind logogen, dagegen 14 der 21 Elemente in SG 376.

Diese auffallenden Präferenzverschiebungen im Bereich der Binnenelemente sind interpretierbar als eine «Modernisierung» des Bestandes durch das gezielte Ausscheiden oder Beschränken als «archaisch» empfundener Tropentypen.

Wir wissen nicht, über welchen Zeitraum sich diese Repertoireveränderungen erstreckten, ob die später ganz oder weitgehend verschwindenden Tropentypen schon zur Entstehungszeit der älteren Sammelhandschriften weniger «aktuell» waren als andere, in welchem Grade also bereits die beiden ältesten Sankt Galler Tropare als retrospektive Quellen zu gelten haben. Deutlich ist dagegen, daß die Redaktionsprozesse, die im Repertoire der späteren Tropare resultierten, eine Stellungnahme zu dem in der älteren Sammlung erfaßten Tropenbestand implizieren, bei der bereits eine geschichtliche Perspektive auf die unterschiedlichen Typen des liturgischen Tropus mitgespielt haben könnte.

[14]

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPERTORY OF TROPES AT ST EMMERAM, REGENSBURG

David HILEY

I

The changing repertory in the early manuscripts

The three early sources which can confidently be assigned to the monastery of St Emmeram at Regensburg - Bamberg Staatsbibliothek lit.6, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 14083 and 14322 - have by no means identical trope repertories. The provenance of the manuscripts is hardly contestable. Bamberg 6 was probably written in the closing years of the 10th century. If Bischoff is correct,[1] clm 14083 belongs to the reign of abbot Burkhard, 1031-7, while clm 14322 is slightly more recent. If these manuscripts contain all the tropes that were sung at the time of their compilation, then the St Emmeram repertory must have been revised from time to time, twice within half a century, in fact.

The tropes in Bamberg 6 do not extend over the whole year but only as far as Easter. Additional pieces were then entered for Easter itself, for Ascension and the Nativity of the Virgin. There are only Introit tropes. In clm 14083 there has been a fairly systematic attempt to provide for all the main feasts of the church year, and the highest feasts have offertory and communion tropes as well. Clm 14322 recognizes practically as many occasions as clm 14083, but has fewer tropes for them, with only one offertory set and one communion set, in circumstances which make them look like oversights. Table I displays the provision made in each of the three sources.

[1] Bernhard Bischoff, "Literarisches und künstlerisches Leben in St.Emmeram (Regensburg) während des frühen und hohen Mittelalters", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 51 (1933), 102-142; revised version in Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien* 2 (Stuttgart, 1967), 77-115. See esp. *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 112-113, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 87. Summary information is given by Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM B/V/1 (München-Duisburg, 1964), 74-78. On Bamberg 6 see the recent study, including a complete inventory, by Günther Michael Paucker, *Das Graduale Msc. Lit. 6 der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg. Eine Handschriften-Monographie unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Repertoires und der Notation,* Forschungsbeiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 30 (Regensburg, 1986).

TABLE 1

PROVISION OF TROPES

Feast	Chant	Bamberg 6	clm 14083	clm 14322
Christmas	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Stephen	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
John Evangelist	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Innocents	Int		x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Octave ND	Int		x	x
Epiphany	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Purification	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Easter	Int	x	x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Wednesday	Int		x	
Octave Easter	Int		x	
	Com		x	
Ascension	Int	ad	x	x
Pentecost	Int		x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
John Baptist	Int		x	x
	Off		x	
	Com		x	
Peter & Paul	Int		x	x
Benedict	Int		x	x

Laurence	Int		x	x
Assumption BVM	Int		x	x
Nativity BVM	Int	ad	x	x
Emmeram	Int		x	x
Michael	Int		x	x
All Saints	Int		x	x
Martin	Int		x	x
Andrew	Int		x	x
Apostles	Int		x	x
Martyrs	Int		x	x
	Off			x
Martyr	Int		x	x
Confessor	Int		x	x
Virgin	Int		x	x
Dedication	Int		x	x
	Com		x	x

The *Laudes regiae* in clm 14322 originally contained the name of Conrad II as 'king' (1024-7; emperor 1027-39), later erased. If Bischoff is right in dating the manuscript to the 1040s, then the names in the *Laudes regiae* were taken over mechanically from an older exemplar and erased when discovered to be inappropriate. The question of the date is important for the tropes, because we have to choose between the order

Bamberg 6 (early repertory) >
clm 14322 (modest provision) >
clm 14083 (generous provision)

or

Bamberg 6 (early repertory) >
clm 14083 (full provision) >
clm 14322 (reduced provision)

I myself feel that Bischoff is correct, partly because on numerous occasions clm 14322 has less than Bamberg 6. Let us look at the provision for Epiphany, Purification and Easter, which follow each other in the three sources. Table 2 lists the trope verses for these feasts.

TABLE 2 - TROPES FOR EPIPHANY, PURIFICATION AND EASTER

BAMBERG 6			CLM 14083			CLM 14322		
Int. ECCE ADVENIT (Epiphany)								
I	Forma specios.	ECCE ADVENIT	I	Hodie clarissimam	ECCE ADVENIT	I	Hodie clarissimam	ECCE ADVENIT
I	Hodie descendit	ECCE ADVENIT	I	Forma speciossimus	ECCE ADVENIT			
	In uterum virginis	ADVENIT (Mel.)		Olim promissus	ET REGNUM			
		DOMINATOR DOM.		Laxare vincula	ET POTESTAS			
	Cui magi	DOMINUS (Mel.)	Ps	Regnum quod nullo	Ps. DEUS IUDIC.			
		ET REGNUM						
	Quod proprio	EIUS (Mel.)	I	Aecclesiae sponsus	ECCE ADVENIT			
		ET POTESTAS		Iesus quem reges	DOMINATOR			
	Qua in vinum hodie	-TAS (Mel.)		Vidimus stellam	ET REGNUM			
		Ps. DEUS IUDIC.		Cui soli debetur	ET POTESTAS			
G	Ut cunctum iudicet	AMEN (Mel.)			Ps. DEUS IUDIC.			
					GLORIA PATRI			
Off. REGES THARSIS (Epiphany)								
			O	O redemptor omnium	REGES THARSIS			
Com. VIDIMUS STELLAM EIUS (Epiphany)								
			C	Nato novo principe	VIDIMUS STELLAM			
Int. SUSCEPIMUS DEUS (Purification)								
I	Hodie quemadmodum	SUSCEPIMUS	I	Hodie quemadmodum	SUSCEPIMUS	I	Hodie quemadmodum	SUSCEPIMUS
	Omnipotens genitor	MISERICORDIAM		Omnipotens genitor	MISERICORDIAM			
	Christum videlicet	IN MEDIO		Christum videlicet	IN MEDIO			
	Quando parentes	SECUNDUM NOMEN		Quando parentes	SECUNDUM NOMEN			
	Quod est magnificum	ITA ET LAUS		Quod est magnificum	ITA ET LAUS			
	Ab universa	IN FINES TERRE		Ab universa	IN FINES TERRE			
		Ps. MAGNUS DOM.			Ps. MAGNUS DOM.			
I	Quod in Iherusalem	<SUSCEPIMUS>	G	Quod in Iherusalem	GLORIA PATRI			
Off. DIFFUSA EST GRATIA (Purification)								
			O	Salve mater formosa	DIFFUSA EST			
			OV	Polle dei genitrix	V. SPECIE TUA			

Com. RESPONSUM ACCEPIT SIMEON (Purification)

			C	Dum peteret votis	RESPONSUM			

Int. RESURREXI (Easter)

I	Hodie resurrexit	RESURREXI	I	Hodie resurrexit	RESURREXI	I	Postquam factus	RESURREXI
	Perfractis ed prius	ET ADHUC					In regno superno	POSUISTI
	Sedens a dextris	POSUISTI	I	Postquam factus	RESURREXI		Laudibus angelorum	MIRABILIS
	Cum mortem subire	MIRABILIS		In regno superno	POSUISTI		Cui canunt	ALLELUIA
	Quando filium	ALLELUIA		Laudibus angelorum	MIRABILIS			Ps. DOMINE PR.
		Ps. DOMINE PR.		Cui canunt	ALLELUIA			
I	Que angelis	RESURREXI			Ps. DOMINE PR.			
					GLORIA PATRI			
I	Postquam factus	RESURREXI						
	In regno superno	POSUISTI						
	Laudibus angelorum	MIRABILIS						
	Cui canunt	ALLELUIA						
(addition)								
I	Qui crucifixus eram	RESURREXI						
	Trusi tartarea	POSUISTI						
	Queque sub occulto	MIRABILIS						
	Eia triumphantem	ALLELUIA (last)						
I	Nos in laude	ALLELUIA (first)						
		Ps. DOMINE PR.						

Off. TERRA TREMUIT (Easter)

			O	Gaudete et cantate	TERRA TREMUIT			
				Monumenta aperta	DUM RESURGERET			

Com. PASCHA NOSTRUM (Easter)

			C	In lege prisca	PASCHA NOSTRUM			

I - trope verse for introit antiphon
Ps - trope verse for psalm verse
G - trope verse for Gloria patris
O - trope verse for offertory
OV - trope verse for offertory verse
C - trope verse for communion antiphon

Mel. - melisma (extension of a phrase in the introit antiphon)

For Epiphany Bamberg 6 has the introductory verse *Forma speciossimus*, then the set of verses *Hodie descendit* with melismatic extensions for the introit phrases. That type of troping, cultivated enthusiastically at St Gall but little elsewhere, was not welcome to the compiler of clm 14083. There is a different introduction, one of the 'Hodie' type, *Hodie clarissimam*, then sets of verses both for the introit, starting *Forma speciossimus*, and its repeat. There follow offertory and communion tropes. Clm 14322 has none of the Bamberg 6 tropes, only the introductory *Hodie clarissimam*. It could be argued that it was decided to replace the tropes in Bamberg 6 with *Hodie clarissimam*, as in clm 14322, and that then a later redactor copied into clm 14083 something from Bamberg 6, the new introduction in clm 14322 and more verses as well.

No doubt the same could be argued for the Purification tropes, where the pattern is even simpler.

For Easter there were two sets in Bamberg 6, *Hodie resurrexit* and *Postquam factus*. Later a third set was added, *Qui crucifixus eram*. Clm 14322 has only *Postquam factus*. Clm 14083 has *Hodie resurrexit* as a single introductory verse only, then the set *Postquam factus*. The set added in Bamberg 6, *Qui crucifixus eram*, is assigned to the Easter octave in clm 14083.

In all these cases (and of course others -- these are just selected for illustration) it seems simpler to argue that clm 14083 is earlier than clm 14322 and that prior to the compilation of clm 14322 a decision had been taken to reduce the amount of troping. I do not yet know why this should have been done, because at the same time clm 14322 has far more offertory prosulas than clm 14083. If some ecclesiastical reform had set its face against an overenthusiastic troping practice, why were the prosulas multiplied? The few offertory prosulas in clm 14083 appear amid the tropes. There are none in the offertory fascicle itself. In other words, their situation in the manuscript might suggest a certain insecurity of liturgical use. Perhaps clm 14322 attempts to balance things out between the various types of troping.

Support for the view that clm 14322 represents a later revision comes from manuscript clm 14845, of around 1120-25.[2] This has much the same repertory as clm 14322. Thus for Epiphany it has only *Hodie clarissimam*, for Purification only *Hodie quemadmodum*. For Easter *Hodie resurrexit dominus* is given, but without notation, as if it were no longer actually sung; the set *Postquam factus - In regno superbo - Laudibus angelorum - Cuius canant* follows, with notation.

[2] Husmann, *op.cit.*, 79-81.

II
Affiliations with other repertories

Further comment about the mutual relationships between these sources, which would also have to include consideration of those from Seeon, linked to St Emmeram by monastic reform,[3] must be postponed until a later occasion. I wish to turn now to the relationships between St Emmeram and the 'outside world', so to speak. For there are a number of striking concordances between the St Emmeram books and others from outside Southern Germany and Switzerland, even outside Germany altogether. This development affects chiefly manuscript clm 14083, as we should expect. The way its repertory was built up is very interesting, starting from the basis of something like Bamberg 6, introducing a few (very few) local items, some South German/Swiss ones, some internationally known ones. But there may also be evidence for contact with some centre or centres much further afield.

The sequence collection in clm 14083 is already symptomatic in this respect. Bamberg 6 has 51 sequences, practically all from the St Gall repertory. Clm 14083 has 72. Some of the new ones come from St Gall or that area, but a number come from the West: *Nato canunt omnia* (to provide all three Christmas masses with a sequence); *Sancti merita Benedicti* (a second sequence for Benedict, in a supplement at the end); *Ave dei genitrix summe* (a western melody) and *Salve porta perpetue lucis* (second and third sequences for the Assumption), *Nunc crucis alme* (without notation), *Ad celebres* (third sequence for Michael, in the supplement), *Alma chorus domini* (third Trinity sequence) and *Stans a longe* (for a summer Sunday).

It might be possible by comparing variant readings to decide whence these sequences came to St Emmeram.

Clm 14322 cuts back decidedly on all this, having only 38 sequences. Duplicates are cut out, only three days in Easter week have a sequence, there are none for the Sundays after Easter. Even the sequence for Benedict remains unnotated. There is only one new sequence: Otloh's composition for the discovery of the relics of St Dionysius.

Similarly, some of the tropes in clm 14083 are to be found outside the St Emmeram/Seeon circle only in books from the Rhine/Mosel area or further west. In two cases the only other sources are Western ones. Table 3 lists the items which appear to have come to St Emmeram from outside the South German/Swiss area.

---

[3] Seeon, south of the Inn near the Chiemsee, was reformed from St Emmeram and may have taken over elements of its liturgical practice. Trope sources certainly or probably from Seeon include Vienna Nationalbibliothek 1845 (mid-11th c.), Rome Biblioteca Angelica 948 (early-12th c.) and Kassel Murhardsche Bibliothek 4° theol 15 (early-11th c.).

TABLE 3 - TROPES FROM OUTSIDE SOUTH GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND

A. TROPES IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN SOURCES

Trope	Base chant	Sources
Com. EXIIT SERMO (John Evangelist)		
Vita deus dum vult	EXIIT SERMO	Metz, Paris 909 (s.n.)
Int. EX ORE INFANTIUM (Innocents)		
Laudibus infantium	EX ORE	Metz, Prüm, St. Magloire, Autun
Nate dei clemens	ET LACTENTIUM	" + other French mss.
Qui tibi iam nato	PROPTER INIMICOS	" + other French mss.
Int. PUER NATUS EST (Christmas)		
Quod prisco vates	PUER NATUS	Metz, Prüm, Echternach, Kassel 15, all others non-German
Davitice stirpis	ET FILIUS	"
Perdita restaurans	CUIUS IMPERIUM	"
Int. VENITI BENEDICTI (Easter Wednesday)		
O quam felices	VENITI BENEDICTI	Metz, Prüm, Echternach, Kassel 15, Angelica 123
Non oculos	QUOD VOBIS	"
Com. PASCHA NOSTRUM (Easter)		
Laus honor virtus	PASCHA NOSTRUM	only St. Emmeram in East
Peccata nostra	CHRISTUS	"
Leo de tribu Iuda	ALLELUIA	"
Int. CONFESSIO ET PULCHRITUDO (Laurence)		
Vox domino laudem	CONFESSIO	Metz, England, St. Magloire, Nevers, Bourges, Paris 1084 and 1118
His celum geminis	SANCTITAS	"
Int. GAUDEAMUS OMNES (Nativity BVM)		
Nativitatem	GAUDEAMUS	-
Virginis et matris	GAUDEAMUS	Mainz, Prüm, Echternach, Nevers, Bourges
Et pia magnifice	IN HONOREM	"
Ter sanctus reboant	ET COLLAUDANT	"

Trope	Chant	Sources
Int. GAUDEAMUS OMNES (All Saints)		
Sollemnitatem	GAUDEAMUS	central and French sources
O quam glorifico	GAUDEAMUS	"
Nos sinus ecclesie	GAUDEAMUS	"
Celica quos hodie	DE QUORUM	"
Dulcisonis Christo	ET COLLAUDANT	"
Int. STATUIT EI (Martin)		
Gemma dei Martinus	STATUIT EI	Mainz, Prüm, England, St. Magloire, Nevers, Bourges, Paris 909
Per quem inpereum	ET PRINCIPEM	"
Lampade celesti	UT SIT ILLI	"
Int. LETABITUR IUSTUS (a Martyr)		
Tripudians martyr	LAETABITUR	Metz, Ivrea 60, French sources
Quem totis semper	ET SPERAVIT	"
Christicolis	ET LAUDABUNTUR	"
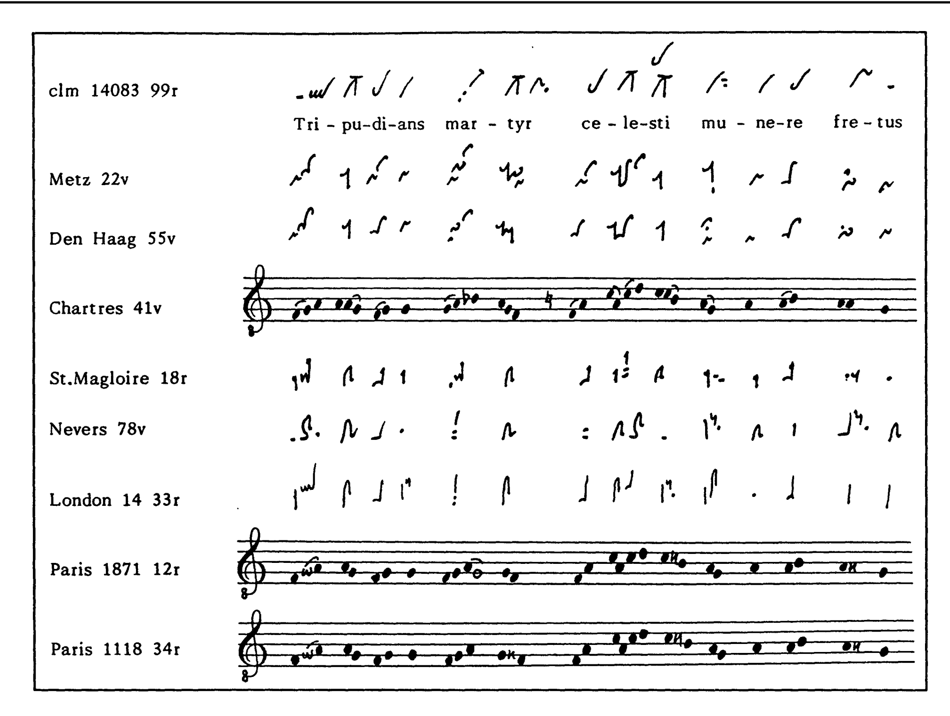
B. TROPES IN WESTERN SOURCES

Trope	Chant	Sources
Com. RESPONSUM ACCEPIT SIMEON (Purification)		
Dum peteret votis	RESPONSUM	England, Cambrai 75
Int. MIHI AUTEM NIMIS HONORATI (Apostles)		
Festis nunc	MIHI AUTEM	French, Italian and English sources
Angelici pares clari	AMICI TUI	"
Qui debriant	NIMIS CONFORTATUS	"

---

s.n. = sine nota

Autun	-	Paris Bibl. de l'Arsenal 1169
Bourges	-	Rome Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Reg.lat.222
Echternach	-	Paris Bibl. Nat. lat.10510
Metz	-	Metz Bibl. mun. 452
Nevers	-	Paris Bibl. Nat. lat.9449, n.a.l.1235
Prüm	-	Paris Bibl. Nat. lat.9448
St. Magloire	-	Paris Bibl. Nat. lat.13252

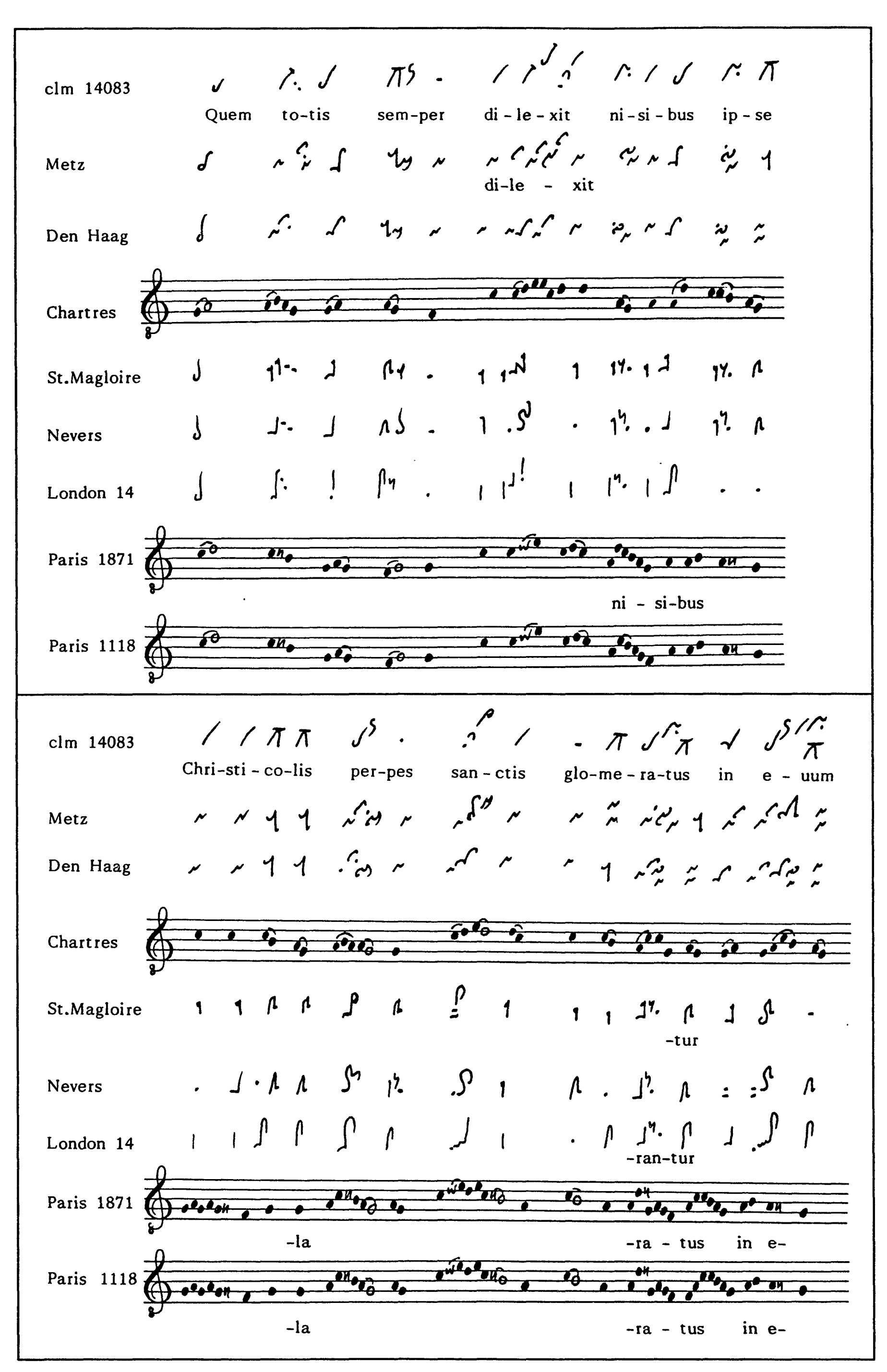


EXAMPLE 1. Trope verses for Int. *Letabitur iustus*

Where there is significant melodic divergence between central and western sources, St Emmeram aligns itself with the central sources. An example of this can be seen in Planchart's parallel edition of *Vox domino* for the St Laurence introit *Confessio et pulchritudo*,[4] where clm 14083 and Metz 452 evidently share a common melody often diverging markedly from that in the other, western sources. Another example of this is the set *Tripudians martyr* for the introit *Letabitur iustus* (Martyrs),[5] given as Ex. 1.

There are no eastern sources apart from St Emmeram. The set survives in Metz 452 and also in another Metz source, Den Haag 10.B.12. These sources agree well over melodic details. Only in verse 1 at 'dilexit' does St Emmeram disagree substantially: it lacks the separate single note for '-xit' and redeploys the rest. The western sources are from St Magloire, Chartres, Nevers, England (London Cotton Caligula A.14) and Aquitaine. St Magloire, Nevers and London 14 share small variants against St Emmeram and Metz at (verse 1) 'martyr' and (3) 'perpes'. St Magloire has a different final phrase (3) 'glomeratus/r in evum', Nevers at (1) 'munere fretus'. London

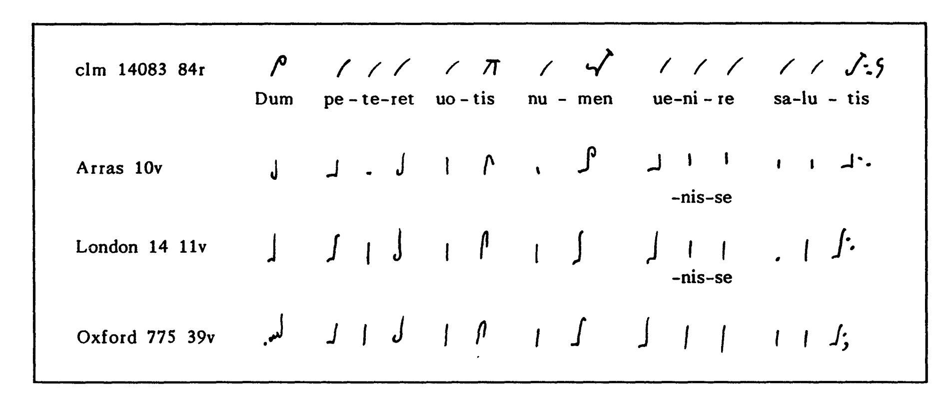
[4] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1977), vol.I, 376ff.
[5] Planchart, *op.cit.*, vol.II, 116.



EXAMPLE 1. (cont.)

14 has an extra note at (2) 'nisibus' and (3) 'Christicolis', but is somewhat closer to the central sources. Of the French sources, Chartres is perhaps the closest to St Emmeram, though there is an extra concluding note for (3) 'sanctis'. The Aquitainian versions (only two are given here) are much further removed, and could only occasionally be used to reconstruct the pitches of the sources with non-diastematic notation.

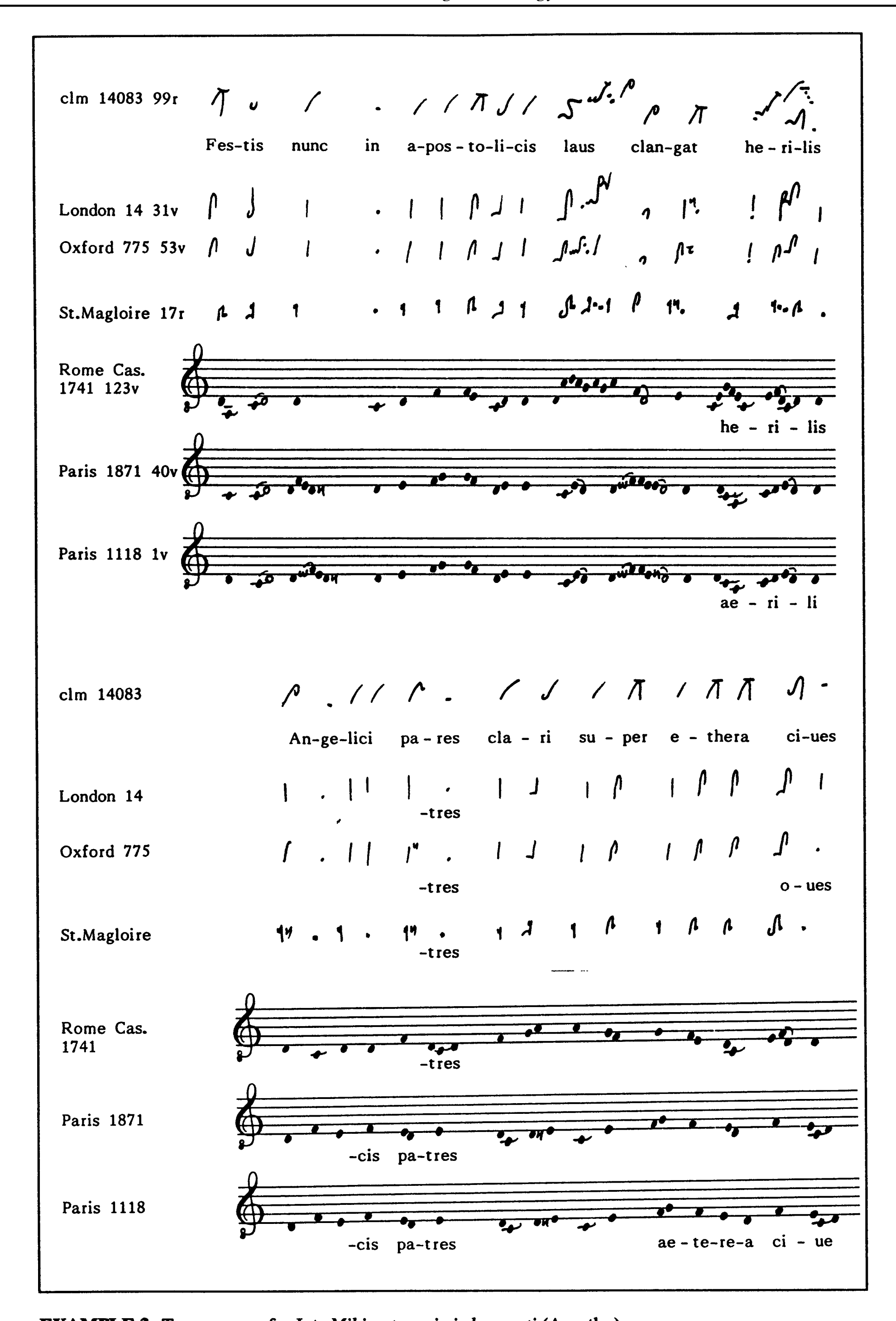
Examples like this suggest that St Emmeram was tapping sources from the Rhine/Mosel area rather than from, say, North France. That is in any case what one would expect. And the tropes which are in St Emmeram but not in those central sources tend to reinforce this impression by displaying substantial variants. *Dum peteret votis* is a trope verse for the communion at Purification, *Responsum accepit Simeon*. At two points the other sources -- the English tropers and Cambrai 75 from Arras -- agree with each other against St Emmeram: 'peteret' and 'venire/venisse', as shown in Ex.2.



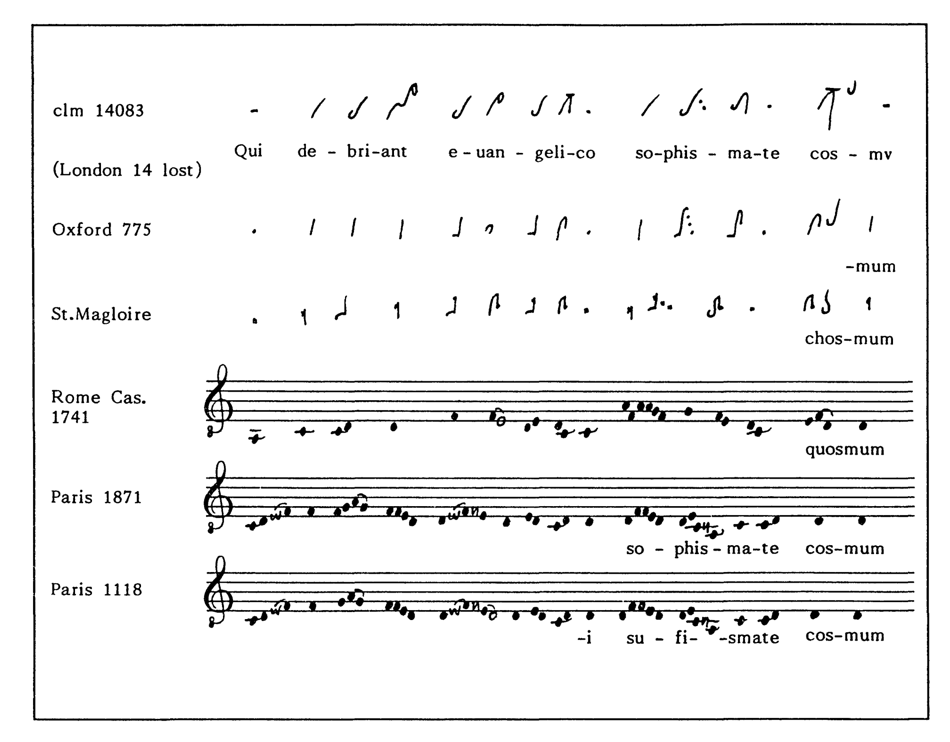
EXAMPLE 2. Trope verse for Com. *Responsum accepit Simeon* (Purification)

The trope set *Festis nunc in apostolicis* for the introit for Apostles *Nimis honorati sunt* provides more substantial evidence, given in Ex.3. The set appears in English books, so Planchart has already summed up the situation.[6] He says that there are two main branches to the melodic tradition, the one Aquitainian, the other to be found in north Italy, Germany and England. Within the latter England goes with St Magloire, while St Emmeram and Nonantola form two separate branches. The point of this is that St Emmeram allies itself closely with no French source. And I should guess that in this and similar cases there is a gap in the surviving sources: a central intermediary which would have shown the St Emmeram version of the melody is now lost.

[6] *Ibid.*, 120.



EXAMPLE 3. Trope verses for Int. *Mihi autem nimis honorati* (Apostles)



EXAMPLE 3. (cont.)

That is a hypothesis, but the evidence seems to point that way. The idea that St Emmeram was in direct contact with a French centre is by no means far-fetched, however, as we know from the manuscripts of music theory from St Emmeram. Manuscript clm 14272 is a manuscript of the early 11th century copied principally by Hartvic of St Emmeram which contains, among other things, the *Enchiriadis* group of treatises and a Boethius commented by Fulbert of Chartres (1007-1029). From the second half of the century comes clm 14372, again with *Musica* and *Scholica enchiriadis*, also with three responsories by Fulbert of Chartres. Whether Hartvic actually studied in Chartres, as Bischoff suggested, cannot be proved.[7] There is unfortunately little trace of contact between the trope repertories at Chartres and St Emmeram: apart from the case cited in Ex. 1 above, Provins 12, from Chartres, contains none of the unusual pieces of the St Emmeram repertory.

[7] Bischoff, *op.cit.*, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 105ff; *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 80ff. See also Bischoff, "Hartwic von St Emmeram", *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon*, ed. Karl Langosch, 5 (Nachtragband) (Berlin, 1955), 335-337.

III
A Kyrie trope by Otloh of St Emmeram

Most tropes are anonymous compositions, like so much of medieval chant. A further example from the St Emmeram trope repertory enables us, exceptionally, to lift the veil of anonymity and perceive the human agent. This is not Hartvic, but Otloh of St Emmeram, whose activities have been illuminated once again by Bernhard Bischoff.[8] In fact this part of my essay is somewhat in the nature of a footnote to Bischoff's work.

The piece in question is a Kyrie trope. Lack of space forbids a detailed discussion here of the make-up of the St Emmeram repertory for the ordinary of mass. As one would expect, there is a layer of old Eastern material, some compositions which seem to have originated at St Emmeram itself, and some imports from the West.[9] But in the Kyrie collection are two troped items which seem to suggest an acquaintance with Italian practice: Kyrie *O pater immense* and *El elion pater/Regnorum rector*. (*Regnorum rector* is the same piece as *El elion*, starting however at the second verse.) Table 4 shows the position of these Kyries in the three early St Emmeram sources.

David Bjork has pointed to a number of Italian Kyries where the same melodic formula serves for Greek invocations and Latin trope verses throughout, a sort of litany.[10] John Boe's work on South Italian Kyries has provided a great deal more valuable detail about this practice.[11] The two Kyries just mentioned appear to be related to this type, at least at first sight.

Related but not identical. The Italian habit is to adapt the Kyrie melody somewhat freely to the Latin text, so that groups of two and three notes per syllable are sometimes present. The 'northern' practice was to apply a strictly syllabic technique, one syllable per note. The Italian, non-syllabic habit is apparently followed in

[8] Bischoff, *op.cit*, *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 115-142; *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 88-115. See also Bischoff, "Otloh", *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexicon*, ed. Karl Langosch, 3 (Berlin, 1943), 658-670.

[9] David Bjork, "Early repertories of the Kyrie eleison", *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 63-64 (1979-80), 9-43 (see esp. pp.32-33), commenting on the large number of Kyries from outside Bavaria known at St Emmeram, argues for "a fairly direct line of transmission from the Rhineland to Regensburg sometime during the tenth or early eleventh century".

[10] David Bjork, "Early settings of the Kyrie eleison and the problem of genre definition", *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 3 (1980), 40-48 (see esp. pp.45-46).

[11] John Boe, *Ordinary chants and tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000-1250, Part 1: Kyrie eleison*, Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II, 3 vols. in 2, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance XIX-XXI (Madison, 1989). See for example the Kyries listed on Table 2 in the commentary volume (XIX), xxvi-xxix, Kyries A1-3, B1-4, C1, D1-3, E1.

TABLE 4
KYRIE MELODIES AND TROPES

			trope type
BAMBERG 6			
89r	Kyrie 57	- added at end of sequence collection	
94r	Kyrie 55 Tr.4	0 theos kritis - Easter	prosula
CLM 14083			
62v	Kyrie 223 Tr.1	0 pater immense - added	(see discussion)
94v	Kyrie 47 Tr.	Logos patri pneumatique - Pentecost	prosula
100r	Kyrie 55 Tr.4	0 theos kritis	prosula
100v	Kyrie 68 Tr.7	Canamus cuncti	prosula
101r	Kyrie 68 Tr.6	Cunctipotens dominator	prosula
101v	Kyrie 68 Tr.	El elion pater omnipotens	(see discussion)
	Kyrie 39 Tr.7	Omnipotens genitor	independent verses
102r	Kyrie 39 Tr.5	Lux et origo ... 0 mundi	prosula
102v	Kyrie	Logos patri Require In Pentecosten	
	Kyrie 36(?)Tr.1	Princeps astrigeram	independent verses
	Kyrie 155 Tr.	Ineffabilis et interminabilis	independent verses
103r	Kyrie 151 Tr.	Deus solus et inmensus	independent verses
103v	Kyrie 48 Tr.2	Kyrie sabaoht iudex	prosula
CLM 14322			
100r	Kyrie 55 Tr.4	0 theos kritis	prosula
100v	Kyrie 39 Tr.7	Omnipotens genitor	independent verses
101r	Kyrie 39 Tr.5	Lux et origo ... 0 mundi	prosula
102r	Kyrie 68 Tr.	Regnorum rector	(see discussion)
102v	Kyrie 48		
	Kyrie 36(?)Tr.1	Princeps astrigeram	independent verses
103r	Kyrie 68 Tr.7	Canamus cuncti	prosula
108v	Kyrie 47 Tr.	Logos patri pneumatique - Christmas	prosula
110r	Kyrie 48 Tr.2	Kyrie sabaoht iudex - St Stephen	prosula
111v	Kyrie 24	- St John Evangelist	
112r	Kyrie 155	- Holy Innocents	
113r	Kyrie 223	- Easter	
117v	Kyrie ?	- Dedication	

[melody and trope numbers from Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, 1955)]

St Emmeram, but not the Italian practice of having the same melody for all verses. Kyrie 223 approaches the Italian pattern most closely:

Kyrie 223	*0 pater immense*	Ax Ax Ax
		Bx Bx Bx
		Cx Cx C'x
Kyrie 68	*El elion pater omnipotens*	Ax Ax Ax
	Regnorum rector	Bx Bx Bx
		C C C'

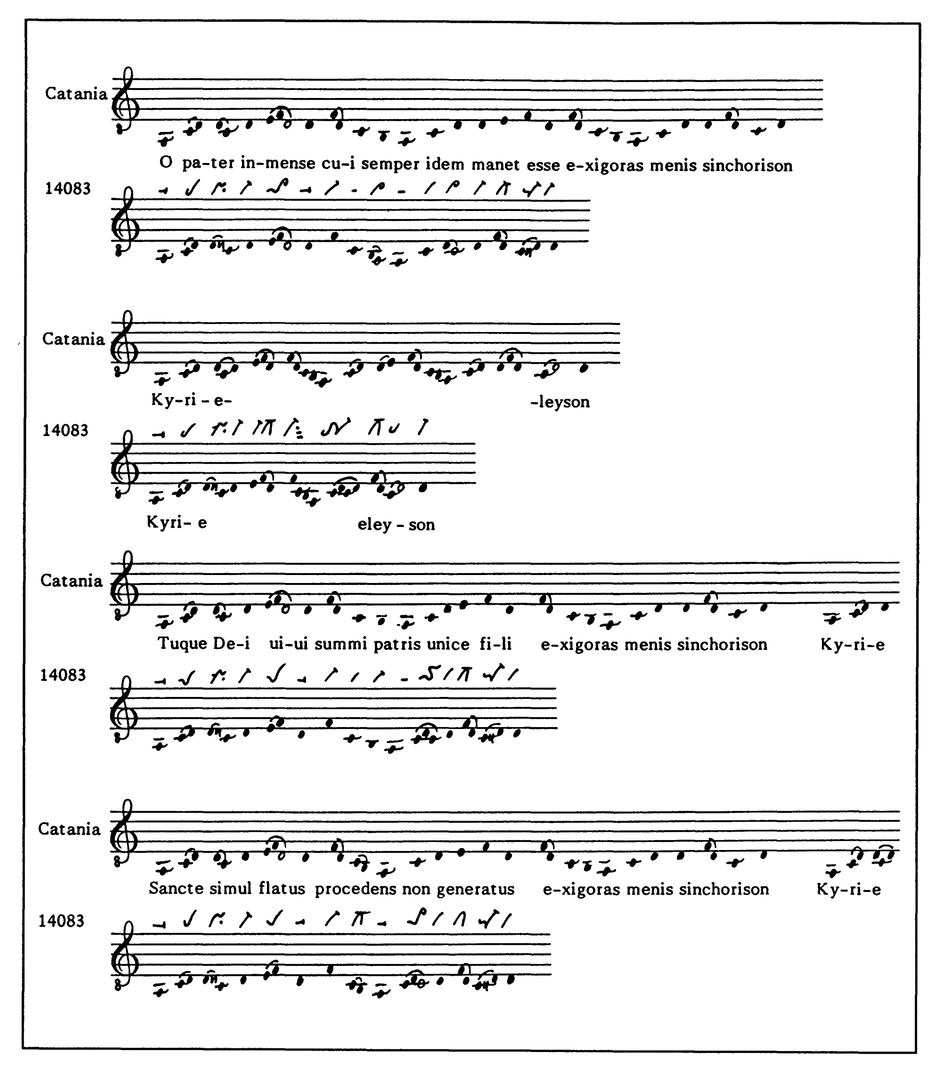
Each line ends with the same cadence ('x') but the starts are different. Kyrie 68 maintains this pattern for the first Kyries and Christes, but has a divergent third section.

Kyrie 68 was well known all over Europe, and there is no difficulty in making a transcription of the St Emmeram compositions. For Kyrie 223 only four sources with the trope verses are so far known: clm 14083, Naples Biblioteca Nazionale VI.G.34 from Troia, Madrid Biblioteca Nacional 289 from Palermo and Madrid 19421 from Catania. The melody alone appears in clm 14322. (The editors of *Analecta Hymnica* published the trope text from clm 14083 and Naples VI.G.34.) The opening verses of the two Kyries are transcribed in Ex.4.[12]

Bischoff identified the hand that copied *0 pater immense* in clm 14083 - it appears as an addition apart from the other kyries - as that of Otloh, and opined that Otloh was the composer of the verses, nine Leonine hexameters. His reason for this assertion was that three of the verses (1, 3 and 4) rework the first three lines of Otloh's metrical poem *0 princeps pacis*, a 45-line long prayer to the Almighty. The relevant verses run as follows.

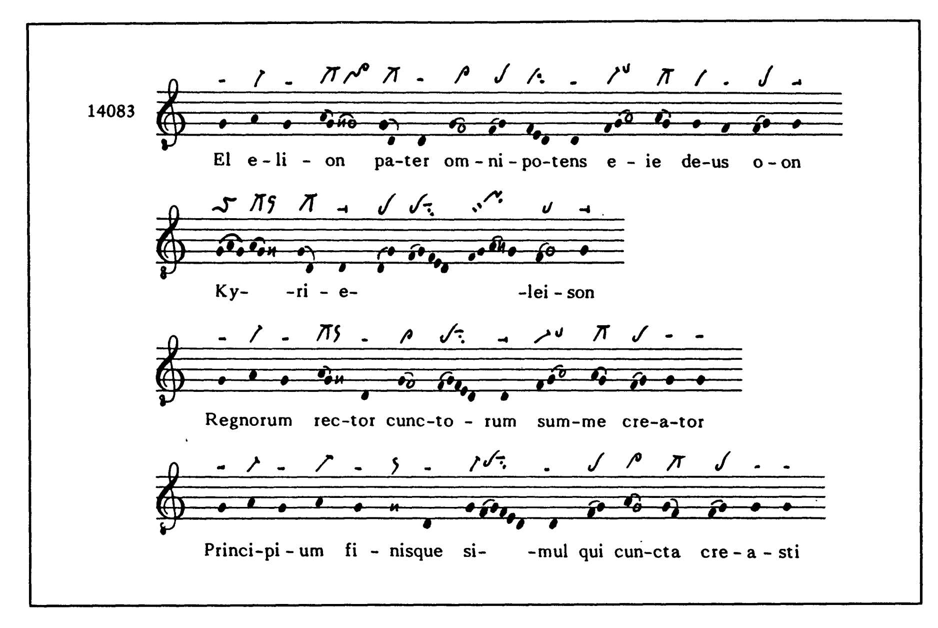
trope:	poem:
0 pater immense *cui semper idem manet esse*	*0 patris aeterne* *cui semper idem manet esse*
Sancte simul flatus *procedens non generatus*	*Spiritus o sancte* *quo constant cuncta creante*
Tu princeps pacis *tu principium pietatis*	*0 princeps pacis* *ac principium pietatis*

[12] For Kyrie 223 *0 pater immense* I give a transcription from the Catania source, with a suggested rendering on the stave of the neumes in clm 14083. For Kyrie 68 *El elion/Regnorum rector* I have simply followed what might be called a "consensus version" of Kyrie 68 and interpreted the neumes accordingly.



EXAMPLE 4a. Kyrie 223 *O pater immense*

Bischoff also drew attention to the Greek expressions in verse 7 of the trope: 'teletarchis eudochus ke kyriarchos', of which 'teletarchis' and 'kyriarchos' are apparently borrowed from the writings of Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite. This all chimes in with Otloh's most famous (or notorious) achievement. Otloh was born about 1010, educated at the monastery of Tegernsee, but delayed his monastic profession until after two severe illnesses (which he took as celestial reminders to fulfil former vows). He worked as a lay brother at St Emmeram before becoming a monk there in 1032. He was a friend of William of Hirsau and his name appears in William's musical and



EXAMPLE 4b. Kyrie 68 *El elion pater / Regnorum rector*

astronomical treatises; he is known to have given William a number of missals, probably copied and illuminated by himself. He was involved in controversy about the independence of the monastery from the bishopric and had to leave St Emmeram in 1062.

As part of the campaign to assert the independence of the monastery, the monks declared in 1049 that the body of St Denis the Areopagite had been abducted by Arnulf of Carinthia from the monastery of St Denis in France and now resided in their monastery. An anonymous tract - the so-called 'Translatio I' - was produced to document the event, which on linguistic grounds Bischoff attributes to Otloh. He probably wrote a sequence in honour of St Denis and helped produce other false documents about the exemption of St Emmeram from episcopal control.

Probably at some time during these years Otloh visited Montecassino. Bischoff knew from *Analecta Hymnica* that the Kyrie trope *0 pater immense* was also in the Troia manuscript (he did not know of the Sicilian ones). In the southern sources it has an extra Greek verse before each of the first three Kyrie invocations, which Bischoff thinks was added. (The melody is simply repeated from the descent from c onwards.)

Now although Otloh was obviously interested in St Denis the pseudo-Areopagite, the writings of the latter did not apparently influence him to any great extent. In other words, the Kyrie trope *0 pater immense*, with its Dionysian element, is rather exceptional in Otloh's output. Bischoff put it like this: 'Otloh copied works of

the pseudo-Areopagite, probably in the ambit of Montecassino; probably he composed the trope shortly after he had become acquainted with this new spiritual world, for in all the rest of his writings he betrays no influence of the Pseudo-Areopagite, either in content or in style.'[13]

Now if Otloh composed the Kyrie trope, why should it have been copied in southern sources? Practically all the ordinary of mass chants in Naples VI.G.34 are from the Norman-Sicilian repertory, of which Madrid 289 and 19421 are prime representatives.[14] Why should they contain a composition by an itinerant German monk? Is it possible that the piece originated in Montecassino, or even in Sicily, and was then simply brought by Otloh back to St Emmeram? That would explain its exceptional features when compared with Otloh's other writings. One would then have to argue that Otloh composed his prayer to the Almighty after having learned the Kyrie trope.

It is unfortunate that we have no source from Montecassino or Benevento for the composition. The Palermo manuscript dates from the mid-12th century, the Catania manuscript from slightly later, and the Troia manuscript from the late-12th or perhaps even from the 13th century. The trope can hardly be Norman, for the Normans had not even come to South Italy by the time clm 14083 was copied. But nor is it stylistically compatible with earlier Italian compositions. I gratefully acknowledge here a number of helpful suggestions made to me by John Boe, who points out ample grounds for discarding a theory of Italian origin: the melody changes between Kyrie, Christe and Kyrie, the text is in hexameters, there are Greek phrases, it is determinedly trinitarian. The melody is unlike any native Italian composition.

Which brings us back to Otloh. The appearance of the trope in Palermo and Troia is a puzzle whether or not the piece was composed by Otloh. We simply cannot bridge the gap between Otloh's time and the later southern sources. It was the text-music relationship -- unsyllabic -- which aroused my suspicion that an Italian connection with the piece existed. But the same is also true of *El elion pater omnipotens*, for which only St Emmeram sources are known. On linguistic grounds Bischoff suggested that *El elion pater omnipotens* might come from the circle of prior Arnold, a slightly older contemporary of Otloh, who on a journey to Hungary composed antiphons and responsories for the office of St Emmeram for Bishop John of Esztergom (Gran).[15] All this tips the balance in favour of Bischoff's hypothesis. We

[13] Bischoff in *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 123; *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 97.

[14] David Hiley, "Quanto c'è di normanno nei tropari sicilo-normanni?", *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 18 (1983), 3-28. At that time, knowing nothing of Otloh, I classified *O pater excelse* as "probably Sicilian"! Compare the lists for these manuscripts in David Hiley, "Ordinary of mass chants in English, North French and Sicilian manuscripts", *Journal of the Plainsong & Mediaeval Music Society* 9 (1986), 1-128.

[15] Bischoff in *Studien und Mitteilungen*, 110ff; *Mittelalterliche Studien*, 85ff.

would then have two Kyrie tropes with a unique text-music relationship, perhaps influenced by Italian practice, one with a text also inspired by contact with Italy. It is worth remembering that the technique of composing Kyrie tropes favoured in early German centres had the music of the trope verses quite independent of the Kyrie melody. As with all trope verses of this type (for the Gloria, or the proper chants of the mass, for example), a syllabic musical setting was not usual. Perhaps, therefore, for his new trope verses Otloh was adapting Kyrie melodies he knew (not such a common procedure in his home area) but falling back on the type of setting (that is, non-syllabic) to which he was accustomed.[16]

Even if some aspects of these Kyries remain puzzling, it may fairly be claimed that musical analysis adds a valuable dimension to their investigation. And it is rarely that so many factors -- ecclesiastical-political, cultural-historical, theological and philological -- impinge upon musical items such as these. The case of Otloh of St Emmeram cannot have been unique. The fact that a known personage, and a rather remarkable one at that, was involved adds human interest to the investigation, but the same questions can asked, the same avenues of inquiry followed, for pieces that remain anonymous. The analysis of transmission patterns and of literary and musical style is the key which enables us to unlock the doors of this repertory, as of others.

[16] Another stylistically somewhat ambivalent item in the St Emmeram Kyrie repertory, *Princeps astrigeram*, has been discussed by Bjork, "Early repertories", 33.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[15]

FROM TUOTILO TO THE FIRST MANUSCRIPTS: THE SHAPING OF A TROPE REPERTORY AT SAINT GALL*

SUSAN RANKIN

Writing his *Casus Sancti Galli* in the middle of the eleventh century, the monk-historian Ekkehard IV noted: «Que autem Tuotilo dictaverat, singularis et agnoscibilis melodie sunt»[1]. So that the unusual and distinctive character of Tuotilo's compositions might be recognized, Ekkehard then named six, continuing: «sed istos proposuimus, ut, quam dispar eius melodia sit ceteris, si musicus es, noris»[2]. Thus Tuotilo, who had died shortly after his close friend Notker (d. 909), was remembered by the monks of Saint Gall a century and a half later.

Tuotilo serves as an appropriate starting point for a study of the Saint Gall trope repertory. Through Ekkehard's report concerning Tuotilo we learn that tropes were composed and sung at Saint Gall by the end of the ninth century. We even know the incipits of some of them: *Hodie cantandus, Omnium virtutum gemmis, Quoniam dominus Ihesus Christus, Omnipotens genitor fons et origo* and *Gaudete et cantate*[3]. This is but a tiny number however; some of these incipits represent no more than a single trope element. Compared with the sequences known to have been composed by Notker and his contemporaries, it seems very little indeed[4]. And, unlike the sequence repertory, which can be traced back through various tenth-century sources as far as two copied at Saint Gall *circa* 900[5] – in other words within Notker's lifetime – no Saint Gall manuscripts containing tropes survive from this early date[6]. Thus, while the pre-

---

* This paper was read at the fourth *Corpus Troporum* workshop *(Tropes in Their Cultural Context)* in Perugia, 2–5 September 1987.

1 Ekkehard IV, *Casus Sancti Galli,* ed. H.F. Haefele, (Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 10), Darmstadt 1980, 104.

2 Ibid.

3 For a discussion which attempts to identify these tropes in extant repertories and which sets out most of the documentary evidence concerning Tuotilo, see E.G. Rüsch, *Tuotilo Mönch und Künstler,* St. Gallen 1953. On his artistic work, see esp. J. Duft and R. Schnyder, *Die Elfenbein-Einbände der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen,* Beuron 1984. On his script, see S. Rankin, «Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter in einer neuen Zeit», *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* 11 (1991), 17–42.

4 For a definitive study and edition of this corpus, see W. von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter,* 2 vols, Bern 1948.

5 On these see S. Rankin, «The Earliest Sources of Notker's Sequences: St Gallen, Vadiana 317, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale 10587», *Early Music History* 10 (1991), 201–233.

6 There is, however, a trope collection in a manuscript copied in the very early years of the tenth century (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 1609) which may represent a specific portion of an early St Gall repertory. The nature of this repertory and the manuscript's connections with Saint Gall are discussed, with previous bibliography, in S. Rankin, «Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter».

eminence of the poets and musicians who had flourished in the Swiss monastery in the second half of the ninth century and the early tenth – among them Hartmann, Ratpert, Notker and Tuotilo – is beyond doubt, it is not at all clear how much any of these and the immediately succeeding generations contributed specifically to trope composition. The reputation with which Ekkehard IV credited the Saint Gall «Song School» has been sustained but rarely examined or assessed in the modern literature – with one notable exception in Von den Steinen's outstanding study of the sequence repertory: *Notker der Dichter*[7].

How large then *was* the trope repertory at Saint Gall in the late ninth century? Did it continue to expand through the tenth and eleventh centuries, and if so, how was it built up? Between the late ninth century and the earliest manuscripts, how many tropes were composed at Saint Gall, and how many imported? Since the Saint Gall tropers date from a period considerably later than the time of composition of the earliest layers of the repertory, the gap can only be bridged through analysis of the manuscript sources and patterns of transmission, and by philological study. And before any of this can be accomplished we have to be sure which manuscripts are indeed from Saint Gall, and what kind of information they can give regarding troping. With the publication in 1956 of a study dealing with questions very similar to my own, Heinrich Husmann cast doubt on the value of two of the tropers now in the Stiftsbibliothek as witnesses to Saint Gall practice[8]. This exploratory study must therefore begin with a reconsideration of the six tropers preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek, and of what they represent as liturgical books. Later I will come back to the Tuotilo tropes.

The Four Eleventh-Century Tropers (Codices 376, 378, 380, 382)

There are four Saint Gall tropers dating from a period virtually contemporary with Ekkehard's composition of the second part of the *Casus sancti Galli*, that is second quarter to mid-eleventh century. The repertory of proper tropes copied into Saint Gall Stiftsbibliothek 376, 378, 380 and 382 is to a high degree consistent from one manuscript to another, both in terms of the feasts for which tropes are provided, and the identity of the tropes themselves. Figure 1 shows the series of feasts for which tropes were copied in each of the four[9]. SG 376 and 378 include tropes for the feasts of SS Fabian and Sebastian and St Agnes; 376 also includes Maurice and Andrew. Otherwise all four trope collections follow the same pattern, including, notably, the Octaves of Epiphany and Easter, and the two patronal feasts, those of Gallus and Otmar.

7 The major musical studies are A. Schubiger, *Die Sängerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert,* Einsiedeln 1858; R. van Doren, *Étude sur l'influence musicale de l'abbaye de Saint-Gall,* Louvain 1925, and J. Handschin, «St. Gallen in der mittelalterlichen Musikgeschichte», in *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 85 (1945), 243–247, and «Geschichte der Musik in der Schweiz bis zur Wende des Mittelalters», in *Schweizer Musikbuch,* ed. W. Schuh, Zürich 1939, 11–53.

8 H. Husmann, «Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt des St Galler Tropariums», *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956), 25–41. See also the individual entries in H. Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften* (RISM B V 1), Munich-Duisburg 1964.

9 This list is compiled on the basis of the eleventh-century repertory, and does not take account of later additions, in particular those substantial changes and additions made in the thirteenth century to SG 378 and 382.

Figure 1
Feasts for which tropes are provided in the eleventh-century tropers of Saint Gall

		Cod. 376	378	380	382
25 Dec	Christmas	■	■	■	■
26 Dec	St Stephen	■	■	■	■
27 Dec	St John Ev.	■	■	■	■
28 Dec	Holy Innocents	■	■	■	■
6 Jan	Epiphany	■	■	■	■
13 Jan	Oct. Epiphany	■	■	■	■
20 Jan	Fabian + Sebastian	■	■		
21 Jan	Agnes	■	■		
2 Feb	Purification BVM	■	■	■	■
	Easter	■	■	■	■
	Oct. Easter	■	■	■	■
	Ascension	■	■	■	■
	Pentecost	■	■	■	■
24 June	St John Bap.	■	■	■	■
29 June	St Peter	■	■	■	■
10 Aug	St Lawrence	■	■	■	■
15 Aug	Assumption BVM	■	■	■	■
8 Sep	Nativity BVM	■	■	■	■
22 Sep	St Maurice	■			
16 Oct	St Gall	■	■	■	■
17 Oct	Dedicatio Eccl.	■	■	■	■
1 Nov	All Saints'	■	■	■	■
16 Nov	Otmar	■	■	■	■
30 Nov	Andrew	■			

If we now consider the number and kind of tropes provided for each feast, we discover other levels of rationalization. At least one set of trope elements is provided for the Introit of each feast; this set usually includes an introductory trope element, a set of interpolated elements, and a trope which follows the psalm verse and precedes the second singing of the Introit antiphon[10]. Most major feasts have up to twice this number of tropes, that is, not only tropes which enclose the first singing of the Introit antiphon and its psalm verse, but also a trope following the second singing of the antiphon and the doxology, an interpolated set for the third singing, and again a trope between the psalm verse *(ad repetendum)* and a fourth singing of the antiphon. A comparison of the tropes recorded in SG 376 for the Epiphany Introit *Ecce advenit* with those for the Epiphany octave, and those for the Ascension Introit *Viri Galilaei* shows these various possibilities. All are listed by incipit in Figure 2. Epiphany itself has the introductory trope (probably a home composition) *Forma speciosissimus* followed by the very widespread set beginning with the element *Ecclesiae sponsus* (definitely not composed at Saint Gall). There then follows a series of trope elements inserted according to the plan outlined above. Likewise, the Epiphany octave has a complete set for the first singing of the Introit antiphon, including an element interposed between psalm verse and second singing of the antiphon; this series also includes an element

10 In their study «Tropentypen in Sankt Gallen», *supra,* Gunilla Björkvall and Andreas Haug argue that this last trope element belongs not to the Introit antiphon which it precedes, but to the psalm verse which it follows. Since there are clear differences in how the material is set out in the tenth- and eleventh-century sources, and it is unclear whether an earlier understanding of the function of this trope element was still in force in eleventh-century practice, I prefer to retain a neutral position in describing these patterns.

Figure 2
Types of trope complex in the eleventh-century tropers

EPIPHANY		EPIPHANY OCTAVE*	ASCENSION	
Forma speciosissimus		Rege nostro		
Ecclesiae sponsus	A. ECCE ADVENIT	Gaudendum est nobis	Ex numero frequentium	A. VIRI GALILAEI
Iesus quem reges	DOMINATOR DOMINUS	Invisibiliter in uterum	Quasi quid incredibile	QUID ... ALLELUIA
Vidimus stellam eius	ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS	Quem stella ducente	Iure caelos petiit	QUEMADMODUM ...
Cui soli debetur	ET POTESTAS ET IMPERIUM.	Quod in suo baptismate	Ne pseudochristos	ITA VENIET ... .
		Qua liquidos (ET IMPERIUM)		
	P. DEUS IUDICIUM			P. OMNES GENTES ... .
Deus pater deo *vel*				
Ut iudicet orbem	A. ECCE ADVENIT	Ut iudicet orbem	Qui vobis terrigenis	A. VIRI GALILAEI ... .
	G. GLORIA ... AMEN.			G. GLORIA ... AMEN.
Deo filio et patri	A. ECCE ADVENIT	Cui dies ista		
Christus in alvum	DOMINATOR DOMINUS			
Cui caelestia	ET REGNUM IN MANU EIUS			
Regnum aeternum	ET POTESTAS			
Qua inferos debellando	ET IMPERIUM.			
	V. IUDICARE			
De manu eos	A. ADVENIT			

A: Introit antiphon P: Psalm verse G: Doxology V: Psalm verse *ad repetendum*
* The chant phrases are as those shown on the left, unless otherwise indicated.

between the doxology and the third singing of the antiphon, but no interpolated elements for this latter. And even this much is missing for the Ascension Introit, which has just one trope set, leading to a second singing of the Introit antiphon. Of course, as well as Introit tropes, many feasts have tropes for the Offertory and Communion chants also.

The overall pattern of these collections is thus relatively systematic and functional. While the number of tropes may vary considerably from one feast to another, there is some notion of a minimum amount which should be provided, to enable at least one singing of the Introit antiphon to be troped.

Clearly, not just composition but a good deal of organization too has gone into the preparation of this liturgical repertory – and that well before any of the four tropers was copied. The pattern in each book is for the proper tropes to be copied into regular gatherings in continuous sequences and by one hand throughout (that is, leaving aside alterations made in the thirteenth century). Thus, before these tropers were copied, some attempt was made to order and sort the proper trope collection. What we now see preserved in the four eleventh-century books has all the appearance of a «settled» liturgical repertory.

The Two Tenth-Century Tropers (Codices 484 and 381)

There are two other books containing large trope repertories in the Stiftsbibliothek at Saint Gall. SG 484 and 381 were both copied in the middle to third quarter of the tenth century, well before Hartker began his Antiphonal in 990. These collections are of quite a different nature to those in SG 376, 378, 380 and 382. Observing this Husmann wrote: «Der Gegensatz zwischen beiden Handschriftengruppen ist also so diametral wie er größer kaum gedacht werden kann»[11]. On the basis of eight classes of divergence between the two manuscript groups, including the fact that the earlier manuscripts have considerably larger collections of proper tropes, Husmann concluded that SG 484 and 381 were not copied at or intended for Saint Gall.

Husmann's arguments for «a fundamental difference between the whole trope repertories» of the two early and four later tropers, are as follows:
1 – That the two groups of tropers include prose collections which belong to «different traditions» (p. 26).
2 – That the Greek Ordinary and parallel Latin/Greek Ordinary chants are copied in different orders (p. 27). Husmann observed that in SG 381 and 382 the chants are copied in «linguistic» order (Greek, followed, by Latin/Greek), whereas in 376, 380 and 378 they are grouped by liturgical type.
3 – That the tropers have different numbers of Gloria tropes, as follows: 382 and 378, none; 376 and 380, seven and three respectively, 381 and 484, thirteen each (p. 28).
4 – That the Kyrie tropes are in part concordant, and in part different (p. 29).
5 – That, based on the presence and order of appearance of Ordinary chants and tropes for these, 382 represents the earliest state of Ordinary material, with 381 following shortly after (a stemma is presented on p. 31).
The next group of arguments concerns tropes for proper chants:
6 – That the repertories of texted tropes in the two groups of tropers are different.
7 – That 381 and 484 contain melismatic tropes, but 376, 378, 380 and 382 do not (p. 39).

11 Husmann, «Die älteste erreichbare Gestalt», 33.

8 – That, unlike the group of four, 381 and 484 do not include tropes for a second psalm verse associated with the *repetendum* of the Introit (p. 39).

Husmann concluded that, although the differences do not *prove* that 381 and 484 were not copied in and for Saint Gall, it is possible that they were copied at another monastery closely associated with it. In contrast, the unified group of four manuscripts, which have a less rich repertory than 381 and 484, represent a true Saint Gall practice, with 382 representing the oldest accessible state of the Saint Gall trope repertory («die älteste erreichbare Gestalt»).

Two kinds of misunderstanding dominate this list of arguments: first, Husmann seems over and over again to assume that larger repertories, in particular those which include extra types of chant/trope, represent later chronological stages. This eventually forces him to argue that 381 was copied *after* 1030 (which, in view of the script, is completely untenable)[12]. Nowhere is the possibility that tropes might have been discarded considered. Second, he appears to have regarded all six books as prescriptive, each representing a thoroughly worked-out liturgical practice, each a guide to the way liturgy was actually performed in an individual centre. I am at a loss to explain how his reasoning concerning the arrangement of items in the books works, since the philological rule (the *lectio difficilior* representing an older reading) has no application to the order of copying of separate items. The following comments on his arguments are arranged following the numbering above:

1 – The argument for different traditions is not presented, but appears to be based on work by Paul v. Winterfeld published in 1904. Husmann is here unaware of the detailed study of Saint Gall sequence texts and collections published by Wolfram von den Steinen in 1948[13]. According to Von den Steinen there is no conflict between the material transmitted in 381 and that in the four later sources[14]. SG 484 contains *no* texted sequences, and it is unclear exactly how Husmann intended this part of the argument to be understood.

2 – Although the divergence undoubtedly indicates a change of copying practice, it hardly amounts to more than that.

3 – In fact, the tropes copied in Wi 1609, arguably representing something of the early tenth-century troping practice of Saint Gall, include Gloria tropes, as do other early trope sources; it is thus simply counterintuitive to argue that the tropers which include no Gloria tropes represent the oldest state of affairs.

4 – As Husmann himself sets out, the repertories of Kyrie tropes are not identical even within the later group.

5 – This compounds the problems raised by the second and third arguments.

6 – Here, Husmann appears to have conceived trope sets as unchangeable, so that the varied combinations of introductory and interpolated tropes go unnoticed. Nor is the high level of concordance between the two groups of tropers remarked. The concordances are particularly telling when the trope repertories of the six are compared with repertories from elsewhere.

7 – This is a correct observation.

8 – In fact, the two manuscripts do include a few examples of this, although never systematically in the way that the group of four does.

12 On this see the evidence and arguments presented in *Die beiden ältesten St Galler Tropare: Codex 484 und 381 der Stiftsbibliothek,* Faksimile-Ausgabe und Kommentar, 2 vols, ed. W. Arlt and S. Rankin (Amadeus Verlag, Winterthur, forthcoming).

13 Von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter.*

14 See especially the stemma of sources: II, 197.

Husmann's next step was to suggest Zürich as a more likely home for 484 and 381 – this because of the late addition of some tropes for the feast of SS Felix and Regula, patron saints of the town of Zürich[15]. But Husmann's patently evolutionary approach – that the smaller repertories represent an earlier chronological stage – is in direct contradiction to the palaeographical evidence of the tropers in the Stiftsbibliothek. That SG 484 and 381 were copied at Saint Gall in the middle/third quarter of the tenth century – and thus long before the four others – can be demonstrated on numerous palaeographical and codicological grounds. I believe that the divergences between the two groups of manuscripts should be interpreted in a quite different way.

The Manner of Preparation of SG 484 and 381

First there is the plain fact that the various hands which turn up in different parts of 484 and 381, from the earliest layers as far as additions made in the mid to late eleventh century, all write in a characteristic Saint Gall manner – using techniques taught in the monastic scriptorium which had altered little since the late ninth century[16]. It is not just the script, but also the presentation of the two manuscripts which is typical of Saint Gall. In 484, for example, the first recto was left blank, and an inscription copied in capital letters on the first verso. The tropes then begin on the second recto side. This procedure of leaving the outer recto blank and following with a title page can be observed in liturgical books copied at Saint Gall from the early tenth right through the eleventh century. The famous Cantatorium (SG 359)[17] and an exemplar of Notker's *Liber Ymnorum* copied *circa* 900 are two obvious examples[18].

Of course it would have been possible for Saint Gall scribes to prepare liturgical books for use in another monastery. In the case of a substantial collection of liturgical books copied for Bishop Sigebert of Minden in the early eleventh century, this was precisely what happened. But when books are intended for use in another place this fact may quickly become apparent from the saints' feasts. And the proper trope repertory copied in 484 and 381 fits, with the sole exception of one later addition, the liturgical kalendar of Saint Gall. The degree of concordance between the 484/381 proper trope repertory and the feasts represented in Notker's *Liber Ymnorum* is striking: lists based on each are shown together in Figure 3. This *Liber Ymnorum* list is based on Von den Steinen's edition, and shows the feasts represented in what was probably the original form of the *Liber Ymnorum,* containing Notker's compositions only. This contains all sorts of repeat celebrations: the days of Easter week and various octaves. Also, Notker's list does not include Otmar, first abbot of the monastery. But Otmar was named patron alongside Gallus in 878, and one of Notker's contemporaries composed *Laude dignum sanctum* in his honour. It would have been odd not to find his feast in the trope collections. These small anomalies aside, the sequence and trope repertories match very closely.

15 Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften,* 42.

16 On this see A. Bruckner, *Schreibschulen der Diözese Konstanz: St Gallen* (Scriptoria Medii Aevi Helvetica: Denkmäler Schweizerischer Schreibkunst des Mittelalters 2–3), Geneva 1936 and 1938, II, 24–45, and H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich,* 2 vols, Stuttgart 1986, I, 366 ff.

17 Published in facsimile as *Cantatorium No 359 de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Gall (IXe siècle),* PM 2e sér., 2, Tournai 1924.

18 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 10587.

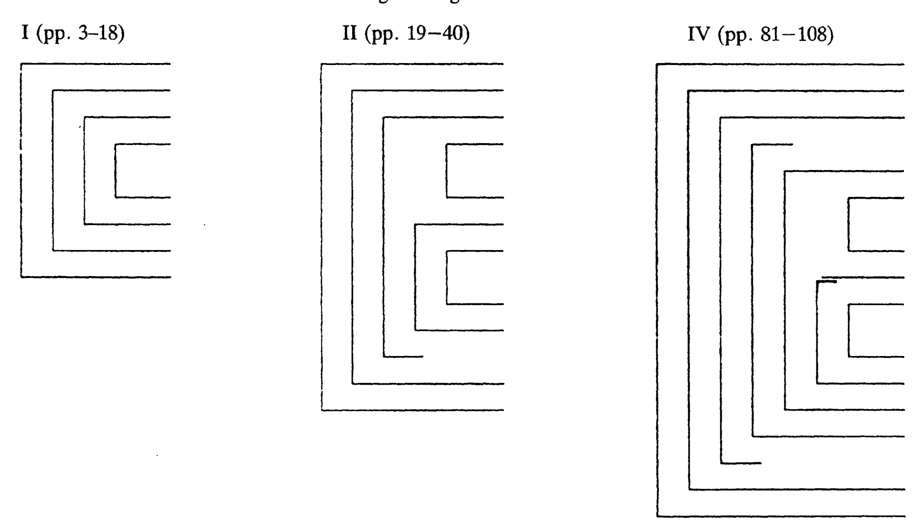
Figure 3
Feasts represented in Notker's *Liber Ymnorum* and in the trope collections in SG 484 and 381

Liber Ymnorum	484	381
Christmas	■	■
St Stephen	■	■
St John Ev.	■	■
Holy Innocents	■	■
Oct. Christmas		
Epiphany	■	■
Purification	■	■
	Dominica in XLma	■
	Palm Sunday	■
Easter	■	■
Fer. 2	■	
Fer. 3	■	
Fer. 4	■	
Fer. 5		
Fer. 6		
Fer. 7		
Oct. Easter	■	
Oct. + 1		
Oct. + 2		
Oct. + 3		
Oct. + 4		
Ascension	■	■
Dom. post Asc.		
Pentecost	■	■
Oct. Pentecost		
St John Bap.	■	■
SS Peter + Paul	■	■
St Lawrence	■	■
Assumption BVM	■	■
Nativity BVM	■	■
St Michael	■	■
St Gall	■	■
Dedicatio Eccl.	■	■
All Saints	■	■
	Otmar	■
		Felix + Regula
Common of Apostles	■	
Common of Martyrs	■	
Common of Confessors	■	
Common of Virgins		

However, the real clue to understanding the repertorial differences noted by Husmann lies not in the place of origin of the six manuscripts, but in the fact that the two earlier books were not intended to present an established liturgical repertory in the same way as the eleventh-century books. This is most clearly revealed by an examination of the make-up of SG 484. This is, quite simply, extraordinary; Figure 4 shows the structure of the first two and the fourth gatherings, Figure 5 the third gathering. The first is just an ordinary quaternio. But immediately afterwards the arrangement of folios becomes quite peculiar. Three gatherings in a row have double centres, and other oddities besides. Husmann believed that the irregularities were caused by the addition of material after the main period of copying of the manuscript. In RISM he wrote «auch 484 ist genau wie 381 schon sehr früh (noch im 11. Jhdt.) mit Doppelblättern erweitert

worden, so daß sich auch hier eine zum Teil sehr komplizierte Faktur der Lagen ergeben hat»[19]. At any one of the strange points in the gathering structure (say from one central part of a double-centred gathering to the other), however, the contents often continue directly from what went before without any perceptible break. There must thus be a good chance that many of the structural irregularities belong to the *first* rather than any subsequent period of copying of the book.

Figure 4
Structure of the first two and the fourth gatherings in SG 484

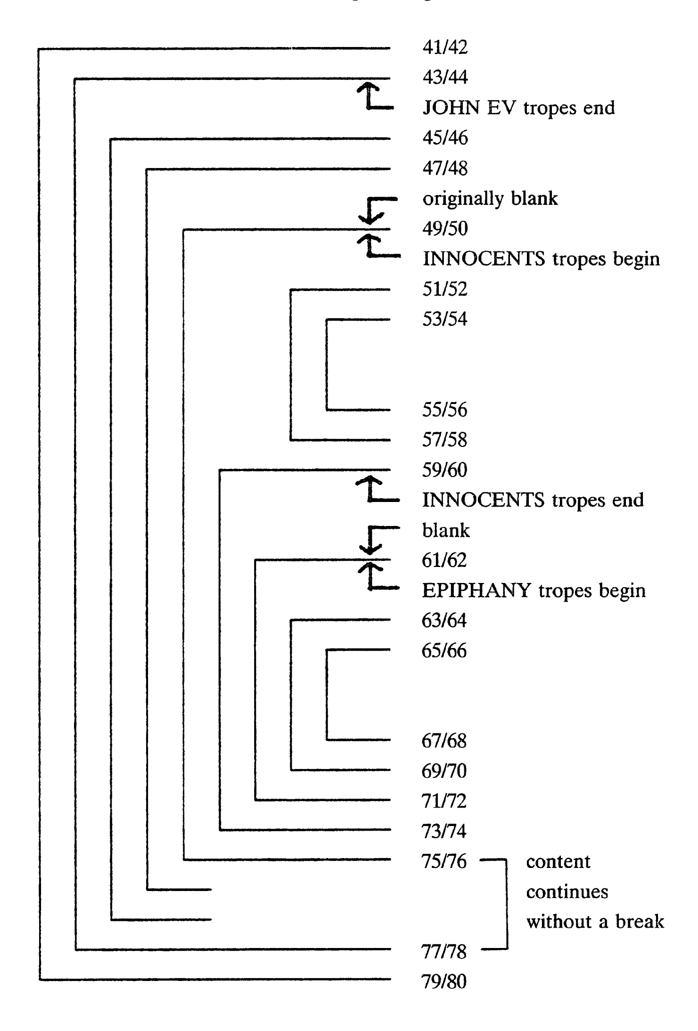


If this line of argument is pursued, an entirely comprehensible rationale for the odd structure emerges. The third gathering may serve as an example for analysis; its structure and contents are set out in Figure 5. The gathering has two outer bifolia, and inside these two singles (which have always been single, since there is no perceptible break in content where the stubs appear between pages 76 and 77). Inside these comes another bifolium (49/50 – 75/76), and then a binio and a quaternio both bound in the centre. The contents of the gathering comprise tropes for the feast of St John the Evangelist (continued from the second gathering), then a brief series of trope complexs for, respectively, the Dedication feast, probably the Common of Martyrs, and of Apostles, Quadragesima, Palm Sunday, the Common of Confessors and again (possibly) the Common of Martyrs. Obviously this group is out of place here, and the two single sheets on which the tropes are written were probably only added at a relatively late stage in the preparation of the collection[20]. Next come tropes for the feast of the Holy Innocents, and then Epiphany tropes, of which there are enough to continue across into the fourth gathering. Apart from the material copied onto the two single folios, the contents of the gathering follow the expected liturgical order. But, given that

19 Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, 47.

20 On palaeographical grounds, this inserted group can be related to a distinct stage in the preparation of the book, fairly late, but involving the copying of tropes from a much older source (or sources). See Arlt and Rankin, *Die beiden ältesten St Galler Tropare.*

Figure 5
Structure and contents of the third gathering of SG 484



the Innocents' tropes continue from the last page of the central binio (58), onto the first page of the central quaternio (59), and that the Epiphany tropes begin within the quaternio, the hypothesis that one of the two central parts of the gathering was added at a «later stage» cannot be sustained. So what was going on?

The answer is, so to say, staring us in the face: the whole gathering, including the singles, was copied by one hand. Differences in ink colour and the size of this hand suggest that the scribe worked on it at various times, but he always wrote in one distinctive hand. In fact, most of the manuscript was copied by this one scribe – who must have had perfectly rational reasons for producing such an odd structure, since no master in a medieval scriptorium ever taught his pupils to go about constructing a book in this way! Two further clues to an understanding of the structure lie in the numerous

blank pages scattered through the whole proper trope collection, and in the disorder of tropes for each feast. The blank pages always come just before the beginning of tropes for a feast: in the third gathering pages 61 and the top half of 62 immediately preceding the Epiphany tropes are empty. Also, the page preceding the Innocents' tropes (49) was blank until the (out of place) Martyrs trope was added. Sometimes, forgetting to leave space for the rubric at the top of a page, this appears at the bottom of the previous originally blank page (as on 49).

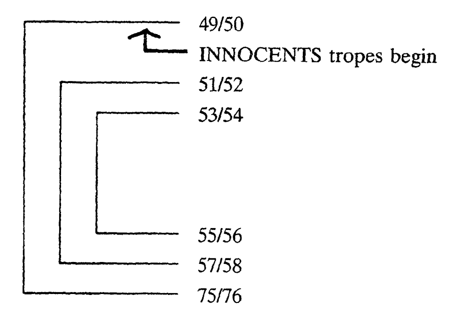
The phenomenon of disorder is not apparent in the series of feasts (apart from the tropes on the two single folios, and these constitute an exception in the book), but in the arrangement of material for individual feasts. In the series of tropes for Holy Innocents, the scribe copied first seven sets of tropes for the Introit *Ex ore infantium,* then one set for the Offertory *Anima nostra* and one trope for the Communion *Vox in Rama.* Then he started the whole cycle again. Another set of Introit tropes (of the melismatic variety), two more sets for the Offertory, and two single Communion tropes. With the Epiphany tropes he had even more fun. They fall into several series:

Trope sets	Chant	page
3	Introit *Ecce advenit*	62–7
2	Offertory *Reges Tharsis*	67–9
1	Communion *Vidimus stellam*	69–70
1	Introit	70–1
1	Communion	71–2
1	Introit	72
1	Offertory	72–3
1	Alleluia V. *Vidimus stellam*	73
1	Offertory	73–4
13	Introit	74–87
4	Offertory	88–9
2	Communion	89

This suggests that he was working with various different sources, copying all the tropes for one feast from one exemplar, before turning to another. And it is with this perception that we can understand the gathering structure, which has a direct relationship to these layers of copying.

The first layers of both Innocents and Epiphany tropes are contained within simple ternios (Figure 6.1). The first recto of each of these ternios remained blank, as was the practice for larger books at Saint Gall. Next, finding some more Epiphany tropes, the scribe added an outer bifolium to the second ternio; also another melismatic trope for the Innocents Introit (Figure 6.2). And he could just have gone on expanding outwards in this simple way if it had not left a rather awkward problem. Each time he added an outer bifolium to take more material, new pages at the end of the gathering were filled, but pages at the beginning were left empty. So he took the somewhat unusual step of putting the quaternio containing Epiphany tropes inside the ternio containing Innocents tropes, and copying more Innocents tropes on the blank pages preceding the Epiphany tropes (Figure 6.3). As he found more material, so the gathering grew, with two more outer bifolia (Figure 6.4). The final stage was the addition of the two singles; these contain a miscellaneous selection which could have been put almost anywhere (Figure 5).

Figure 6.1



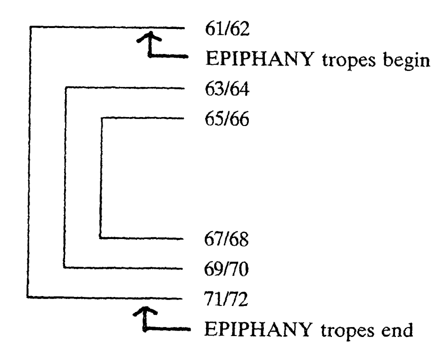


Figure 6.2

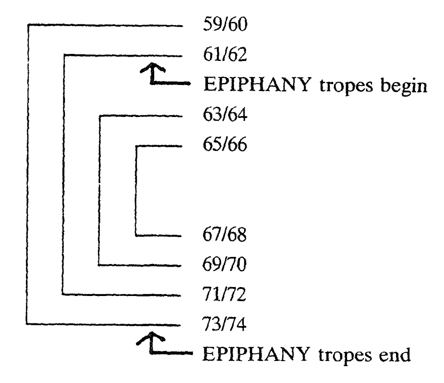
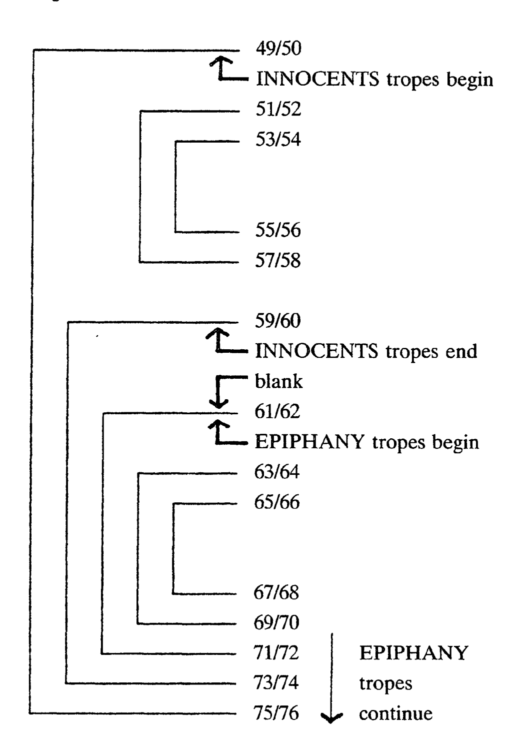


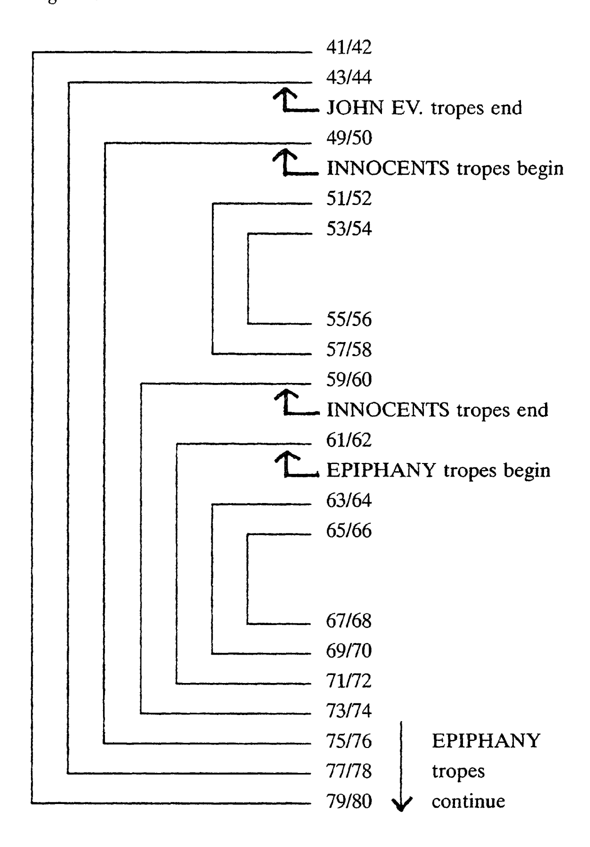
Figure 6.3



Thus the scribe's solution as to how to construct his book as his trope collection grew larger was simply pragmatic. In order to avoid small groups of pages or single bifolia becoming parted from the main collection, he did what he could to build large gatherings. When he first began, he may not have known how many tropes he would eventually copy; otherwise a larger basic gathering size might have been chosen. Nor can he have sat at his desk in a scriptorium collating three or four or five sources. For then he would probably have ordered the material better from the beginning, and not had to take so many intermediate decisions regarding the positioning of new pages.

Perhaps it now comes as no surprise to know that SG 381 was also copied by the same cleptomaniac monk (for that is what I assume this scribe was). All he was trying to do this time was to get his trope collection in order, and to give it a proper place alongside the large repertories of *versus*, Introit and Communion verses and sequences copied in the same book. Both the gathering structure and liturgical ordering in this second book are comparatively unproblematic. One interesting feature of SG 381 is that it still has some empty space between feasts, as well as additions made by the same hand after the main copying effort; even at this stage, the monk did not give up his collecting enterprise. In general, SG 381 contains very little that was not also copied in 484, and there are some indications that 381 was already well under way, before the last additions were made to 484.

Figure 6.4



The Relation between the Two Groups of Tropers

This understanding of how SG 484 and 381 were produced offers many new insights. Here I wish only to outline briefly some of the directions in which this work could lead. In terms of proper tropes, the two groups differ in the kalendar of feasts for which tropes are provided, in the number of tropes copied for each feast, in the types of tropes they preserve, and in their practice regarding the psalm verses of the Introit.

The feasts are quickly dealt with: Figure 7 shows the «trope kalendar» for each of the six books. The four eleventh-century books drop the Michael tropes; in 484 and 381 these had remained unnotated. Whatever caused the loss of their musical tradition, it appears that there was already no live tradition of singing these in the third quarter of the tenth century. Also, the later books have the octaves of Epiphany and Easter, not using new compositions, but tropes already copied in the large tenth-century collections. Thus, large collections were «rationalized», those tropes sung on the octave of a feast actually specified, and separated from the tropes for the feast itself. Other divergences in the list concern only single books.

Figure 7
Feasts for which tropes are provided in the six tropers of St Gallen

	Cod.	484	381	376	378	380	382
25 Dec	Christmas	■	■	■	■	■	■
26 Dec	St Stephen	■	■	■	■	■	■
27 Dec	St John Ev.	■	■	■	■	■	■
28 Dec	Holy Innocents	■	■	■	■	■	■
6 Jan	Epiphany	■	■	■	■	■	■
13 Jan	Oct. Epiphany			■	■	■	■
20 Jan	Fabian + Sebastian			■	■		
21 Jan	Agnes			■	■		
2 Feb	Purification BVM	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Dominica in XLma	■	■				
	Palm Sunday	■	■				
	Easter	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Fer. II, III, IV	■					
	Oct. Easter	■		■	■	■	■
	Ascension	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Pentecost	■	■	■	■	■	■
24 June	St John Bap.	■	■	■	■	■	■
29 June	St Peter	■	■	■	■	■	■
10 Aug	St Lawrence	■	■	■	■	■	■
15 Aug	Assumption BVM	■	■	■	■	■	■
8 Sep	Nativity BVM	■	■	■	■	■	■
22 Sep	St Maurice			■			
29 Sep	St Michael	■	■				
16 Oct	St Gall	■	■	■	■	■	■
17 Oct	Dedicatio Eccl.	■	■	■	■	■	■
1 Nov	All Saints'	■	■	■	■	■	■
16 Nov	Otmar	■	■	■	■	■	■
20 Nov	Felix and Regula		■				
30 Nov	Andrew			■			
	Common of Apostles	■					
	Common of Martyrs	■					
	Common of Confessors	■					

As regards the difference in numbers of tropes for each feast, we have seen that in SG 484 and 381 one monk set about assembling a collection, probably containing everything he could get his hands on, whereas the eleventh-century books contain a more ordered, worked-out and ostensibly fixed liturgical repertory. And there are very few tropes in the later collections which were not already copied in the earlier. What we find here is evidence of a changing practice in terms of the degree of flexibility allowed in the liturgy: from a situation in which tropes could be freely chosen from large repertories (and were probably recorded in small collections, on *rotuli* or in *libelli*), a more circumscribed practice has evolved, with the exact material sung on specified days recorded in single books. The two groups of tropers fulfilled quite different functions, and the later books have only a selection, chosen mainly from material already available in the late tenth century.

With the differences in the type of tropes preserved I come to an important category: the melismatic tropes with which SG 484 and 381 are filled to abundance[21]. These have

21 On these see A. Haug, «Das ostfränkische Repertoire der meloformen Introitustropen», *International Musicological Society Study Group Cantus Planus. Papers read at the Fourth Meeting Pécs, Hungary, September, 1990*, Budapest 1992, 413–26.

simply disappeared from the later repertories. Notwithstanding the fact that a large proportion of the melismatic tropes are concordant with the melodies of texted tropes, many melismatic trope sets in the two manuscripts appear to be pure melodic compositions[22]. I think that we have to assume that this manner of troping (that is, whatever the notation represents as a performance practice) was no longer practised at Saint Gall by the mid-eleventh century.

The last category of differences between the two groups of books has to do with the Introit psalm verses. In SG 376, 378, 380 and 382 the *repetendum* of the Introit, sung in association with a second psalm verse, frequently receives tropes. In 484 and 381, however, usually only the incipit of the first psalm verse was copied, except in a few instances; for the feasts of the Epiphany, Purification and Easter there are examples of tropes associated with the second (as well as the first) psalm verse. The fact that the 484/381 collection had not been precisely sorted out may have something to do with this. Here too, I believe that we are confronted by a development of troping practice, the laying down of clear rules as to which feasts should have tropes for the Introit *repetendum* and which not. But the idea of troping the second Introit verse is hardly new in itself in the eleventh century.

What seems to have gone on in the later years of the tenth century and the early eleventh at Saint Gall was some process of sorting, selecting and organizing a proper trope repertory. And the basis of this work was a grand effort of collecting to which one dedicated monk contributed a good deal. There must have been others who composed and collected in the generations immediately succeeding, but the main work of composition and bringing together of trope repertories in written form had already been accomplished by the late tenth century. With the survival of SG 484 and 381, an important stage in a process of rationalization has been preserved.

Tuotilo's Compositions

With this new understanding of the nature of the Saint Gall trope collections, and the sure knowledge that SG 484 and 381 are both «home» manuscripts, we can return to the discussion of Tuotilo's compositions. He was a strong and eloquent man, outstanding not only as a poet and musician, but also as an artist. One example of his work in this domain is a pair of ivory panels used to bind a book of gospels, SG 53 in the Stiftsbibliothek[23]. Here intricacy and fineness of execution are but the glosses to an elaborate iconographic scheme: Christ enthroned in majesty, the first and the last, is surrounded by animals and figures united in a complex symbolic scheme[24]. It is this degree of intellectual depth combined with elegance that we recognize also in the most famous trope associated with Tuotilo's name, *Hodie cantandus est nobis puer.* But here I would like to examine another of Ekkehard's attributions to Tuotilo, a trope which is considerably simpler and more straightforward in its imagery than any of the four others.

22 All of those melismatic tropes which are copied in association with text tropes are concordant with them, the untexted versions being melismatic notations of the same melodic pattern as that sung with the preceding text. And some of the melismatic tropes not copied with texted versions can nevertheless be associated with these. For a complete catalogue of melismatic proper tropes in the eastern repertories see A. Haug, *Musikalischer Index zum Corpus Troporum* (in preparation).

23 On these ivories see Duft and Schnyder, *Die Elfenbein-Einbände*, 55–93.

24 See the explanation by Von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter*, I, 43–45.

Ekkehard's portrayal of a warm, generous and outgoing nature concords well with the joyful spirit of the Easter Offertory trope *Gaudete et cantate quia hodie surrexit dominus de sepulchro.* Unfortunately, since no heighted source has survived, we are not in a strong position to test Ekkehard's statements concerning the distinctive qualities of Tuotilo's melodies. But a great deal can be said about the text[25]. In all six Saint Gall tropers *Gaudete* is linked with two further elements, *Monumenta aperta sunt* and *Christus surrexit ex mortuis,* all of which are attached to the Easter Offertory *Terra tremuit et quievit:*

Gaudete et cantate
quia hodie surrexit dominus de sepulchro
  TERRA TREMUIT ET QUIEVIT
Monumenta aperta sunt
et multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt
  DUM RESURGERET IN IUDICIO DEUS
Christus surrexit ex mortuis
venite adoremus eum una voce dicentes
  ALLELUIA.

A large but rather jumbled collection of tropes for the Easter Offertory in SG 484 has been sorted into types in SG 381; the trope complex beginning *Gaudete* is given pride of place, and the introductory verse trope, *Dura prius gentilitas* – demonstrably an old composition since it appears in Wi 1609[26] – is followed by two tropes for each of the three Offertory verses. In the eleventh-century books, only the set beginning *Gaudete* has been retained.

Beyond this marked attachment to the trope and Ekkehard's attribution to Tuotilo, there are other grounds for supposing *Gaudete et cantate* to belong to an old layer of trope composition. The text of the Easter Offertory is drawn from the Roman Psalter, Psalm 75, verses 9 and 10[27]. After the words «in iudicio deus» verse 10 continues «ut salvos faceret omnes quietos terrae», «to save all the meek of the earth». With this psalm verse in mind, the composer of the trope element *Monumenta aperta sunt et multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt* has taken inspiration from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus: in a story much loved by medieval poets and artists, the crucified Christ descends to the gates of hell to release the souls of the patriarchs from Satan's imprisonment. After three days – the interval between Crucifixion and Resurrection – Christ rises triumphant. And this is exactly how the narrative continues in the third trope element: *Christus surrexit a mortuis.* The beginning of the narrative told by these second and third trope elements is the opening of graves: *Monumenta aperta sunt,* and this in turn takes its cue from the beginning of the Offertory: *Terra tremuit.*

In tropers other than those of Saint Gall, the interpolated elements *Monumenta*

---

25 A tentative reconstruction of the melody can be found in S. Rankin, «Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter».

26 Although its 4-line 8-syllable pattern matches that of a whole series of other introductory tropes in this collection, Von den Steinen did not include *Dura prius gentilitas* among the Notker *dubia* in his 1948 study (*Notker der Dichter,* II, 152–4 and 191).

27 R. Weber, ed., *Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 10), Rome 1953.

aperta sunt and *Christus surrexit* are almost invariably associated with the introductory trope *Ab increpatione et ira furoris Domini*[28]:

Ab increpatione et ira furoris domini
  TERRA TREMUIT ET QUIEVIT
Monumenta aperta sunt
et multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt
  DUM RESURGERET IN IUDICIO DEUS
Christus surrexit ex mortuis
venite adoremus eum una voce dicentes
  ALLELUIA.

This brings such colour to the imagery of the Offertory text that we can imagine a truly apocalyptic earthquake. In terms of their sense the three trope elements *Ab increpatione, Monumenta aperta sunt* and *Christus surrexit* self-evidently belong together, and bring to the Offertory text a specific paschal significance[29]. *Gaudete et cantate* has none of the frightening terror of *Ab increpatione,* and gives away the end of the story – Christ's Resurrection – right at the beginning. It was certainly not conceived to be put with these interpolated elements.

What seems most likely is that *Gaudete et cantate* had been composed at Saint Gall as an isolated introductory element[30]. Later, when the Saint Gall monks wanted to sing more trope elements with the Offertory, they detached *Monumenta* and *Christus surrexit* from what had been transmitted as a set, at the same time discarding *Ab increpatione.* We can be certain that *Ab increpatione* was known at Saint Gall, because it was copied as an isolated element in SG 484 (page 114). In transferring the proper tropes to SG 381, the collecting monk broke his normal habit of copying everything he had collected into the second book: he left *Ab increpatione* out altogether, implying that he saw no further use for it.

That *Gaudete et cantate* was a native Saint Gall composition seems relatively sure; as to its date of composition, we can infer that the trope was sung at the monastery before the monks knew the *Ab increpatione* set, which in turn must have arrived well before the scribe of 484 began his collecting enterprise. That takes us back before the middle of the tenth century at least.

The *Gaudete et cantate* story continues in another quite unexpected way. Studies of offertory texts by Helmut Hucke and Kenneth Levy have highlighted a few surviving remnants of Gallican usage in Gregorian books[31]. One of these is the Offertory *Angelus*

28 See the tables in CT III, 260–1; the elements have the numbers 1 *(Ab increpatione),* 9 *(Monumenta),* 10 *(Christus surrexit),* and 8 *(Gaudete).* For detailed studies of the texts, music and transmission of these trope elements see J.G. Johnstone, *The Offertory Trope: Origins, Transmission, and Function* (Ph. D. diss.), Ohio State University 1984, 79–112; also G. Björkvall, «The Last Judgment: The Apocalyptic Theme in the Easter Offertory Trope *Ab increpatione et ira*», in *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter,* ed. D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut, H-H. Steinhoff, Sigmaringen 1991, 255–68, and A. Haug, «Zur Musik der ältesten Ostertropen», ibid., 269–281.

29 Their melodic patterns are also matched: see Johnstone, *Offertory Trope,* 100 ff; Rankin, «Notker und Tuotilo: Schöpferische Gestalter», 22, and Haug, «Zur Musik», 279.

30 In his study *Offertory Trope,* Johnstone argues that *Gaudete et cantate* was composed as a substitute for the first element, *Ab increpatione.*

31 H. Hucke, «Die Texte der Offertorien», *Speculum musicae artis: Festgabe für Heinrich Husmann,* ed. H. Becker and R. Gerlach, Munich 1970, 193–203, and K. Levy, «Toledo, Rome and the legacy of Gaul», *Early Music History* 4 (1984), 49–99.

domini descendit, copied in Gregorian books for Easter Monday. (But in Milanese books, *Angelus domini* is the Offertory for Easter Day.) Levy suggests that, before being displaced by the Roman Offertory *Terra tremuit, Angelus domini* had been sung as the Gallican Easter Offertory. And the single trope element *Gaudete et cantate* fits to the Gallican text much better than to *Terra tremuit:*

> Gaudete et cantate
> quia hodie surrexit dominus de sepulchro
> ANGELUS DOMINI DESCENDIT DE CAELO ET DIXIT MULIERIBUS:
> QUEM QUAERITIS SURREXIT SICUT DIXIT, ALLELUIA.

The celebratory spirit of *Gaudete et cantate* is much better suited to this account of the angel's declaration of Christ's resurrection to holy women, than to the colourful psalm verse *Terra tremuit.* But at Saint Gall, the Gallican Offertory had been replaced by *Terra tremuit* before the Cantatorium was copied in the early tenth century. Thus, although the relation between *Gaudete et cantate* and the Gallican Offertory may provide an independent indication of the trope's antiquity, the argument must be regarded as highly speculative; there may be no historical connection between the trope *Gaudete et cantate* and the Offertory *Angelus domini.*

In the light of the collecting enterprise represented by SG 484 and 381, the choice made by the editors of *Corpus Troporum* to place them at the head of the analytical tables in their volumes editing the proper trope repertory was extremely acute. Through this choice, the numbering schemes for individual trope elements carry an extra weight of meaning, since they may tell the reader much about the circulation of trope complexs during a period before the vast majority of trope sources were copied[32].

*

To write about monastic *collectanea* of tropes seems entirely appropriate in a volume dedicated to a scholar whose extraordinarily diverse range of knowledge brings great richness to his work, and whose gladness of spirit is so akin to the simple joy expressed in the tropes of Saint Gall. To a revered teacher and dear friend, «Incessabili voce laudis atque benedictionis AD AUDIENDAM VOCEM SERMONUM EIUS».

---

32 See, for example, the way in which the transmission and building-up of trope complexs is studied in W. Arlt, «Von den einzelnen Aufzeichnungen der Tropen zur Rekonstruktion der Geschichte», in *La Tradizione dei Tropi Liturgici, Atti dei convegni sui tropi liturgici, Parigi (1985) – Perugia (1987),* Spoleto 1990, 439–79.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Part IV
The Ordinary


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[16]

The Earliest Agnus Dei Melody and its Tropes*

By CHARLES M. ATKINSON

ONE OF THE MORE PERPLEXING issues facing investigators of liturgical music in the ninth through the eleventh centuries is the relationship between trope and original chant in the Ordinary of the Mass. It is well known that the items of the Ordinary represent, on the whole, a more recent stratum of the Mass liturgy than do the Propers. Several scholars have pointed out that many chants of the Ordinary might well have been new compositions when they were first copied in musical manuscripts in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[1] Since tropes to the items of the Ordinary first appear at the same time as the Ordinary chants themselves, distinguishing "trope" from "original chant" in the earliest musical sources presents certain difficulties. The crux of these difficulties may be described as follows: If a trope—to state necessary but not sufficient conditions—is a newly composed text with music, embellishing an established liturgical chant, can we legitimately apply the concept "trope" to verses appearing with chants which themselves may be no more ancient or "established" than the verses embellishing them?

The ramifications of this question become particularly acute in the Agnus Dei repertory. They are perhaps best exemplified by the earliest preserved melody for the Agnus Dei, Melody 226 in Martin Schildbach's catalogue, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert.*[2] In the *Graduale Romanum*, Melody 226 appears

* This article is a revised version of a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (Los Angeles, 1975). I should like to express my appreciation to the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, whose fellowship support enabled me to conduct research for this study at the Friedrich Alexander-Universität in Erlangen and in various European libraries.

[1] Among others, see Bruno Stäblein, "Zum Verständnis des 'klassischen' Tropus," *Acta musicologica*, XXXV (1963), 85; Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," *The Musical Quarterly*, LII (1966), 193 ff.; Klaus Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p. 70.

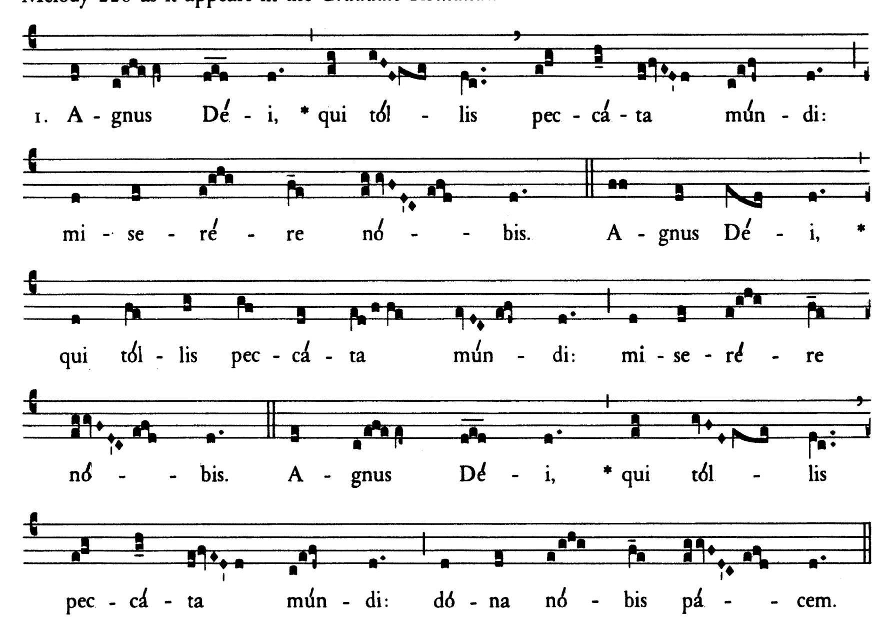
[2] (Erlangen, 1967), pp. 149–53. The manuscript tradition for Melody 226 begins earlier than that for any other melody, but this fact is not apparent from Schildbach's account. Since he did not draw upon nondiastematic sources in compiling his catalogue, Schildbach omits all the earliest East-Frankish manuscripts displaying this melody and several West-Frankish manuscripts as well. Among these are a number of sources dating from the tenth century: London, British Library, Add. MS 19768; Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1888; St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MSS 484 and 381; Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Palat. MS 489; Paris, Bibliotèque

in the second cycle of Ordinary chants, those for solemn feasts of the first class. It displays the familiar threefold Agnus Dei invocation, set melodically in *ABA* form (Ex. 1).

The difficulties mentioned above start to manifest themselves only when one compares the modern edition of this melody with its medieval counterpart. The following setting, from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. MS 1118 (late tenth century), is reasonably typical of the early countenance of Melody 226 (Ex. 2). Here the Agnus Dei melody appears in its entirety only

Example 1

Melody 226 as it appears in the *Graduale Romanum**



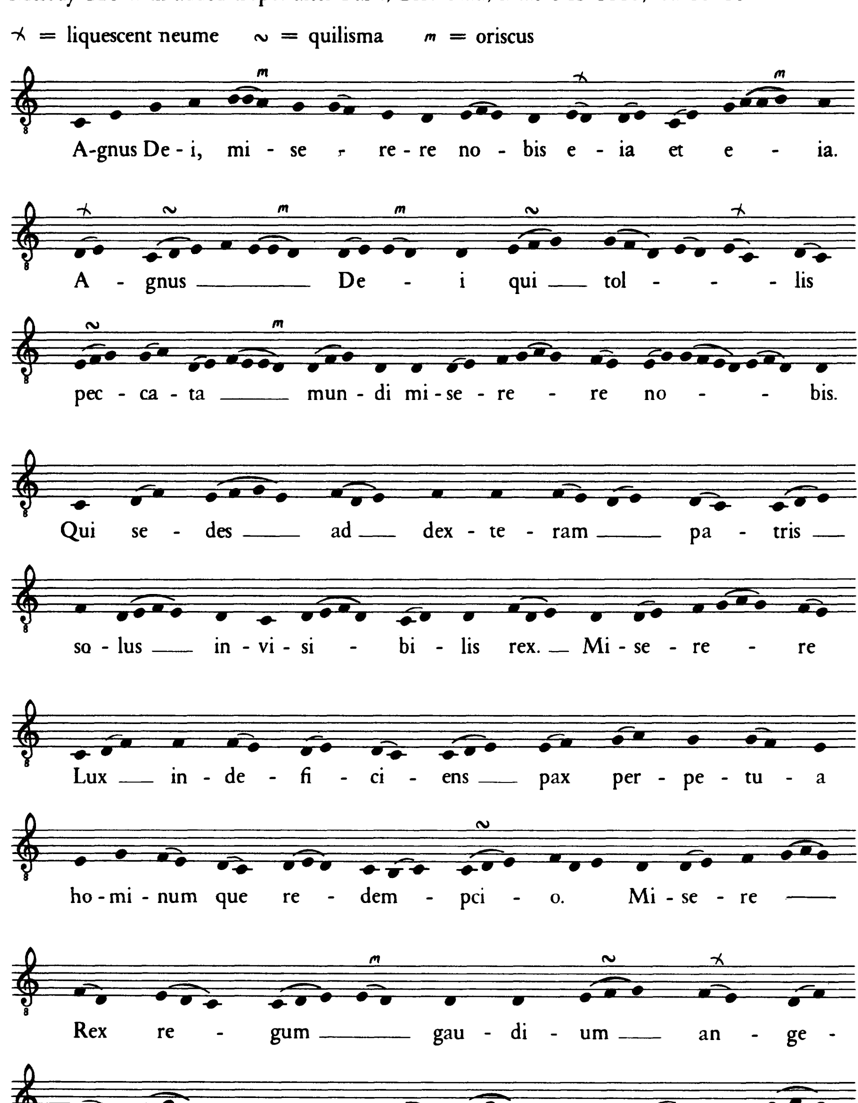
* *Graduale sacrosanctae romanae ecclesiae* ... (Tournai, 1961), pp. 10*–11*

Nationale, f. lat. MS 9448; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473. More surprising is that Schildbach apparently overlooked the settings of this melody in two diastematic sources from the tenth century: Paris, f. lat. MSS 1118 and 1084. Although Melody 226 is not notated in the earliest Aquitanian troper, Paris, f. lat. MS 1240, the set of verses consistently associated with it does appear there, and it appears partially neumed. The melody itself is, thus, indirectly linked to the period 923–34, the date of Paris 1240, and directly tied to the period about 960, the date of London 19768. The precise dating of trope manuscripts is problematic, but the appearance of Melody 226 in virtually all such manuscripts dating from the tenth century argues persuasively that this is in fact the earliest preserved melody for the Agnus Dei (see below, Table 1). The argument that simpler melodies, such as Schildbach's Melody 101 (Requiem) or Melody 98 ("Old Roman"), are the earliest is not supported by the manuscript traditions for those melodies, which begin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively.

THE EARLIEST AGNUS DEI MELODY 3

Example 2

Melody 226 with added tropes after Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. MS 1118, fol. 16–16v



once—not three times, as the *Graduale Romanum* would lead one to expect. The bulk of this setting consists of other lines of text with music, cued only to "Miserere nobis." In fact, it appears as if those other verses—customarily referred to as "tropes"—have replaced most of what we know as the liturgical

text of the Agnus Dei. Perhaps even more fascinating, the melody for the second petition of the Vatican edition is very similar to that for the verse "Rex regum gaudium angelorum Deus" in the tenth-century setting.[3]

Confronted by many settings similar to this in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, Richard Crocker was led to ask whether there *was* an "official, original, liturgical text" for the Agnus Dei in the ninth and tenth centuries. "Agnus Dei," he states, "was still in the process of being added to the Mass in the 9th century."[4] Since the earliest musical sources for this chant deliver it with additional verses, Crocker's question as to the nature of the text of the Agnus Dei is an extremely important one. It would seem quite plausible, for example, that settings such as that in Example 2 were the normal ones in the ninth and tenth centuries, and that what we now recognize as the liturgical text was the result of a conscious process of standardization, perhaps involving stripping away the variable texts and replacing them with the triple Agnus Dei verse.[5]

The questions raised by the earliest settings of Melody 226 thus pertain to both its text and music. It would appear that we should ask not only whether there was an established text for this Agnus Dei, but whether there was an established chant—one that can be distinguished from the verses with which it appears in tenth-century sources. Answers to these questions cannot be given with complete surety, but some tentative answers are possible. In order to

[3] Amédée Gastoué ("Les Dates de composition des pièces du Kyriale," *Revue du chant grégorien*, XXII [1914], 120; and *Le Graduel et l'antiphonaire romains* [Lyons, 1913], p. 276) mentions that the edition of the second Agnus Dei (Melody 226) for the *Liber gradualis* (1902) had been based on the trope *Rex regum*. He gives no more specific information and also cites no manuscript sources. Schildbach (*Agnus Dei*, p. 59) assumes, on the basis of Gastoué's statement, that Rheims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 264 (twelfth century) might have been the source for the Vatican edition of Melody 226. Rheims 264 does contain, on fol. 76ᵛ, a setting of Melody 226 with the set of verses "Rex regum / Qui sedes / Lux indeficiens." This set of verses actually appears early in the tenth century, albeit in a different order. Its earliest appearance is in Paris 1240, with the verse "Lux indeficiens" in the first position. The most common configuration is "Qui sedes / Rex regum / Lux indeficiens," but any of the verses can occupy any position in the sequence. Schildbach's confusion apparently resulted from his system of indexing verse sets by first lines only, without taking into account the phenomenon of verse exchange. It is quite conceivable that the editors of the *Liber gradualis* could have drawn their version of Melody 226 from tenth-century sources, but it is actually closer to the reading offered by such eleventh-century manuscripts as Paris, f. lat. MS 903 and nouv. acqu. lat. MS 1871. Whatever the sources, only one verse, "Rex regum," is involved in the *contrafactum* process.

[4] Crocker, "Troping Hypothesis," p. 194.

[5] Alejandro Planchart ("The Winchester Troper: The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester 900–1050" [Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1971], I, 321) asks: "Does the 'untroped' version [of Melody 226] merely represent an arbitrary selection of trope melodies deprived of their text?" He concludes that "it is very likely that a large number of the 'untroped' Agnus dei melodies are the result of such a process of stripping the texts from pieces originally composed as tropes." See also Planchart's review of Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton, 1970) in *The Musical Quarterly*, LVII (1971), 519–23.

obtain them, we must first investigate the textual tradition and liturgical function of the Agnus Dei itself as a component of the Roman Mass.

The earliest direct reference to the Agnus Dei in the Mass is that found in Lucca, Biblioteca capitolare, Cod. 490, dating from the second half of the eighth century.[6] This manuscript contains the first continuation of the *Liber pontificalis* after the "Cononian" redaction.[7] Here, we learn that Pope Sergius I (687–701) decreed that "at the time of the Fraction of the body of the Lord, 'Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, Miserere nobis' should be sung by both the clergy and people."[8] Although this statement is frustratingly brief, it does establish the wording of the text for the Agnus Dei—or at least a single line of it—and gives us a reasonably firm *terminus ante quem* for its introduction into the Roman Mass.

That the Agnus Dei entered the Mass no later than Sergius's pontificate is indirectly supported by the Venerable Bede and the earliest *Ordines romani.* About 725, in a sermon on the text "Ecce, Agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi," Bede makes the following statement:

> He also takes away the sins of the world every day . . . when the memory of His blessed passion is revealed at the altar, when the bread and wine created [by human hands] are transformed into the sacrament of His body and blood through the ineffable sanctification of the Spirit.[9]

That Bede associates his text, from John 1:29, with the rite of Fraction in the Mass seems clear. At least two later medieval writers saw in this passage a reference to the Agnus Dei as a part of that rite: both Florus of Lyons and Remigius of Auxerre incorporated Bede's words in their own commentaries

[6] See Louis Duchesne, ed., *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire,* I (Paris, 1886), clxv. For a description of the manuscript itself, see E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores,* Part III: Italy: Ancona-Novara (Oxford, 1938), p. 9, No. 303b.

[7] This continuation of the *Liber pontificalis* is copied in gatherings xxii–xxiiii of Lucca 490. The next section of the manuscript dates from the ninth century and continues the *Liber pontificalis* from Gregory II to Hadrian I (i.e., from 715 to 795). The earliest manuscript containing the "Cononian" redaction (after Pope Conon, d. 687) is Naples, Biblioteca nazionale, MS IV. A. 8. Lowe, *Codices,* p. 39, No. 403, places the date of compilation of this manuscript between 687 and 701, during the pontificate of Sergius I. Because of their chronological proximity to the events they report, the Cononian redaction and the two continuations immediately following it are held to be fairly trustworthy accounts of papal history.

[8] "Tempore confractionis dominici corporis *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* a clero et populo decantitur" (Duchesne, *Liber pontificalis,* I, 376).

[9] "Verum etiam cotidie tollit peccata mundi . . . cum eiusdem beatae passionis ad altare memoria replicatur, cum panis et uini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis eius ineffabili spiritus sanctificatione transfertur. . . ." *Bedae venerabilis opera,* Pars III: *Opera homilectica,* ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, 122 (Turnhout, 1955), p. 106. I am grateful to Professor Calvin Bower for providing this reference.

upon the Agnus Dei in the ninth century.[10] If Bede was in fact referring to the Agnus Dei in the Mass, the introduction of the chant might have taken place before Sergius, as has, in fact, been hypothesized by Carlo Silva-Tarouca, Ferdinand Probst, and others.[11]

Whereas Bede's reference to the Agnus Dei is slightly ambiguous, the early *Ordines romani* are not. The first *Ordo romanus*, whose redaction Michel Andrieu places shortly after 700, directs that the schola cantorum should sing the Agnus Dei during the second, or greater, Fraction.[12] A supplement to this *ordo*, composed later in the eighth century, states that the

[10] See Florus of Lyons, *De actione missarum*, in J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus* . . . Series latina, 119, cols. 71–72; and Remigius of Auxerre (attributed), *Expositio de celebratione missae et eius significatione, ibid.*, 101, col. 1270d.

[11] Carlo Silva-Tarouca ("Giovanni 'Archicantor' di S. Pietro a Roma e l'"Ordo romanus' da lui composto [anno 680]," *Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia*, Serie III, *Memorie*, Vol. I, pt. I [Rome, 1923], pp. 159–219) thought he had found in the eighth- or early ninth-century codex St. Gall 349 a second copy of one of the books supposedly written by John the *archicantor* of St. Peter's in Rome who had come to the abbey of Weremouth in 680. (The Venerable Bede relates the story of John's coming to England at the behest of Pope Agatho and Abbot Benedict Biscop. See Bede's *Historica ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors [Oxford, 1969], Book IV, Chap. 18, p. 389.) If Silva-Tarouca were right, the evidence provided by St. Gall 349 would place the Agnus Dei in use in Rome before 680 and considerably before the papacy of Sergius I. Still, despite the impressive arguments that he marshals in defense of his thesis, Silva-Tarouca does not offer concrete evidence to counter the testimony of the *Liber pontificalis* that the Agnus Dei was introduced under Sergius. Silva-Tarouca's view that Sergius's decree should be considered a *terminus post quem non*, and not a *terminus ante quem non* is shared by Ferdinand Probst, but for different reasons. In his study, *Die abendländische Messe vom fünften bis zum achten Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1896), p. 261, Probst argues that "Weil . . . liturgische Vorschriften meistens aus der Gewohnheit hervorgehen, die durch sie zum Gesetz wurde, kann die Recitation des Agnus Dei bereits vor ihm [Sergius] als fromme Uebung stattgefunden haben, die durch sein Decret zum Gesetz erhob." Paul Cagin (*Te Deum ou illatio?* [Oxford, 1906], p. 238) takes the following *epiclesis* formula from the Gallican Mass for Maundy Thursday as evidence that the Agnus Dei existed before Sergius: "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, respice in nos et miserere nobis. Factus nobis [ipse] hostia, qui sacerdos, ipse praemium, qui redemptor, a malis omnibus, quos redemisti, custodi, salvator." This formula appears in the *Missale gothicum* (Vat. Reg. lat. MS 317), a manuscript dating from the early eighth century. See the editon by Leo C. Mohlberg in Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior: Fontes, 5 (Rome, 1961). Michel Huglo ("Antifone antiche per la 'Fractio panis,' " *Ambrosius*, XXXI [1955], 94) considers the Antiphon *Hic est Agnus* in the eleventh-century manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense 1907, to be a pre-Gregorian antecedent of the Agnus Dei. The entire question should perhaps now be reexamined in light of Bede's remarks on the Agnus Dei.

[12] "At illi aspiciunt ad faciem pontificis, ut eis annuat frangere; et dum eis annuerit, resalutato pontifice, confringunt. (105.) Et archidiaconus . . . respicit in scolam et annuit eis ut dicant *Agnus Dei* et vadit ad patenam cum ceteris." Text from Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, II (Gembloux, 1948), 101. This is the version of the first, or "short" recension, represented by two manuscripts: St. Gall 614 (ninth century) and St. Gall 140 (tenth century). *Ordo romanus* I is a stational *ordo* to be used in conjunction with a stational sacramentary such as the "Hadrianum" sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I between 784 and 791. See below, fn. 25. For the dating of the short recension of *Ordo romanus* I, see Andrieu, *op. cit.*, II, 38–51.

schola should continue singing until the Fraction is completed.[13] (With one exception, the *Ordines romani* consistently assign the singing of the Agnus Dei to the schola.)[14]

Two other categories of documents are important witnesses to the Agnus Dei in the later eighth century. These are the various Carolingian commentaries upon the Mass and manuscripts of the Gregorian sacramentary. The Carolingian *expositiones missae*, besides attesting the presence of the Agnus Dei in the Mass in the late eighth century, also suggest that its function was changing at this time. In addition to its normal role as a confractorium, the chant was apparently being sung either as an accompaniment for the Kiss of Peace or for Communion itself. For example, the anonymous "Primum in ordine," written about 800, states: "The Agnus Dei is sung by the clergy while the body and blood of Christ is taken."[15] Similar remarks appear in *Dominus vobiscum,* a contemporary treatise on the Canon,[16] *Quotiens contra se*, thought to have been written by Alcuin,[17] and the ninth *Ordo*

[13] *Ordo romanus* III, 2 (Andrieu, *op. cit.*, II, 131–32): "Cum autem acolyti acceperint hostias ab archidiacono de altare, vadunt ad presbyteros accipientes calices tres qui priores sunt. Diaconibus vero frangentibus in patena, vertit se archidiaconus ad scolam, ut incipiant *Agnus Dei,* quod tamdiu cantatur usquedum complent fractionem."

[14] *Ordo romanus* XVII, probably written *ca.* 775 at a monastery near Luxeuil, calls for performance by the *fratres.* "Fratres" in this *ordo* may be synonymous with "chorus" or even with "schola," however. The words "clerus" and "populus" appear in this *ordo* with their normal meanings; "schola" does not appear at all (see Andrieu, *op. cit.*, III, 157–93). None of the Roman *ordines* ever mentions the possibility of having the congregation take part in the performance of the Agnus Dei. Still, the writer of the *Vita Sergii* in the Lucca manuscript of the *Liber pontificalis* must have had some justification for his statement about its performance. It is conceivable that in smaller churches, perhaps those without the service of a trained choir, the chant might have been performed *a clero et populo.* Except for the passages in the *Liber pontificalis* and *Ordo romanus* XVII, however, I know of no documentary evidence for this practice in the seventh through the tenth centuries.

[15] "*Agnus Dei* vero, dum Corpus, et Sanguis Christi sumitur, a clero modulando decantatur . . ." (*Patrologiae . . . latina,* 138, col. 1185). Cf. André Wilmart, "Un Traité sur la messe copié en Angleterre," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, L (1936), 133–39, for further discussion of this treatise and the manuscripts containing it.

[16] "Et ideo *Agnus Dei* tunc canitur, quando corpus et sanguis Domini percipitur, ut omnes credamus quia ipsius agni corpus et sanguis tunc sumitur, qui peccata mundi tulit moriendo, et vitam aeternam nobis donavit resurgendo." Text from J. M. Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia,* Studi e testi, 138 (Rome, 1948), p. 338. Amalarius was one of several ninth-century commentators upon this tract. One might be tempted to construe "percipio" here as "perceived"—in an apparent reference to the *elevatio simplex,* which takes place immediately before the Fraction. The context in which this passage appears, however, does not seem to permit such an interpretation. The discussion of the Agnus Dei in *Dominus vobiscum* follows that for the Kiss of Peace and is in turn followed immediately by the Ite missa est.

[17] ". . . autem, inter communicandum a cantoribus exclamatur: *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*" (*Patrologiae . . . latina,* 96, col. 1500). André Wilmart ("Expositio missae," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* V [Paris, 1922], 1021–22) believes that this treatise is definitely from the time of Charlemagne, before Amalarius's innovations had been incorporated. Wilmart would attribute the work to Alcuin, since it appears first in a series of Alcuin's writings in Troyes, Bibl. Mun., MS 1165, fol. 99.

romanus.[18] Ninth-century witnesses for the Agnus Dei as an accompaniment to the Kiss of Peace are Hrabanus Maurus, writing in 819,[19] Florus of Lyons (d. 860),[20] and Remigius of Auxerre (841–908).[21] One can only speculate as to the reasons for these changes, but strong impetus for them undoubtedly came from the introduction of unleavened bread for the *oblatum,*[22] and from the diminishing frequency of Communion by the entire congregation.[23]

[18] "Deinde clerus com[munionem] ab episcopo accipiat et a diacono confirmet. (46.) Presbiter autem unus aut duo, vel tres, seu quatuor fuerint necessarii, aliam accipiant patenam et ex ea in reliquas partiantur patenas; confirment sanguine sacro et sic populum communicent, cantante scola Agnus Dei et com[munionem]" (Andrieu, *Ordines romani,* II, 335).

[19] "Postquam enim ad communicandum et ad percipiendum corpus perventum fuerit, pacis osculum sibi invicem tradunt, cantantes: *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*" Hrabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione Libri tres,* Book I, Chap. 33 (*Patrologiae . . . latina,* 107, col. 324).

[20] "Inter haec onmia [the "Pax Domini"] cantatur ab omnibus, et cantando oratur dicentibus: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,* etc." Florus of Lyons, *De actione missarum* (*Patrologiae . . . Latina,* 119, col. 71). Cf. fn. 11 above.

[21] "Inter haec ["Pax Domini"] cantatur ab omnibus, et cantando oratur, dicentibus: *Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,* et reliqua." Remigius of Auxerre (attrib.), *Expositio de celebratione missae* (*Patrologiae . . . latina,* 101, col. 1270c). This treatise forms Chap. 40 of the Pseudo-Alcuin *De divinis officiis liber* (*ibid.,* cols. 1246–71). As mentioned above, the segment treating the Agnus Dei is drawn from the *De actione missarum* of Florus of Lyons, and thus from the Venerable Bede. See Adolf Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1902; repr. Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 370, 405 ff.; and Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,* I: *Von Justinian bis zur Mitte des zehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1911), pp. 504–19, for further discussion of these treatises and their authors.

[22] According to Josef Geiselmann, *Die Abendmahlslehre an der Wende der christlichen Spätantike zum Frühmittelalter* (Munich, 1933), pp. 38–41, the earliest unequivocal reference to unleavened bread as an element of the Sacrament is found in Hrabanus Maurus. In Chap. 31 of the first book of his *De clericorum institutione* (from 819), he names as the elements of the Sacrament "panem infermentatum et vinum aqua mixtum." Geiselmann assumes that the use of unleavened bread was known, if not the universal custom, in the second half of the eighth century, and perhaps even earlier. Alcuin's letter to the monks of Lyons (Ep. 69, *alius* 90 in the *Patrologiae . . . latina,* 100, col. 289) could be taken as further evidence in favor of unleavened bread, particularly when he states that the bread should be completely pure: ". . . absque fermento ullius alterius infectionis." Since Alcuin is taking a stand against the use of salt in the preparation of the Sacrament, however, this passage cannot be taken as a clear-cut reference to unleavened bread. See also Fernand Cabrol, "Azymes," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* I (Paris, 1924), 3254–60.

[23] According to Peter Browe, *Die Pflichtkommunion im Mittelalter* (Münster, 1940), pp. 31–45, the partaking of Communion by the entire congregation diminished in frequency from about the fourth century onward. The eighteenth Canon of the Synod of Agde in 506 (cf. J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* [Florence, 1759], VIII, 327) decreed that Communion should be taken at least three times a year: on Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. By the eighth century, it was apparently common for Communion to be taken only at Easter. Possibly in recognition of the status quo in the later Middle Ages, the Lateran Council of 1215 specified Communion at Easter as the new minimum requirement. For the documents pertinent to this subject, see Peter Browe, *De frequenti communione in ecclesia occidentali usque ad annum c. 1000 documenta varia,* Textus et documenta, Series theologica, 5 (Rome, 1932). See also Josef Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development,* trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York, 1955), II, 359–65, for further discussion and bibliography.

A final series of liturgical documents provides rather conclusive evidence that the Agnus Dei was a fixed part of the Roman Mass in the late eighth century. They also suggest that there was a standard liturgical text for the chant by the mid-ninth century. The documents in question here are manuscripts of the Gregorian sacramentary.

Aware that the sacramentaries in use since Pepin's reign did not represent the liturgical practice he had experienced in Rome in 774 and 781, Charlemagne requested that a sacramentary representing the Gregorian tradition be sent to him from Rome. In compliance with Charlemagne's request—probably in 785/86—Pope Hadrian I sent a Roman sacramentary containing Gregorian prayers and formularies to Aachen.[24] The earliest extant manuscript of this sacramentary, taken by all scholars to be a faithful copy of the original, is MS 159 (164) in the Bibliothèque municipale at Cambrai, completed in 812 during the tenure of Hildoard as bishop of Cambrai.[25] In the *Ordo missae* of this sacramentary, immediately following the *Pax Domini*, one reads the words: "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis."

A slightly later manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f. lat. 9432, dating from the second half of the ninth century, provides even more information (Fig. 1).[26] As one can see, it specifies a threefold repetition of the Agnus

[24] Charlemagne sent his request with Paul Warnefrid, who was leaving the Carolingian court to return to Montecassino by way of Rome. Theodor Klauser assumes that (1) since Paul was still at the court in 783 and was in either Benevento or Montecassino by 787, and (2) since Charlemagne's request must have been made before he planned his own trip to Rome in 786/87, Paul must have conveyed the request *ca.* 783/84, and the sacramentary itself must have been sent in 785/86. See Theodor Kaluser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen zwischen der römischen und der fränkisch-deutschen Kirche vom achten bis zum elften Jahrhundert," *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LIII (1933), 178–79.

[25] Ed. Hans Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 3 (Münster, 1921). A new edition, including the supplement written by Alcuin, has been prepared by Jean Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire grégorien, ses principales formes d'aprés les plus anciens manuscrits*, Spicilegium Friburgense, 16 (Freiburg, 1971). Klaus Gamber has reconstructed the supposed *Urform* of the Gregorian sacramentary in his *Sacramentarium Gregorianum* (Regensburg, 1966). For further information on this manuscript, see Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, Spicilegii friburgensis subsidia, 1 (2d ed., Freiburg, 1968), t. 2, No. 720; Klaus Gamber, Alban Dold, and Bernhard Bischoff, *Sakramentartypen: Versuch einer Gruppierung der Handschriften und Fragmente bis zur Jahrtausendwende*, Texte und Arbeiten, 49/50 (Beuron, 1958), p. 138; Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur d'anciens sacramentaires*, Mémoires de l'Institut National de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 32 (Paris, 1886), p. 400; Victor Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques de France* (Paris, 1924), I, 9; and Emmanuel Bourque, *Étude sur les sacramentaires romains*, Seconde partie: *Les textes remanies*, tome second: *Le sacramentaire d'Hadrian, le supplement d'Alcuin et les grégoriens mixtes* (Vatican City, 1958), p. 13.

[26] The dates for this manuscript, as well as for other sacramentaries in the subsequent discussion, are drawn from Gamber, Dold, and Bischoff, *Sakramentartypen*, and from Gamber, *Codices*. For further information on the manuscript itself, see Delisle, *Mémoire*, p. 159; Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires*, I, 40; Bourque, *Étude*, p. 52; Gamber, *Codices*, No. 910. See also Louis Canet, "Quelques remarques sur d'anciens sacramentaires," *Revue des bibliothèques*, XXI (1911), 386–92. The ink for several sections of the text—among them that for

Figure 1. Agnus Dei in the Amiens sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. MS 9432, fol. 16; reproduced with permission)

Dei verse. According to its editor, Victor Leroquais, this is the earliest extant sacramentary to give a complete complement of altar prayers, along with detailed rubrics for the celebration of Mass.[27] The specification of a threefold Agnus Dei in this manuscript, therefore, carries great importance as a guide to the actual performance of the chant in the ninth century. The evidence it provides is confirmed in a manuscript copied about 900, Edili 121 in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence,[28] and in several sacramentaries dating from later in the tenth century. Among these are Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 577; Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 127; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. lat. MSS 12052 and 10501.[29]

The message conveyed by the foregoing documents is clear: the Agnus Dei entered the Roman Mass in the late seventh or early eighth century. As part of the Roman liturgy, it was transported to the Frankish kingdom in the second half of the eighth century.[30] With the introduction of unleavened bread and the diminishing frequency of Communion by the entire congregation, it was no longer bound strictly to an extended rite of Fraction. When practical considerations no longer dictated its length, a threefold repetition of the verse "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, Miserere nobis" apparently became the norm. The earliest manuscript that could legitimately be expected to give a precise indication of the form of the complete chant specifies such a threefold repetition. I therefore assume that this was the standard liturgical text for the Agnus Dei by the mid-ninth century, if not even earlier.

The earliest musical sources for the Agnus Dei confirm the evidence presented by the nonmusical documents. Table 1 lists the earliest preserved musical settings of the Agnus Dei—those copied during the tenth century. In this chart, families of manuscripts are grouped geographically according to provenance, either East- or West-Frankish; within each of these divisions,

the Agnus Dei—is badly faded and has been touched up by a later hand. The "iii" at the end of the Agnus Dei verse was part of the original text, however, as close examination of the manuscript itself reveals.

[27] Victor Leroquais, "L'Ordo Missae du sacramentaire d'Amiens," *Ephemerides liturgicae*, XLI (1927), 435–45.

[28] Fol. 15^{v}. The corresponding passage reads: "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis. iii vicibus." See Gamber, *Codices*, No. 755; and Deshusses, *Sacramentaire grégorien*, p. 92, for a discussion of this manuscript and relevant bibliography.

[29] For information on Chartres 577, Orléans 127, and Paris 10501, see Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires*, I, 76, 90, and 86, respectively. For Paris 12052, see Gamber, *Codices*, No. 901a and Delisle, *Mémoire*, pp. 188–91. A complete inventory of all ninth- and tenth-century sacramentaries would quite probably yield more evidence for threefold Agnus Dei settings in this period.

[30] The presence of the Agnus Dei in the "Hadrianum" and in the *Ordines romani*, as well as its explication in the Carolingian *expositiones missae*, offers concrete evidence for this. Klauser, "Die liturgischen Austauschbeziehungen," presents a concise historical survey of the replacement of the Gallican liturgy by the Roman.

manuscripts appear in approximate chronological order.[31] Since the Agnus Dei accompanies its embellishing verses in the earliest musical manuscripts, these verses offer a convenient means of cataloguing individual settings.[32]

Several characteristics of the tenth-century repertoire of Agnus Dei settings, as illustrated by Table 1, deserve special mention. The distribution of items reveals a marked repertorial consistency within geographical regions and the relative paucity of items that appear in both the East- and West-Frankish repertoires. One rather striking feature is that items common to both regions, such as the verse sets "Qui sedes" and "Cui Abel," along with Melody 226, appear in the earliest manuscripts from both areas.[33] Repertorial division along geographical lines begins to manifest itself in manuscripts copied in the later tenth century. Finally, the verses associated with Melody 226 in both regions are, with but one exception, nonpoetic; hence, they do not appear in *Analecta hymnica.*[34]

[31] The dating reflects a consensus of the best opinions I could obtain, supplemented by my own work with these manuscripts. Heinrich Husmann (*Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften,* RISM, B v[1] [Munich, 1964]) summarizes the evidence for dating most of these manuscripts. More extensive treatment of the Aquitanian manuscripts is offered by Richard Crocker, "The Repertoire of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges (Tenth and Eleventh Centuries)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1957); idem, "The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century," this JOURNAL, XI (1958), 149–64; and Paul Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges,* Princeton Studies in Music, 2 (Princeton, 1970). Alejandro Planchart ("The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester") has been able to date the two manuscripts of the Winchester Troper fairly precisely.

[32] One might expect that the Agnus Dei would first appear in manuscripts of the gradual, since it is appointed to be sung by the choir, but it does not appear in such manuscripts until the eleventh century. Rather, it first appears in *cantatoria* and tropers—books containing items with variable texts to be sung by soloists. These comprise Proper chants such as the Gradual and Alleluia and embellishments such as tropes and proses.

[33] The sharing of such items in the earliest layer of Agnus Dei settings suggests either that both East- and West-Frankish repertoires shared a common heritage or that one might have been modeled upon the other. (See the discussion of this issue in Evans, *Early Trope Repertory,* pp. 24–26.) The latter possibility seems rather unlikely in view of the considerable differences between items ostensibly "the same" in both repertoires. Michel Huglo ("Römisch-fränkische Liturgie," *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik,* Bd. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Tridentinum,* ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer [Kassel, 1972], pp. 243–44; and *Les Tonaires: Inventaire, analyse, comparaison,* Publications de la Société française de musicologie, Sér. III, t. II [Paris, 1971], pp. 44–45) hypothesizes that the two repertoires were originally one and that the split along geographical lines came with the division of the Carolingian kingdom in the ninth century, first via the Treaty of Verdun in 843, and finally by the Treaty of Mersen in 870. For further discussion of this question as it relates to the Agnus Dei repertory, see my study, "The Earliest Settings of the *Agnus Dei* and its Tropes" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1975), pp. 139–63, 230–34.

[34] Léon Gautier (*Historie de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les tropes* [Paris, 1886], pp. 163–64) stated that tropes with prose texts were probably earlier than those with poetic texts. His statement is echoed by Evans, who points out that the tropes associated with the most ancient feasts in the earliest manuscripts are predominantly in prose (*Early Trope Repertory,* p. 64). In view of the probable antiquity of prose embellishments, their exclusion from *Analecta hymnica* is lamentable, though justifiable. As Blume points out in Vol. 47, *Tropen des Missale* (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 37–38, he and Bannister were concerned with the history of hymnology and not with that of tropes per se.

TABLE I

SETTINGS OF THE AGNUS DEI COPIED IN THE TENTH CENTURY

		West-Frankish MSS						East-Frankish MSS					
Verse	Melody[1]	*Analecta hymnica*	Paris 1240	Paris 1118	Paris 1084	Paris, Ars. 1169	Cambridge 473	London 19768	Vienna 1888	St. Gall 484	Rome 489	St. Gall 381	Paris 9448
Qui sedes	226		X	X	X	X[2]	X	X		X	X	X	X
Cui Abel	226			X	X	X[2]	X	X				X[2]	X
	236												
Eia et eia	226			X						X			
O amnos	226				X[2]			X	X	X		X	
	48												
Qui candidam	236							X					
	tp2												
Miserere super nos	226			X									
Haec festa	226			X									
Hodie natus	226												X
Omnipotens aeterna	78	385	X[2]	X	X	X	X						
Venite fratres	240	418		X	X								
Christe redemptor	89											X[2]	X
Redemptor mundi	226		X[2]		X[2]								
Qui gratis[3]	226				X		X						
Qui patris	226	386					X						
Qui es vera	225	427					X						
Qui sedes in throno	?						X						
Independent	64			X	X								
Independent	221			X									
Independent	223				X								

[1] Melody number from Martin Schildbach, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei und seine handschriftliche Überlieferung vom 10. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Erlangen, 1967).

[2] Later addition.

[3] The verses in this set are *contrafacta* of those in "Qui sedes."

The earliest and most widely disseminated of all items is the verse set "Qui sedes / Rex regum / Lux indeficiens," a set ubiquitous in tenth-century sources.[35] Its earliest appearance is in Paris, f. lat. MS 1240, copied between 923 and 934.[36] "Lux indeficiens," usually the third verse in the set, appears here as an introductory verse, followed by "Qui sedes" and "Rex regum." In the next Aquitanian appearances of "Qui sedes," in Paris, f. lat. MSS 1118 and 1084, the set is copied in more typical configurations, with "Qui sedes," "Rex regum," and "Lux indeficiens" all appearing as interior verses.[37] In none of these Aquitanian settings does the Agnus Dei verse appear more than once. Looking eastward, though, one finds that East-Frankish settings dating from the tenth century differ from their western contemporaries in this respect.

Figure 2 (London, British Library, Add. MS 19768, p. 52) presents the earliest East-Frankish setting of the "Qui sedes" set and the earliest setting anywhere of Melody 226. This is a cantatorium and troper from Mainz, dating from the mid-tenth century (probably *ca.* 960).[38] As one can see from the incipits, the Agnus Dei verse here was apparently intended to be sung three times, with the embellishing verses inserted between "mundi" and "miserere" in each petition.

A similar format is displayed by the setting of this melody in St. Gall 484, which dates from the last quarter of the tenth century (Fig. 3).[39] Here the text of the Agnus Dei verse has been written out three times. The scribe who copied the neumes, after writing out the melody once in full, provided only incipits for the two remaining verses. It was unnecessary for him to do any more than this: the incipits for all three verses of the Agnus Dei are the same. Far from being an isolated example, this reading for Melody 226, with the

[35] This set will hereafter be referred to as "Qui sedes."

[36] This is the dating agreed upon by most scholars, among them Henry Bannister, "The Earliest French Troper and its Date," *Journal of Theological Studies,* II (1901), 421; Philippe Lauer, ed.. *Bibliothèque Nationale: Catalogue general des manuscrits latins,* I (Paris, 1939), 459; Crocker, "Repertoire," I, 43; idem, "Repertory," pp. 149–64. Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften,* p. 138, following Léopold Deslisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* II (Paris, 1881), 271, would place it in the early eleventh century. Jacques Chailley, *L'École musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges* (Paris. 1960), p. 79, and Bruno Stäblein, "St. Martial," *MGG,* Vol. XI, cols. 1263–64, would date it much earlier, in the late ninth or early tenth century. My own work with this manuscript leads me to adopt the majority opinion: 923–34.

[37] Cf. fn. 3 above.

[38] See Josef Rau, "Tropus und Sequenz im Mainzer Cantatorium (Cod. London, BM Add. 19768)" (unpublished Inaugural Dissertation, Ruprecht-Karl Universität zu Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 1, 12, 104; and Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften,* p. 153.

[39] The date is suggested by Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften,* pp. 42–43, on the basis of an eradicated indiction table on p. 179 of the manuscript. This was also the date given by Wolfram von den Steinen, *Notker der Dichter* (Bern, 1948), II, 198–99, with the support of Albert Bruckner.



Figure 2. London, British Library, Add. MS 19768, p. 52 (reproduced with permission)

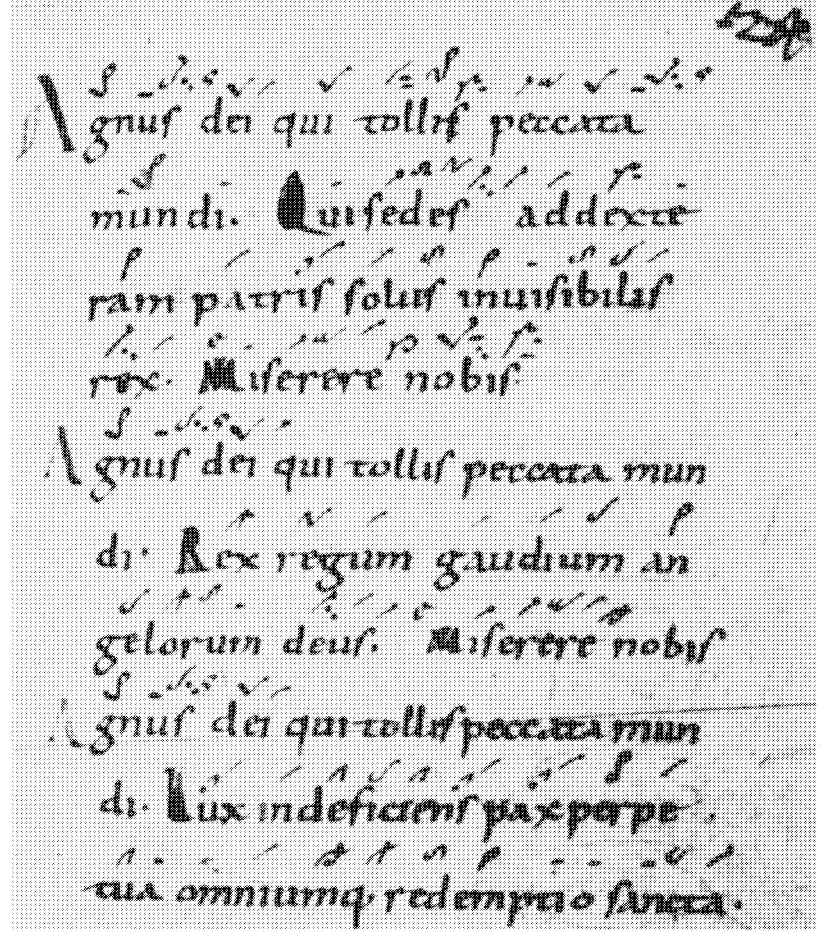


Figure 3. St. Gall, Stifstbibliothek, MS 484, p. 243 (reproduced with permission)

structure *AAA*, is confirmed in many later manuscripts, including one rather closely linked with the St. Martial tradition, Apt, Archives de la Basilique Ste. Anne, MS 17 (5).[40]

These settings leave little doubt that the original form of Melody 226 was a threefold repetition of the verse "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi,

[40] This manuscript, dating from the mid-eleventh century and copied with Aquitanian neumes, displays repertorial links with both the East- and West-Frankish traditions. The setting in question is located on fols. 25v–26. Mrs. Gunilla Björkvall of the Institutionen för Klassiska Språk at the University of Stockholm is now preparing a monograph on Apt 17 and 18 in conjunction with work on the *Corpus troporum* now being published by the same institute. Also forthcoming in the *Corpus troporum* series is an edition of the texts of tropes to the Agnus Dei, being prepared by Mrs. Gunilla Iversen.

Miserere nobis," with the same music being sung for each petition. As demonstrated above, the threefold Agnus Dei begins to appear in sacramentaries in the ninth century, and becomes ever more frequent in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The appearance of this threefold Agnus Dei in musical manuscripts from the tenth and eleventh centuries is entirely consonant with the liturgical practice indicated by the sacramentaries.

Clearly, Melody 226 had its own integral structure, a structure separate from that of the verses that appear with it, be they verses of "Qui sedes" or of other sets. Even though Melody 226 may not be of "Gregorian" antiquity, its textual tradition is certainly older than that of the verses that appear with it in the earliest manuscripts. It therefore seems reasonable to view these accompanying verses as embellishments of the standard, liturgical Agnus Dei.

Since Melody 226 appears with additional verses in the earliest sources, one cannot ascertain the relative chronology of this chant and its embellishments by comparing manuscripts. There are, nonetheless, a few tenuous hints that this melody belongs to a different musical stratum than its embellishing verses. These hints are best illustrated by close comparison of Melody 226 with "Qui sedes" and "Eia et eia," items that appear in both East- and West-Frankish manuscripts in the tenth century.

Let us examine these as they appear in Paris, f. lat. MS 1118 (987–96), the earliest source to display them in diastematic notation.[41] (See the transcription in Ex. 2.) If one could disregard the introductory verse, he might say that the Agnus Dei and its associated verses resemble each other. The style of both the Agnus Dei and its embellishments can, for example, be described as "neumatic." But even this adjective does not apply equally well to both. The Agnus Dei verse averages 3.4 notes of music per syllable of text. The three interior verses average 2.2, 2.0, and 2.5 notes per syllable, respectively. With its average of 1.6 notes per syllable, the verse "Eia et eia" is almost perfectly syllabic. Taken in themselves, these ratios seem relatively unimportant. When one compares them with similar ratios derived from a larger sample of the tenth- and eleventh-century repertory of Agnus Dei settings, however, one finds that they are actually quite representative of the early repertory as a whole.[42] In this early period, Agnus Dei melodies tend to be more melismatic than their embellishing verses.

Similarly, from the standpoints of range, tessitura, and ductus, the "Agnus

[41] For information on the date of this manuscript, see the studies by Crocker and Evans cited in fn. 31 and those by Chailley and Stäblein cited in fn. 36. See Tilman Seebass, *Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration im früheren Mittelalter: Studien ausgehend von einer Ikonologie der Handschrift Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 1118*, 2 vols. (Bern, 1973), for a fine treatment of the illustrations found in the tonary of this manuscript.

[42] My survey of ninety-one separate items as they appear in forty-one tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts yields a figure of 3.2 notes per syllable for Agnus Dei melodies and 2.1 for their embellishing verses.

Dei" melody differs from those of its additional verses. The verse of Melody 226 spans the fifth *D* to *a*, dipping to the subfinalis *C* at three points. Each of these functions as preparation for an upward melodic excursion. The first three phrases of the melody gradually expand in pitch, flowing in successively higher arches anchored on *D*. The final phrase, "Miserere nobis," effects a kind of melodic summation. Throughout the verse, occasional leaps, prepared by conjunct motion in the opposite direction, balance the predominantly stepwise motion.

Whereas the Agnus Dei moves between the pitches *D* and *a*, treating *C* distinctly as a subfinalis, the ambitus of the interior verses is a tone lower. Both the first and third verses span the fifth *C* to *G*. The second verse stays essentially within this ambitus, reaching a tone above it only once. Perhaps the most unusual feature of the second verse, however, is a *B* that functions as a subsemitonum to *C* in the musical phrase for "redemptio." The prominence of *C*, already implied in this verse, is thus reinforced even further.

In conjunction with *C*, which is projected far more strongly in all three of the interior verses than in the Agnus Dei itself, the pitch *E* likewise occupies a position of unusual importance. This feature led Peter Wagner to state that the verses for the "Qui sedes" set were in the E rather than the D mode.[43] This apparent shift of mode is made especially noticeable in the verse "Rex regum," with its series of *E*'s at the end of the verse. Even in the other two verses, *E* receives emphasis by being the pitch of all interior phrase endings. Finally, *E* is the pitch upon which all three verses end in preparation for their return to the "Miserere nobis" of the Agnus Dei. The Agnus Dei itself, by contrast, ends on *D*.

The emphasis upon *C* and *E* in the interior verses of "Qui sedes" is anticipated dramatically by the introductory verse "Eia et eia." With successive upward leaps by third, the melody initially outlines a "C-major" triad, followed by the turn *a–b–a*. This type of initial movement cannot be found in settings of the Agnus Dei itself until the twelfth century, and it is more characteristic of settings from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries.[44] The verse closes with a daring upward sweep from *C* to *a* that contrasts sharply with the incipit of Melody 226.

Judging on stylistic grounds, one can hardly dispute that this introductory verse and Melody 226 represent completely different styles, the style of the prefatory verse apparently being the later of the two. Similar, though not so

[43] Peter Wagner, "Über Agnus Dei-Tropen," *Musica divina*, XV (1927), 45. Wagner was discussing a setting of "Qui sedes" in the Olschki fragment, part of an Italian manuscript dating from the twelfth century.

[44] Cf. Schildbach, *Das einstimmige Agnus Dei*, Melodies 112 (sixteenth century), 113 (fifteenth century), 145 (fourteenth century), 230 (sixteenth century), 231 (fifteenth century), and 248 (fourteenth century).

drastic, stylistic distinctions may be drawn between the Agnus Dei and the interior verses "Qui sedes," "Rex regum," and "Lux indeficiens." That such distinctions may be made between Melody 226 and the earliest sets of verses associated with it argues forcefully against the hypothesis that the music for both the Agnus Dei melody and its associated verses might have been composed at the same time. I would argue instead that the music for Melody 226 antedates that for its embellishing verses—just as does its text.

In summary, we have noted evidence of threefold Agnus Dei repetitions in sacramentaries dating from as early as the ninth century; we have observed an integral three-part musical structure in Melody 226; and we have defined certain stylistic distinctions between this Agnus Dei melody and the melodies of its associated verses. These points were interpreted to imply that the Agnus Dei and the verses that appear with it in the earliest musical manuscripts came into existence at different times—the Agnus Dei itself probably being earlier. Liturgical and musical evidence both appear to support the notion that those embellishing verses may be considered "tropes" by us, just as they are most frequently labeled *tropi* in the manuscripts themselves.[45]

University of California, Irvine

[45] Cf. Eva Odelman's terminological survey, "Comment a-t-on appelé les tropes? Observations sur les rubriques des tropes des Xe et XIe siècles," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale X^e^–XIIe siècles,* XVIII (1975), 15–36.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[17]

The Kyrie Trope

By DAVID A. BJORK

CONSIDERABLE RECENT SCHOLARSHIP has been devoted to clarifying distinctions among different types of trope and the various genres of medieval chant traditionally associated with it. Richard Crocker, Bruno Stäblein, and Paul Evans have all written studies delineating these several categories of chant in terms of their most significant characteristics.[1] Their work has taken us a long way toward an intuitive understanding of the individual genres and the relationship among them. Yet the definitive works on the trope, the prosula, the Ordinary chants—and so on—are yet unwritten. In every one of these categories important questions remain unanswered, often even unasked—questions of transmission, performance, and musical style, among others. Alejandro Planchart's *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* makes a welcome contribution to the field, and serves as an example for the kind of localized repertorial studies that could answer some of these questions. As Evans pointed out more than fifteen years ago, St. Martial and St. Gall were not the only musical centers in the post-Carolingian era, nor were they necessarily the most important ones. Yet it is rare to find a study emphasizing the local practice at St. Emmeram, for example, or at Benevento or Nevers or Winchester.

A theme common to virtually all the work in this field is the variability of the local repertory. In contrast to Gregorian chant, which had stabilized at least by the middle of the ninth century as a body relatively uniform throughout the Frankish realm, medieval chant (by which I mean here those repertories that grew up during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, whose links to earlier Christian tradition are tenuous or, at very best, much less clear than those of Grego-

[1] Richard Crocker, "The Troping Hypothesis," *The Musical Quarterly*, LII (1966), pp. 183–203; Bruno Stäblein, "Tropus," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (*MGG*), XIII, cols. 797–826; Stäblein, "Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen. Tropus, Sequenz und andere Formen," *Report of the 8th Congress of the International Musicological Society, New York, 1961* (Kassel, 1961), I, pp. 12–29; Paul Evans, "Some Reflections on the Origin of the Trope," this JOURNAL, XIV (1961), pp. 119–30; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory of Saint Martial de Limoges* (Princeton, 1970), pp. 1–15.

rian chant) varied from place to place and from one period to another. Local practice defined the choice and, often, the use of a particular piece. Individual chants were more often confined to a single geographical area than dispersed throughout Western Christendom. There was frequently even some option as to what would be sung for the trope to the Introit, say, or the Kyrie or the sequence. Much has been made of the division between the East and West Frankish repertories of medieval chant. And lately some studies have begun to pay attention to the distinctive features of local repertories other than those of St. Martial and St. Gall. Judging from the sources that have survived, it seems clear that every center had its own repertory, each one more or less individualistic and independent, and that the two monasteries always presumed to be typical—if not the *fons et origo* of medieval chant—are far from being representative.

Even more interesting than the independence of local repertories is the discovery that liturgical forms themselves often varied from place to place. For example, the Introit trope, the sequence, the Kyrie, and the Kyrie trope cannot be completely understood without considering pieces from several locales, including even what seem to be peripheral centers, such as Winchester, Novalesa, or Benevento. A particularly good instance is found in the Kyrie trope, for here is a form so little known that it is often confused with another, very different one; and its appearance varies so much from Winchester to St. Martial to St. Gall and Novalesa that its repertory is unusually heterogeneous. Only a survey of the entire repertory can give a balanced impression of this genre.

From the outset we must recognize that several different things have been paraded under a single banner. The most recent investigations have nearly all drawn a line between the syllabically texted Latin Kyrie and what is a more complex form, with a musically independent trope placed before or interpolated among the phrases of a Kyrie. Chailley, Melnicki, Stäblein, Evans and Planchart have all made this kind of distinction, but there is no further agreement, either in interpretation or terminology.[2]

[2] Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XI[e] siècle* (Paris, 1960), pp. 254–5; Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, 1955) (hereafter M.), pp. 80–5; Stäblein, "Tropus," cols. 804–7; Stäblein, "Kyrie," *MGG*, VII, cols. 1940–3; Evans, *The Early Trope Repertory*, pp. 4 and 8–13; Alejandro Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (2 vols., Princeton, 1977), I, pp. 68–9 and 245–60.

THE KYRIE TROPE 3

The first type has nine phrases of music (like any of the melodies in the Vatican Kyriale), each one set to a lengthy Latin petition that typically ends with the Ordinary plea *eleison*. Early manuscript sources seem to indicate that each melodic phrase should be sung twice, once with the Latin text, once with the Ordinary text, *alternatim* until the end (see Ex. 1, p. 22, starting after the first line). This type has been called *trope d'adaptation* (Chailley), *Textierungstropus* (Melnicki and Stäblein), and "prosula" (Evans and Planchart). The somewhat clumsier phrases "syllabically texted Latin Kyrie" and "Latin-texted Kyrie" seem preferable, for they avoid unwanted connotations, but there is no need to argue about terminology so long as it is understood that these Kyries with text differ from the second type.

The second type sometimes resembles the first, so far as textual form is concerned, but its defining characteristic is the juxtaposition of two different melodies. In this type, only the Ordinary text goes with the Kyrie melody. Whatever other text there is has its own music and stands outside the ninefold form of the Ordinary Kyrie, rather than reduplicating it as a Latin paraphrase. It is analogous in this way to the Introit trope, and also in that it consists of one or more units or elements functioning as introductions to a part or the whole of the adjacent form—in this case, a setting of the Ordinary Kyrie rather than an Introit. When there are only a few Latin phrases, the overall form is clearly different from that of the first type (see Ex. 2). When the Latin elements number eight or nine, then the overall form of the second type is closer to that of the first, but still consists of two different melodies (see Ex. 3). This second type, says Evans, is the real Kyrie trope, and to that no one would be likely to offer any serious objection. Melnicki qualifies it with adjectives of position (*Einleitungs-*, *Interpolations-*, or *Ausgangstropus*), and Chailley does much the same (*trope d'introduction*), while Stäblein chooses a more general, structural term (*Rahmentropus*). Evans and Planchart simply call it the "Kyrie trope," and it is this type—not the other—to which we refer here.

As this distinction can shed some light on the differences between local repertories, it is worth considering why no one made it until some twenty years ago. Of all the early modern scholarly works in this field, those of Léon Gautier, Clemens Blume, and Peter Wagner stand far above the others.[3] As for those others, Blume's criticism—

[3] Léon Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge. Les tropes*, I (Paris, 1886); Clemens Blume, *Die Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae*, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, XLVII (Leipzig, 1905) (hereafter AH 47); Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* (3rd ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1911–21).

none too generous—exposes their faults: aside from their inaccuracies, they all too often add confusion to what the manuscript sources leave none too clear.

The title of Gautier's work, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge*, reveals the nature of his interest. His concern was with the poetry, and he appreciated only its piety. His understanding of tropes was limited to what he could see in the manuscript presentation of their texts, for even had he been more interested in their music, the sources he knew did not present the melodies in a familiar notation that could be easily transcribed. Without understanding the significance of the distinctions he was making, Gautier described what he thought were three different ways of conceiving the Kyrie.[4] In one, a Latin text was placed before each of the nine petitions of the Ordinary Kyrie; in another the position was reversed, and each Latin unit was placed after the Kyrie petition; in a third, the Latin text was placed between the words *Kyrie* and *eleison*. As an example of the first way, he gave *Cunctipotens genitor*, which begins:

> Cunctipotens genitor, Deus omnicreator, eleison. *Kyrie, eleison.*

To illustrate the second he chose *Pater infantium*, which begins:

> *Kyrie, eleison*, pater infantium.

For the third, he offered *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, which begins:

> *Kyrie*, fons bonitatis, Pater ingenite, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, *eleison*.

While admitting that the Kyrie was elaborated in many different ways, he thought that these three were most important. His distinctions are of little use, however, based as they are on textual characteristics with no real structural meaning. Neither the characteristics nor the distinctions are congruent with the forms distinguished above, those of the Kyrie with Latin text and the Kyrie with trope. If we consider the melodies of Gautier's examples, we can see that the second differs from the other two, which are texted Kyries; and we can reserve the name trope for *Pater infantium*, which alone is musically independent of the Ordinary Kyrie. Without knowledge of the melodies, however, such discrimination would be virtually impossible.

[4] Gautier, pp. 232–4.

THE KYRIE TROPE 5

Blume's investigation of the trope and of texts for Ordinary chants was wider and more thorough than anything undertaken until recently.[5] His abundant formal descriptions of particular melodies make it clear that he had a good grasp of the notation, and that musical considerations played some role in his editorial decisions and critical commentary. His main concern, nevertheless, was with texts. It was for a hymnological anthology that he undertook an edition of tropes and Ordinary texts. He seemed to believe that they lay largely outside the field of hymnology, yet he wanted to include them in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*, that monumental compilation of medieval religious poetry. This he could bring himself to do only for texts that showed a certain amount of symmetry; those without at least a minimal degree of *parallelismus membrorum* he excluded and put aside for later publication. One would like to think that Blume would have included the asymmetrical texts as well, had he realized that he would never have another opportunity to publish these "kostbare Bausteine zur Geschichte der Tropen." His edition includes texts of the Kyrie itself as well as texts of its tropes, and makes no distinction between the two genres, but nearly all those excluded for lack of symmetry were tropes. His removal of several tropes to an appendix is due to their short, three-line form; his commentary makes it clear that he did not see them as being different in any way except their size. Elsewhere he admitted that while these ornamented Kyries varied considerably, he did not think they followed any regular rules. His edition shows that, even having paid some attention to the musical notation, he did not follow all its clues. That must be partly because it is just where the notation is least comprehensible and the clues are most confusing that the distinction between trope and Kyrie is most important. For it is in the early German neumatic sources, above all, that we find Kyrie tropes, and it is there that they most closely resemble the Kyrie with Latin text. Like Gautier, Blume did not even see that the Ordinary petitions were different from the texts he was editing, and did not belong with them, regardless of whether they were tropes or Kyrie texts. Nor did he always distinguish between the use of the words *Kyrie* and *eleison* within a Latin petition (e.g., as in *Kyrie fons bonitatis*, above) and their

[5] Heinrich Husmann's *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, Vol. B.V:1 (Munich, 1964) catalogues more sources than were known at the time of Blume's work, and the newly begun *Corpus troporum*, ed. Ritva Jonsson et al., Studia latina stockholmiensia 21– (Stockholm, 1976–), promises to be much more thorough than the collection of trope texts in Analecta hymnica, vols. XLVII and XLIX.

use as an Ordinary petition. While the edition has its merits as a compilation of texts, it is most serviceable when the reader has at least one manuscript or its facsimile in hand.

Wagner, like Gautier and Blume, was familiar with many of the early trope sources, but as a musicologist preparing a modern edition of plainchant, he worked mostly with later manuscripts that placed notation unambiguously on a staff. The Kyrie trope has no such sources (nor do other types of tropes, generally speaking), while the Kyrie with Latin text lived on until at least the eighteenth century. Wagner described the two common ways of elaborating chant during the Middle Ages, and emphasized the difference between using syllabically underlaid texts and juxtaposing musically independent entities. The three Kyries used as examples for the chapter on tropes in the first volume ("Gesangsformen") of his *Einführung in die gregorian ischen Melodien* are taken from an early Swiss MS (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 97) that contains only troped Kyries—none with Latin texts.[6] In this chapter only the texts of examples are given; in any case, the notation is non-diastematic and cannot be accurately read. The example for the chapter on tropes in the third volume ("Formenlehre"), a Kyrie with Latin text,[7] comes from a thirteenth-century Dominican MS (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 383) which has the advantage of being notated on a staff—but by this time, the Kyrie trope had all but disappeared. Indeed, nearly all the transcriptions in this chapter are of syllabically texted pieces, in a ratio nearly the inverse of what we find in the first volume. Yet it is not at all clear that Wagner recognized the difference between the examples in the two volumes. The troped Kyrie was greatly outnumbered by the Kyrie with Latin text, and had a much shorter life span. The texted Kyrie, in fact, lived no longer than any other comparable Frankish innovation (with the exception of the few sequences that survived the Council of Trent). In the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, it was represented in greater number than any type of medieval chant for the Mass other than the sequence. Is it any wonder that the musical examples used in discussions of the trope are so often Latin Kyries? Since modern efforts to restore plainsong to its pure, "Gregorian" tradition extended to Kyrie melodies, presumed to be part of the ancient corpus, but excluded all manner of tropes, which were denigrated as parasitical intrusions, can it be surprising that Latin-texted Kyries were considered

[6] Wagner, I, pp. 283–4.
[7] Wagner, III, pp. 504–5.

the least offensive of the medieval "corruptions," and often found their way into print, while the Kyrie trope was completely ignored?

What of Bishop Frere and his work on the texts of the Winchester Troper?[8] There the Kyrie tropes appear only in the main corpus, where the notation is non-diastematic. It is not impossible to determine that the tropes have melodies different from the Kyries to which they are attached, but the difference is not obvious. We can hardly fault him, any more than Gautier or Blume or Wagner, for not recognizing that the two forms were not the same.

The credit for clarifying the difference between Kyrie with trope and Kyrie with text belongs above all to Melnicki. Her catalogue of Kyrie melodies forced the distinction, by its attention to the musical forms involved. Because she did not inventory the early German sources in which most of the tropes are found, however, she underestimated their number and their importance. Jacques Chailley, in his study of the Aquitanian sources (completed in 1952 but published only in 1960), made the distinction independently and a bit earlier, yet his concentration on a particular group of manuscripts from a region where the Kyrie trope is quite different from what it is elsewhere led him to a limited definition of the form.

None of the secondary sources gives any clue to the size of the repertory. Blume's edition excludes many of the tropes; among the texts he does include, it is often almost impossible to tell whether a particular one belongs to a Kyrie or a trope. Melnicki's catalogue includes only tropes found in diastematic sources. So we must start with a survey of the repertory to see how many tropes there are, where they are found, what variety of forms they take, and with what chants they are used. I have been able to inventory most of the early manuscripts (up through the twelfth century) that are likely to include Kyrie tropes. Some remain inaccessible to me; but, given the interrelationship among most sources from any one period and geographical area, and the relative rarity of *unica*, it seems unlikely that many tropes escaped inclusion in this study.

Table 1 lists sixty-one sources for Kyrie tropes, and indicates the likely provenance and approximate date for each, as well as the number of tropes it contains. The manuscripts are grouped according to provenance, with Aquitanian sources first, then northern French,

[8] Walter H. Frere, ed., *The Winchester Troper*, Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society, 8 (London, 1894).

TABLE I
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR TROPES TO THE KYRIE

Sigla	Manuscript	Provenance	Date	No. of Kyrie Tropes
Pa 1240	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1240	St. Martial	X	1
Pa 1118	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1118	?Aquitania	987–96	3
Pa 1084	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1084	?Aquitania	X end	2
Pa 887	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 887	?Aquitania	XI early	2
Pa 1120	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1120	St. Martial	XI early	2
Pa 1119	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1119	Limoges	c. 1030	2
Apt 17	Apt, Trésorie de la Basilique-Ste-Anne, 17(5)	Apt	XI middle	3
Pa 779	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 779	Limoges	XI 2nd half	1
Pa 903	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 903	St. Yrieix	XI 2nd half	2
Vic 105	Vich, Biblioteca capitular, 105 (Ripoll CXI)	Vich	XI/XII	1
Pa 778	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 778	Narbonne	XII	1
Pa 495	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. lat. 495	Gerona	XII	2
Hu 4	Huesca, Biblioteca de la Catedral, 4 (s.s.)	San Juan de la Peña	XII	1
PaA 1169	Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 1169	Autun	c.996–1024	1
Pa 9449	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9449	Nevers	c. 1060	2
Pa 1235	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, n.a. lat. 1235	Nevers	XII	2
CF 57	Clermont-Ferrand, Bibliothèque municipale, 57	Clermont-Ferrand	XIII	1
Cdg 473	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 473	Winchester	c.996–1006	4
Ox 775	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 775	Winchester	XI middle	4
Lo 19768	London, British Library, Add. 19768	Mainz	c.960	2
Pa 9448	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9448	Prüm	990–5	1
SG 484	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 484	St. Gall	X 2nd half	3
SG 381	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 381	St. Gall	X 2nd half	5
Ba 5	Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Lit. 5 (Ed.V 9)	Reichenau	1001	4
SG 376	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 376	St. Gall	XI early	2
SG 382	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 382	St. Gall	XI early	1
Ox 27	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden supra 27	Heidenheim	XI early	3

THE KYRIE TROPE 9

TABLE I
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR TROPES TO THE KYRIE *(cont.)*

Ka 15	Kassel, Murhard'sche Bibliothek, theol. lat. IV° 15	Regensburg	c.1020	4
Ka 25	Kassel, Murhard'sche Bibliothek, theol. IV° 25	Fritzlar	XI 1st half	3?
Be 11	Berlin, Deutsche Staats-bibliothek, theol. lat. IV° 11	Minden	1024–7	5
Mu 14322	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14322	St. Emmeram	1024–8	2
Mu 14083	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14083	St. Emmeram	c.1031–7	4
Wi 1845	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1845	Seeon	c.1040–61	1
SG 380	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 380	St. Gall	c.1054	4
SG 378	St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 378	St. Gall	c.1034–70	4
Zu 97	Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, Rheinau 97	Rheinau	XI	4
Mod 9	Modena, Biblioteca capitolare, O IV 9	?Konstanz	XI	1
Ven 124	Venice, Biblioteca nazionale marciana, lat. III 124	Salzburg	XI	1
RoA 948	Rome, Biblioteca angelica, 948	Regensburg	XII early	1
Ox 341	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici liturg. 341	San Candido (= Innichen)	XII	1
Kr 309	Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, 309	Krems-münster	XII end	3
Vat 4770	Rome, Biblioteca vaticana, lat. 4770	?Abruzzi	X end	1?
Apt 18	Apt, Trésorie de la Basilique-Ste-Anne, 18(4)	N. Italy or S.E. France?	XI early	2
Mza 76	Monza, Biblioteca capitolare, c 13/76	Monza	XI early	1?
Mza 75	Monza, Biblioteca capitolare, c 12/75	Monza	XI early	1
Vro 107	Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, CVII(100)	Mantua	XI 1st half	3
RoA 123	Rome, Biblioteca angelica, 123	?Bologna	before 1039	2
Ox 222	Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 222	Novalesa	XI	4
To 20	Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, G V 20	Bobbio	XI	1
RoN 1343	Rome, Biblioteca nazionale, 1343 (Sess. 62)	Nonantola	XI	1
RoC 1741	Rome, Biblioteca casanatense, 1741 (C IV 2)	Nonantola	XI	1
RoV 52	Rome, Biblioteca vallicelliana, C 52	Norcia	XI/XII	2
Mod 7	Modena, Biblioteca capitolare, O I 7	Forlimpopoli	XI/XII	1
Ivr 60	Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare, Bollati LX	?Pavia	XI/XII	2
Vce 186	Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, 186	Balerna	XI/XII	1
Pst 121	Pistoia, Biblioteca capitolare, C 121 (70)	Pistoia	XI/XII	1

TABLE 1
MANUSCRIPT SOURCES FOR TROPES TO THE KYRIE *(cont.)*

Pad 47	Padua, Biblioteca capitolare, A 47	Ravenna	XII early	1
Si 15	Siena, Biblioteca comunale degl'Intronati, F VI 15	?Italy	XII early	2
To 18	Torino, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, F IV 18	Bobbio	XII	2
Pia 65	Piacenza, Biblioteca capitolare, 65	Piacenza	XII 2nd half	1
Be 40608	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. 40608	Aquileia	XIII 2nd half	1

The data pertaining to provenance and date is taken from Heinrich Husmann, *Tropen- und Sequenzenhandschriften*, RISM B V:1 (Munich, 1964); *Corpus troporum* I:1; *Le graduel romain, II: Sources* (Solesmes, 1957); Reginald Grégoire, "Repertorium liturgicum italicum," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., IX (1968), pp. 465–592, XI (1970), pp. 537–56, and XIV (1973), pp. 1123–32; Lidia Avitabile et al., "Censimento dei codici dei secoli X–XII," *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., IX (1968), pp. 1115–94, and XI (1970), pp. 1013–1133; and catalogues of individual libraries. The dates should be regarded as estimates only, and in many cases provenance also remains uncertain. The sigle are borrowed or adapted from *Corpus troporum*.

English, Rhenish, German, and Italian; within each group they are arranged approximately in chronological order. The sources are hereafter cited by the abbreviations given in the table. Table 2 lists twenty-three tropes to the Kyrie, and for each one indicates modern editions, number of phrases or elements, the associated Kyrie melody (identified by its number in Melnicki's catalogue), the sources (referring to Table 1), and any rubric assigning it to a particular feast.

Although the tropes are fewer in number than the Kyrie melodies catalogued by Melnicki (two hundred and twenty-six) or the Kyrie texts edited by Blume or cited by Melnicki (one hundred and seventy-eight),[9] there are more of them than the insignificant number suggested by Melnicki and Stäblein. While any one source has at best a few, they still constituted an important genre in the early German and North Italian repertories, where Latin-texted Kyries were fewer than in France. The eleventh-century sources are numerous, and there are a few from the twelfth, but later than that we have only three isolated witnesses for the continuation of the tradition, which should probably not be taken as evidence of anything much more widespread. The life of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, the most widespread and best known of the tropes in the German repertory, or that of *Christe redemptor*, the

[9] I have found perhaps a score of melodies and half as many texts that escaped their notice.

one most securely established in the French repertory, can tell the story of the genre. The first was written well before the middle of the tenth century, and the other cannot have been much younger. Both had spread throughout a wide region by the beginning of the eleventh century and continued to be copied into the twelfth. But by that time they were beginning to fall out of favor. A look at one manuscript (*SG 378*) tells the story in another way. The original eleventh-century corpus has two Kyries with tropes, another with Latin text, and one melismatic chant with neither text nor trope. Sometime in the thirteenth century, another Kyriale was added. Reflecting contemporary taste, it included two Kyries with tropes, nine with Latin texts, and three melismatic chants. Even in German territory, then, where from the start Kyries with tropes had often outnumbered Kyries with texts, the troped form was giving way as syllabic textual underlay came to be the only method of ornamenting the Kyrie. Elsewhere throughout Europe by this time, a new Kyriale might include some melodies with Latin texts and some without, but virtually none with tropes. It is possible, of course, that early sources were used for several centuries after they were written, but if Kyrie tropes had still been sung with any regularity after the twelfth century, they would surely have been recopied into new manuscripts.

At first sight the variety of forms may seem bewildering, for the tropes are anywhere between one and nine phrases long. Yet a pattern can be found, one that matches Melnicki's and Stäblein's descriptions. However many phrases the tropes have, their forms derive meaning from the Kyries with which they are used; so we should briefly consider the form of the Kyrie itself.

The Ordinary Kyrie text is a ninefold plea for mercy: *Kyrie eleison* (three times), *Christe eleison* (three times), *Kyrie eleison* (three times). Musical settings almost always reflect its nine-phrase tripartite form. The Latin Kyrie texts have corresponding shapes. In Blume's edition, the vast majority of items have nine petitions (rubricated 1a b c 2a b c 3a b c),[10] and these are all—it should be safe to say—texts for the Kyrie itself. The remainder are nearly all tropes.[11]

[10] Or 3a b c+d+e . . ., when the ninth petition is compound.

[11] The exceptions are several torsos (AH 47:91, 163, 164, 165), one German text with eight phrases (AH 47:86), several late Bohemian texts (AH 47:95b, 104), one from Italy (AH 47:125), and one (AH 47:101) that usually has only three petitions, but is enlarged to six in one source.

TABLE 2
TROPES TO THE KYRIE

Trope	Elements	Kyrie	Sources
Adoneus Kyrius (AH 47:162; Frere, p. 48; Planchart, II, p. 241)	4	M. 47	*Cdg 473*, 56^{v}; *Ox 775*, 62^{v}
Archangeli laetantur (AH 47, p. 47)	1	M. 55[a]	*RoA 123*, 191^{r}; *To 20*, 21^{v}; *To 18*, 12^{v} (all Christmas III)
	1	M. 124	*Pia 65*, 229^{v} (Christmas III)
Christus ascendit in caelis	1	M. 55[b]	*Ox 222*, 24^{r} (Ascension)
Christus natus est hodie	1	M. 55[c]	*Ox 222*, 7^{r} (Christmas II); *Ivr 60*, 12^{v}* (Christmas III)
Christe redemptor (AH 47, p. 214; Frere, p. 47; Stäblein, col. 1941; Chailley, p. 223; Planchart, I, pp. 310–13, II, p. 241)	1	M. 55[d]	*Pa 1240*, 79^{r}*; *Pa 1118*, 12^{r} (Christmas II) and 44^{r} (Easter); *Pa 1084*, 90^{r}; *Pa 887*, 47^{r}; *Pa 1120*, 67^{r}; *Pa 1119*, 84^{r}; *Apt 17*, 38^{r} (Christmas II); *Pa 779*, 20^{r} (St. John Evangelist); *Pa 903*, 166^{v}; *PaA 1169*, 4^{r} (Christmas III); *CF 57*, 2^{r}; *Cdg 473*, 55^{r}; *Ox 775*, 62^{r}; *Apt 18*, 5^{v} (Christmas II); *Mza 76*, 18^{v} (Christmas III) and 100^{r} (Easter); *Mza 75*, 83^{r}* (Christmas III); *RoA 123*, 214^{v} (Easter); *RoV 52*, 145^{v}; *Ivr 60*, 16^{r} (St. Stephen); *Pst 121*, 2^{v}
	1	M. 68[e]	*Pa 778*, 19^{r}; *Pa 495*, 5^{r}
	1	M. 48	*Pa 9449*, 35^{r}; *Pa 1235*, 206^{r}* (both Easter)
	1	M. 47	*Apt 18*, 26^{v} (Epiphany)
	1	M. 39	*To 18*, 16^{r} (St. Stephen)
Christus surrexit a mortuis	1	M. 55[c]	*Ox 222*, 19^{r} (Easter)
Conditor et rector (AH 47:88)	8	?	*Ka 25* (cited in AH 47)
Deus solus et immensus (Gautier, p. 100, and p. 234, n. 3)	7	M. 155	*Pa 1118*, 19^{r} (St. Stephen)
	6	M. 155	*Pa 903*, 165^{v}
	8	M. 103	*Pa 495*, 10^{r}
	7	M. 144	*Vat 4770*, 117^{r}*; *Apt 18*, 69^{v} (Assumption)
	8	M. 144	*SG 484*, 209^{r}; *SG 381*, 295^{r}; *Ox 27*, 83^{r}; *Be 11*, 78^{v}
	8	M. 151	*Mu 14083*, 102^{r}
Doxa patri locosque	1	unnotated	*Vro 107*, 29^{r}*
Eia chorus clamans	1	M. 198[f]	*Apt 17*, 189^{r} (Dedication)
Eia omnigenis vocibus (Frere, p. 47; Planchart, II, p. 249)	2	M. 82	*Cdg 473*, 55^{v}; *Ox 775*, 62^{r}

* This trope melody is not notated in this source.

[a] This Kyrie bears the text *Tibi Christe supplices* (AH 47:2) in MSS *RoA 123* and *To 18*.

[b] In *Ox 222*, this Kyrie is indicated only by incipit; on fols. 7^{r} and 19^{r}, M. 55 bears the text *Tibi Christe supplices*, and it is not unlikely that the same text was intended here, especially as a rubric refers back to the version for Easter on fol. 19^{r}.

[c] In this version, M. 55 bears the text *Tibi Christe supplices*.

[d] This Kyrie bears the text *Tibi Christe supplices* in *Pa 1240*, *1118* (fol. 12^{r}), *1084*, *887*, *1120*, *1119*, *Apt 18* (fol. 5^{v}), and *RoV 52*. In many of the sources, *Christe redemptor* appears in conjunction with the trope *Miserere domine*.

[e] This Kyrie bears the text *O theos hagie (benigne)* (AH 47:38) in both sources.

[f] This Kyrie bears the text *Tibi promit cohors* (AH 47:36) in *Apt 17*.

TABLE 2
TROPES TO THE KYRIE *(cont.)*

Gloriosae virginis	8	?	*Ba 5*, 42r (Epiphany); *Ka 15*, 174r
Hodie gloriosa virgo	1	M. 124	*Ox 222*, 30r (Assumption)
Ignis discurrens (AH 47:89)	8	?	*Kr 309*, 185v
Ineffabilis (AH 47:32; Wagner, I, pp. 283–4)	8	M. 155	*Lo 19768*, 10v; *SG 484*, 253r[g]; *SG 381*, 316r; *Ba 5*, 38v (Holy Innocents); *Ox 27*, 83v; *Ka 25* (cited in AH 47); *Be 11*, 82r; *Mu 14083*, 102v; *SG 380*, 109r; *SG 378*, 116r and 364r[h] (St. John Evangelist); *Zu 97*, 27r; *Kr 309*, 185v; *Vro 107*, 30v
	8	M. 151	*Ka 15*, 174r
Kyrie o theos generis	?	M. 68	*Si 15*, 134v (cited by Melnicki)
Miserere domine (AH 47, p. 213; Frere, p. 47; Stäblein, col. 1941; Planchart II, pp. 242, 254–5)	3	M. 55[i]	*Pa 1240*, 79r*; *Pa 1118*, 12r (Christmas II); *Pa 1084*, 90r; *Pa 887*, 47r; *Pa 1120*, 67r; *Pa 1119*, 84r; *Pa 779*, 20r (St. John Evangelist); *Pa 903*, 166v; *Pa 9449*, 13r (St. John Evangelist); *Pa 1235*, 191v (St. John Evangelist)
	3	M. 102[j]	*Apt 17*, 134r (Easter)
	3	M. 210	*Cdg 473*, 56r; *Ox 775*, 62v
Miserere rex (AH 47:160)	3	M. 155	*Pa 1118*, 4r* (Christmas Eve); *Vic 105*, 43v[k]
Omnipotens genitor (AH 47:3; Gautier, pp. 229–33, 235–56)	8	M. 39	*Lo 19768*, 34v (Epiphany); *Pa 9448*, 15v (St. John Evangelist); *SG 484*, 211r; *SG 381*, 296r; *Ba 5*, 36r (St. John Evangelist); *SG 376*, 72r; *Ox 27*, 82v; *Ka 15*, 173r; *Ka 25* (cited in AH 47); *Be 11*, 81r; *Mu 14322*, 100v; *Mu 14083*, 101v; *Wi 1845*, 60r; *SG 380*, 108r; *SG 378*, 115r; *Zu 97*, 27r; *Mod 9*, 84r; *Ven 124*, 51v; *RoA 948*, 130r; *Kr 309*, 183r; *Mod 7*, 8v (Christmas III); *Vce 186*, 17r[g]; *Pad 47*, 19v; *Be 40608*, 15v
	9	M. 39	*Vro 107*, 30r; *RoN 1343*, 1v; *RoC 1741*, 6v
	7	M. 39	*RoV 52*, 148r
	(torso: 9?)	M. 56[m]	*Si 15*, 135r

*This trope melody is not notated in this source.

[g] The Kyrie melody is not notated in this source.

[h] This entry is part of a thirteenth-century addition to the manuscript.

[i] This Kyrie bears the text *Tibi Christe supplices* in *Pa 1240*, *1118* (fol. 12r), *1084*, *887*, *1120*, and *1119*. In many of the sources, *Miserere domine* is used in conjunction with the trope *Christe redemptor*.

[j] This Kyrie bears the text *Clemens rector aeterne* (AH 47:6).

[k] In *Vich 105* the trope and Kyrie have the same melody, which resembles M. 155 in general contour but not detail; this would seem to be an instance of a troped Kyrie being transformed into a Kyrie with text.

[m] The Kyrie melody (to judge from the incipit in Melnicki's catalogue) seems to be that of the trope *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, stripped of its text. See also Melnicki's discussion of it, *Das einstimmige Kyrie*, p. 84.

O Pater piissime (AH 47:83; Wagner, I, p. 284)	8	M. 155	*SG 381*, 317r; *Be 11*, 83r; *SG 380*, 110r; *Zu 97*, 29r
Pater infantium (AH 47:82; Gautier, pp. 234, 237; Wagner, I, p. 284)	8	M. 151	*SG 381*, 218r; *SG 376*, 45r; *SG 382*, 28r; *SG 380*, 38r; *SG 378*, 365r (all Holy Innocents); *Be 11*, 84v; *Zu 97*, 29r; *Ox 341*, 60v
Rex regum domine (AH 47:161)	3	M. 124[n]	*Pa 887*, 49r
	1	M. 124	*Pa 1084*, 91r
	3	M. 70	*Pa 1120*, 68v; *Pa 1119*, 85v
	1	M. 70	*Hu 4*, 134v
Summe pater (AH 47, p. 38)	8	M. 68	*Ba 5*, 33r (St. Stephen)

APPENDIX

Pater aeterne[p] (AH 47, p. 103)	1	M. 47	*Pa 778*, 20v
Princeps astrigeram[q] (AH 47:34)	9	M. 36	*Ka 15*, 174v; *Mu 14322*, 102v; *Mu 14083*, 102v

The tropes are listed in alphabetical order according to the incipit of their first member or element. The Kyrie melodies with which they appear are identified by their number in Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicki's catalogue, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, 1955) (M.). When the tropes appear in Clemens Blume's edition *Die Tropen zum Ordinarium Missae*, Analecta hymnica medii aevi, XLVII (Leipzig, 1905) (AH 47), they are cited by the number given them there or, in several cases, by reference to page number. A few tropes can be found also in Léon Gautier, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge* (Paris, 1886); Walter H. Frere, *The Winchester Troper* (London, 1894); Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien* (3rd ed., 3 vols., Leipzig, 1911–21); Jacques Chailley, *L'école musicale de Saint Martial de Limoges jusqu'à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris, 1960); Bruno Stäblein, "Kyrie," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VII, cols. 1931–46; and Alejandro Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester* (2 vols., Princeton, 1977). The sources are cited in their order in Table 1.

[n] This Kyrie bears the text *Rex magne domine* (AH 47:11a) in *Pa 887*.

[p] The melody of this item is nearly the same as the first phrase of the Kyrie to which it is attached, so it should probably not be considered a trope.

[q] In most of its sources *Princeps astrigeram* is a syllabically texted Kyrie. In these three sources, the melismatic phrases are different from and much shorter than the ones with Latin text, so that so far as structure is concerned, this version is a troped Kyrie.

The tropes, however, not being texts for the Kyries themselves, are less regular. By their very nature as introductions or interpolations, they have fewer than nine phrases; the one exception, a nine-phrase version of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, is an enlargement of the normal eight-phrase form.[12] Nine of the tropes listed in Table 2 have but one element. Found only in French, Spanish, and North Italian sources, and in the Winchester tropers, these are the ones described by Melnicki as *Einleitungstropen*. They stand before the Kyrie as an introduction. A few others have three elements apiece. Outside of France and northern Spain, these are found only in the Winchester Troper. In function they seem much like the introductory tropes, for one element stands before each part (each three-phrase group) of the Kyrie. Nearly all the others have eight elements. These are found, for the most part, only in German sources, where this form was standard, and in Italy, although one (*Deus solus et immensus*) was as widespread in France as in Germany. Called *Interpolationstropen* by Melnicki and *Rahmentropen* by Stäblein, they are not like the introductory tropes, for they stand—almost without exception—between Kyrie phrases and alternate with them.

A number of tropes stand outside this pattern in one or more of their sources. *Adoneus Kyrius* has four elements, which are placed—like those of the three-phrase trope—one before each part of the Kyrie, but with another before the final petition. As the final petition is set in this case with a compound, climactic musical phrase (phrase 9 = phrase 7 + phrase 7 + phrase 8), the insertion of an extra trope before it makes sense—musical, formal, and rhetorical sense. This four-phrase trope is akin to the three-phrase form, an expansion of it. *Deus solus et immensus* has eight elements in most of its sources, but in one (*Pa 903*) it has only six, and in three others (*Pa 1118*, *Apt 18*, and *Vat 4770*) only seven. These versions are probably reductions from the eight-phrase form found in German sources, for the only West Frankish version with eight phrases, found in the Gerona troper *Pa 495*, is an expansion of the seven-phrase version—and not identical to the East Frankish form.[13] *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* likewise appears

[12] There are longer forms, often rubricated *preces*, that bear some resemblance to troped Kyries, but they have usually been considered litanies. For a description of them, see Stäblein, "Litanei," *MGG*, VIII, cols. 999–1001.

[13] Another instance of reduction from the usual form is found in *Pa 1084* and *Hu 4*, where *Rex regum domine* has only one of its normal complement of three phrases. In the former, the trope is an addition located in a series of seemingly unrelated items in different hands, so it is difficult to tell just what was intended.

in truncated and independently enlarged versions in several Italian sources (*RoV 52*, *Vro 107*, *RoN 1343*, and *RoC 1741*). The first omits a phrase, while the last three add one to the normal eight-phrase version of the trope. *Miserere domine* has three elements in most of its sources, but sometimes *Christe redemptor* stands in front of it, giving altogether four elements, as in *Pa 1118*, *1084*, *779*, and *903*. Several other sources—*Pa 1240*, *887*, *1120*, and *1119*—reduce this form to three elements by omitting the penultimate phrase, which strongly suggests that in France at that time the three-phrase form was regarded as the norm. In these sources, *Christe redemptor* looks like a three-element trope, whereas it is actually a reduced and displaced version of this combination.[14] *Eia omnigenis* has only two elements. Whether it is a reduction from some three-element form is impossible to say, but considering the nearly complete lack of tropes with basic forms having other than one, three, or eight elements, it seems not unlikely.[15] Regardless what it might once have been, it is treated as a three-element trope lacking its final phrase: the trope is placed one element before the first and second groups of Kyrie petitions.

There are also several instances of using isolated Kyrie petitions as tropes. The three found in a twelfth-century MS from Narbonne, *Pa 778*, may indicate some late-blooming flexibility of form, but more likely reflect a lack of discrimination between the Kyrie with trope and the Kyrie with text—a concomitant, perhaps, of the gradual disappearance of the trope repertory. *Jesu rex caeli* (M. 53) has the same melody as the first phrase of the Kyrie that it precedes; no complete nine-petition text is known. The first phrase of the nine-phrase Kyrie *Rex alme cunctipotens* (M. 185; AH 47, p. 86) appears as an introductory trope before *Theoricam practicamque vitam regens* (M. 185; AH 47:23), a Kyrie with the same melody. *Pater aeterne* (M. 47; AH 47, p. 103), has nearly the same melody as the first phrase of *Christe deus decus* (M. 47; AH 47:37), the Kyrie that it precedes; as with *Jesu rex caeli*, no com-

[14] Unlike tropes to Proper chants, tropes to the Kyrie do not vary much in form from one source to another. To regard each of these elements as separable (as *Corpus troporum* does, with good reason, for tropes to the Proper) seems unwarranted.

[15] Planchart has suggested (*The Repertory of Tropes*, I, pp. 254–5) that the two elements of *Eia omnigenis* are the second and third members of a set of three beginning with *Christe redemptor*. This could be true, but it seems unlikely, for *Christe redemptor* is found only as an independent introduction or in combination with *Miserere domine*. It is better not regarded as a separable element of *Miserere domine*, but as an introductory trope that is sometimes conflated with the latter. There is no instance of a truly separable and transferable element which belongs to several different sets of Kyrie tropes.

plete nine-petition text is known.[16] Another case, surely the result of scribal confusion, is the botched form found in the Winchester MS *Ox 775*, where *Christe redemptor* appears as the first of three elements of trope, the other two being petitions 3 and 6 of the Kyrie *Te Christe supplices* (M. 55; AH 47:2).[17]

It is interesting to note how many of the tropes are associated with the same Kyrie melodies. Six appear with melody M. 55, often with its texted version *Tibi Christe supplices*. The frequent assignment of this Kyrie to Christmas, Easter, and other high feasts can account for its being so often troped. Four appear with melody M. 155, and a number more with each of the Kyries M. 39, M. 151, and M. 68. It is particularly in East Frankish sources that we find one Kyrie melody being used with several different tropes, but the same practice can be observed in Italian manuscripts in connection with Kyrie M. 55.

The inverse is also true, if less common. Certain tropes are used with several different Kyries. *Christe redemptor*, aside from its normal pairing with M. 55, is used with four other melodies as well. *Deus solus et immensus* is coupled with two different Kyrie melodies in eastern sources and another two in France and Catalonia. *Miserere domine*, used most often with M. 55, is joined to other melodies at Apt and Winchester. The North Italian *Archangeli laetantur* is used with two different Kyries. *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* virtually always appears with M. 39, but a Siena MS places it with another melody. Likewise, *Ineffabilis* appears regularly with M. 155, but one source from Regensburg links it instead with M. 151.

The two phenomena clearly have different meanings. While many early Kyrie sources do not assign chants to a particular celebration, those that do often use one Kyrie for several feasts.[18] Whether the use of a trope is just a way of elaborating a chant or—as in some cases—a way of making it proper to a particular feast, the use of different

[16] A similar lack of discrimination between trope and Kyrie can be found in another example from the same MS, in which the trope *Christe redemptor* appears in postpositive position with the Kyrie *O theos benigne* (M. 68; AH 47:38), between the first and second petitions. Planchart (II, pp. 242–4) suggests that both here and in *Pa 495*, the trope functions as a "prosula," as it takes on the position of the first Kyrie petition. In both sources, however, the trope retains its own melody, and only in the latter source does it replace the usual opening of the Kyrie.

[17] Facsimile in Andreas Holschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim, 1968), plate 18. Compare Frere, p. 47; and Planchart, I, pp. 248–50, 310–13. The same form appears in the organal voice of the polyphonic setting in *Cdg 473*.

[18] For example, *Pa 9449*, *Ox 222*, and *RoA 123*.

tropes for different feasts is easy to understand; and if the Kyrie assigned to those feasts is the same, the result is what we have just noticed—that a Kyrie can have different tropes on different occasions. On the other hand, the use of a trope with several different Kyrie melodies shows that it is transferable from one chant to another. The relative fixity of tropes to Proper chants makes the transferability of Kyrie tropes seem perplexing. Tropes to the Proper are nearly always used with only one chant. Among the tropes of the Christmas cycle[19] only fifteen trope elements are transferred from one chant to another; all but three of these are moved around within a single mass, or from one of the Christmas masses to another, which might indicate only relatively insignificant adjustments of a liturgical schedule.[20] There is certainly no indication that tropes to Proper chants move around with the same freedom as tropes to the Kyrie. Transference from one Kyrie to another, however, can be reduced largely to a matter of local variance. For example, both Nevers tropers (*Pa 9449* and *1235*) place *Christe redemptor* irregularly with Kyrie melody M. 48. Likewise, both Winchester tropers use *Miserere domine* with a different chant from that found with it in continental sources. On the other hand, *Apt 18* uses a trope on two feasts with different Kyries: on Christmas day *Christe redemptor* is sung with *Tibi Christe supplices* (M. 55; AH 47:2), while on Epiphany it is sung with Kyrie M. 47.

How, then, are we to understand the assignment of a trope to a particular feast? To trope an Ordinary chant, it has been suggested, was a way of making the plain, everyday language of its text proper to one celebration. Most Kyrie tropes (like most Kyrie texts) seem not to be intended for a particular feast: their language is more often general than indicative of a specific commemoration. In most instances, there would seem to be little reason for assigning them to one feast rather than another. Fewer than half the sources place Kyries in a calendrical section of the manuscript, alongside tropes to Proper chants, or give any other indication when they were to be sung. This does not mean, of course, that each one was not habitually used on a particular day.

[19] See *Corpus troporum*, I:1.

[20] *Archangeli laetantur* is an even rarer instance of a trope used with both a Kyrie and a Proper chant. In *Ivr 60* it is assigned to the Introit for Christmas Day, *Puer natus*. There it appears as the last of a series of Introit tropes, immediately before the Kyrie; it may have been transferred from such a position through confusion or carelessness. In the four sources given in Table 2, however, the trope is clearly associated with the following Kyrie—in *To 20*, by use of the rubric *Tropus ad Kyrieleison;* in *Pia 65*, by use of a similar rubric; and in the other two, by use of a large initial letter.

Quite the contrary, for within a group of related manuscripts the chants often fall in the same, or similar order; and among the sources that do indicate when a trope was sung there is often a consensus on the liturgical assignment of certain chants. What it does mean is that Kyrie tropes were not necessarily confined to a single celebration, but might have been sung several times a year or more. And it is just this that some of the calendrical sources indicate. *Apt 18*, for example, allows any Kyrie (presumably with or without trope, with or without text) to be sung on certain days, with the rubric "qualibet" or "quale votum." Other manuscripts do the same by writing out the incipit of the Ordinary text with no indication of melody, trope, or text.

Certain tropes, on the other hand, were written for a particular celebration, for instance those of *Ox 222: Christus natus est hodie* for Christmas; *Christus surrexit a mortuis hodie* for Easter; *Christus ascendit in caelis* for Ascension; and *Hodie gloriosa virgo Maria exalta est* for the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[21] Incidentally, the first two, perhaps the first three, were all used with the Kyrie *Te Christe rex supplices* (M. 55; AH 47:2).

How does the Kyrie trope compare in this regard with other Ordinary tropes, with tropes to the Proper, and with Alleluia and Offertory prosulas? Tropes to Proper chants are confined with few exceptions to a single liturgical context—to one chant of a particular feast. Their texts, however, do not always refer to that celebration, nor are they often linked inextricably with the Proper texts themselves. Neither does the limitation seem to depend upon musical connections between a chant and its trope; they abound in number but are seldom singular enough to warrant the consideration sometimes given them. The restricted use of tropes to Proper chant, then, would seem to be purely customary. Prosulas for the Offertory and the Alleluia, of course, are designed for particular melodies and are often syntactically and rhetorically intertwined with the primary texts. But many prosulas were written for Alleluias that had no definite or standard place in the calendar, and their use might well have varied from

[21] *Christus surrexit a mortuis hodie* and *Christus ascendit in caelis* are basically the same tropes, but different from the Offertory trope *Christus surrexit a mortuis* and its variant, the Communion trope *Ipse surrexit a mortuis* (see Planchart, II, pp. 215, 228 and 261). *Christus ascendit in caelis* is given only as an incipit, with a rubric referring back to the Easter trope. Both Kyrie tropes are related at their intonations to the Gloria tropes which follow immediately, *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis* (AH 47:169a) and its variant *Christus ascendit dulcibus hymnis.* Musical and textual interrelationships such as these are exceptional.

one locale to another. Gloria tropes and Regnum prosulas, curiously enough, have somewhat tighter liturgical associations than do Kyrie tropes. West Frankish and Italian sources nearly all assigned some of these to a particular feast; one Aquitanian troper (*Pa 1118*) places items for the Gloria on the calendar for twenty-eight masses, while only nine of them get a Kyrie. The language of the Gloria tropes tends to be somewhat more specific than that of the Kyrie tropes, too. Their position in the calendar, however, is less strictly defined than for tropes to Proper chant. Tropes for the Sanctus and the Agnus Dei are in about the same position as those for the Kyrie.

With the Kyrie trope, as with certain others of these genres, the liturgical associations gradually became more narrowly circumscribed. (The same development can be traced for the sequence, as Professor Crocker has shown.[22]) While the early St. Gall manuscripts, for example, place only one Kyrie on the calendar (the troped Kyrie *Pater infantium*,[23] for the Feast of the Holy Innocents), the thirteenth-century addition to *SG 378* specifies a liturgical placement for six. And among West Frankish sources, those with Kyries assigned to the most feasts were nearly all written after the middle of the eleventh century.

* * *

A close look at several Kyrie tropes will show us something of their melodic style and the rhetorical and musical bases of their forms. We can begin with *Eia chorus clamans*, a single-phrase trope from Apt. *Rex regum domine* can serve as an example of the three-phrase type found in France, England, and Spain. *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, widespread throughout Germany and Italy, can represent the eight-phrase type. Then *Deus solus et immensus*, the only one with both French and German sources, can be considered for what light it sheds on particular problems.

A manuscript in the treasury of the Basilique-Ste-Anne in Apt, a town in the Vaucluse southeast of Avignon, is the sole source for the

[22] Richard Crocker, "The Repertory of Proses at Saint Martial de Limoges in the 10th Century," this JOURNAL, XI (1958), pp. 149–64.

[23] *Pater infantium* must have been a favorite chant, for it was sung at least as late as the sixteenth century, albeit in greatly altered form. The 1507 St. Gall MS 546 includes it as a syllabically texted version of Kyrie M. 144; for a transcription see Otto Marxer, *Zur spätmittelalterlichen Choralgeschichte St. Gallens*, Veröffentlichungen der Gregorianischen Akademie zu Freiburg, 3 (St. Gall, 1908), p. 125. This was one means of adapting a trope for survival even after the trope tradition had died out.

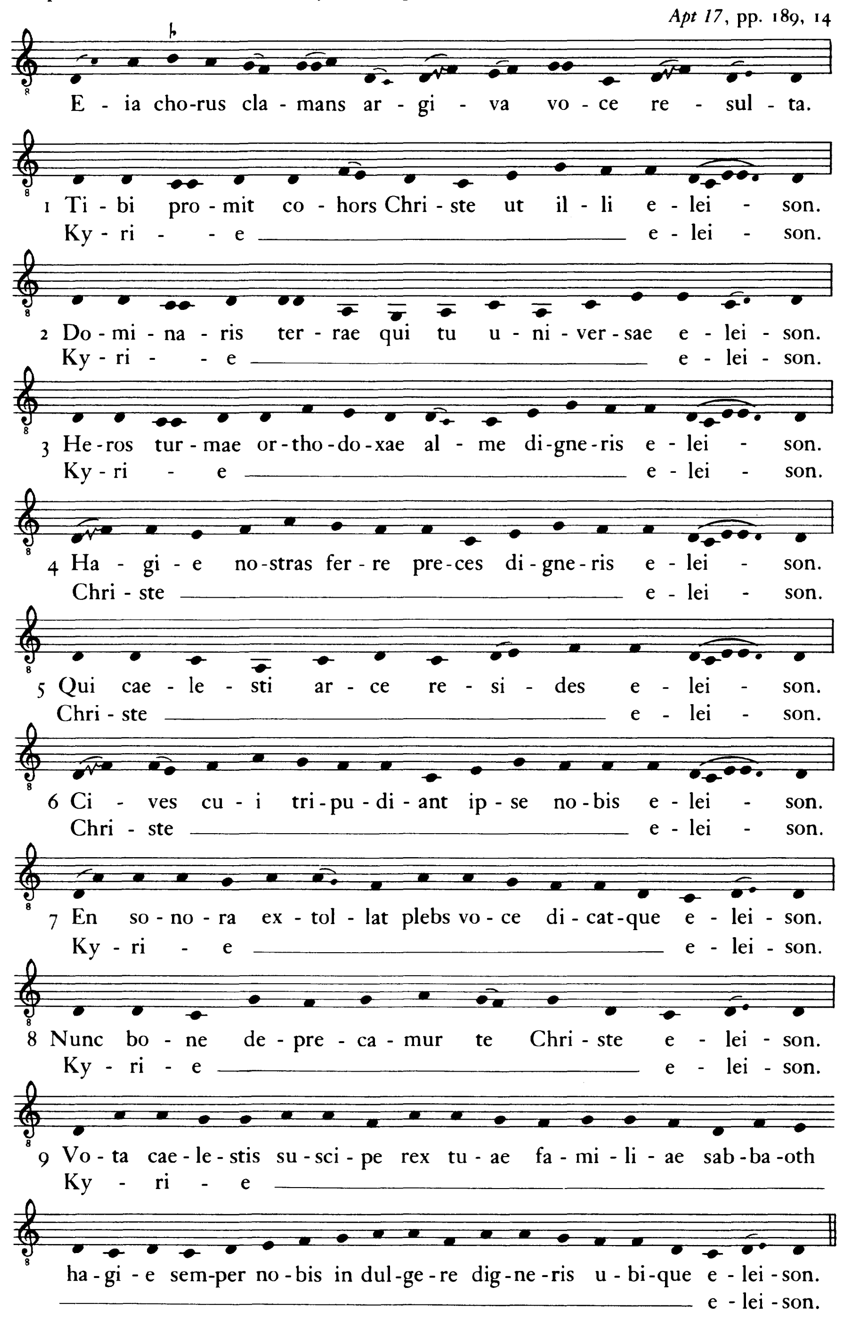
introductory Kyrie trope *Eia chorus clamans*, as well as a good many other pieces. This troper, *Apt 17*, shows closest connections with two of the Aquitanian manuscripts of southernmost provenance, *Pa 1084* and, especially, *Pa 1118*, but it also shows affinities with North Italian sources—where the introductory trope is most common—through another manuscript now located at Apt but perhaps originally from Italy. Copied sometime about the middle of the eleventh century, *Apt 17* includes pieces for the feast of St. Castor, bishop of Apt from about 410 to about 425 A.D. and its principal saint until the end of the fourteenth century, when the cult of St. Anne gained special importance. While the cathedral of Apt consisted of a group of episcopal churches—Notre-Dame (the main edifice), Saint-Sauveur, Saint-Paul and Saint-Jacques—the tenth- and eleventh-century deeds of its cartulary refer to it as being jointly dedicated to the Virgin and to St. Castor, who was buried in Saint-Sauveur. It is entirely possible, then, that the MS was intended for the cathedral, and that *Eia chorus clamans* and the other *unica* were composed for its chapter.[24]

At celebrations of the Dedication of the cathedral, *Eia chorus clamans* introduced the Kyrie *Tibi promit cohors* (M. 198; AH 47:36; Vatican Kyriale, *ad lib.* III), a chant which at Apt was sung also on Christmas Eve and Epiphany, but without the trope. This single-phrase trope, like all the others, is prefixed to a much larger form, the elaborate Latin-texted Kyrie (see Ex. 1). The melody of the Kyrie is among the oldest and best established in the Aquitanian repertory; but its text, one of several that are used with the melody, has only one other source. The trope itself is an invitatory versicle ("Come, chorus, singing; in Argive voice resound!"), to which the Kyrie is the response. The melody, a moderately neumatic setting of the text, is a closed musical phrase, a simple intonation and a resolution. There is no reason to expect any close musical relation between trope and Kyrie, but we see that the trope and all the Kyrie phrases begin and end on the same pitch, and that the trope has a contour vaguely resembling that of phrase 7 of the Kyrie.

[24] Amédée Gastoué suggests the abbey Mananque as a possible provenance, as it was also dedicated to St. Castor; see "Les anciens chants liturgiques des églises d'Apt et du Comtat," *Revue du chant grégorien*, X (1901/1902), p. 156. The possibility that this MS was written for the cathedral is complicated by the fact that the edifice still standing today was begun sometime between 1056 and 1076, at least eighty years after the previous cathedral was destroyed during a Moorish invasion. The chapter itself, however, was established in 991 and existed continuously during this period. See Jean Barruol, "Les anciennes cathédrales d'Apt et leur groupe épiscopal des origines au XIII[e] siècle," in *Cartulaire de l'église d'Apt (835-1130?)*, ed. Noël Didier et al., L'Université de Grenoble, Essais et travaux, 20 (Paris, 1967), pp. 63-6.

Example 1 *

Trope *Eia chorus clamans* with Kyrie *Tibi promit cohors*



Rex regum domine, typical of a group of West Frankish and Anglo-Saxon tropes, appears in two manuscripts associated with the Benedictine abbey St. Martial de Limoges, two other Aquitanian tropers whose provenance is less firmly established, and the Huesca MS from San Juan de la Peña. In the two St. Martial sources and in the Catalan troper, it appears with Kyrie melody M. 70 (Vatican Kyriale, *ad lib.* V). Example 2 offers a transcription of this version. The first element (T) stands before Kyrie petitions 1 through 3, the second (U) before petitions 4 through 6, and the third (V) before petitions 7 through 9. The text of T is an appeal, a series of invocatory epithets addressed to Christ; U is a twofold plea for mercy, addressed to the Father as well as to Christ; and V is an appeal like T, one that includes the Holy Spirit. The melody sets the text neumatically with a norm of one to four notes per syllable but with neumes of five to eight notes occuring twice in U and three times in V.

That the trope shows some degree of motivic coherence is clear, but it is equally clear that such organization is less important in the trope than in the Kyrie. One could point to the repetition in T, where the melody of the first sub-phrase (over "Rex regum domine") is much like that of the second (over "rector caelorum"); or to the repetition in U (over "miserere tu Christos," without the final tail) of the closing figure from T; even to the identical beginnings of the first and second sub-phrases of V. What is more important, however, is that the repetition is explicit only in the last instance; elsewhere it is disguised or underplayed. The relation between trope and Kyrie is much the same. The repeated segment of T is echoed at the end of Kyrie phrase 1; the common figure of T and U resembles the middle of phrase 2; and the second half of V (from "almus" to the end) has a contour resembling that of the close of phrase 9.

But rather than emphasize these superficial similarities, let us look for the features of the trope that help distinguish it from the Kyrie. What we are likely to notice first is a difference in melodic movement. While the Kyrie tends to move in concise, meaningful figures (e.g., the intonations of phrases 1 through 3 or the whole of 7) or broad,

* Sources with Latin-texted Kyries usually give each phrase twice, first with Latin text and then without. The meaning of this double notation has been much debated, with some scholars arguing for a performance that would alternate between the syllabic and melismatic phrases, and others preferring a simultaneous performance of the two versions of each phrase. The evidence itself is somewhat tricky, yet most of it points toward an *alternatim* practice. One piece of evidence has been overlooked so far. The Kyrie with eight trope phrases and the Kyrie with Latin text are notated almost identically and grouped together in East Frankish sources. The tropes, of course, must have been sung in phrase-by-phrase alternation with the Kyrie. The similarity of format implies the same kind of performance for the Kyrie with text.

Example 2

Trope *Rex regam domine* with Kyrie M.70

Pa 1119, fol. 85v

T Rex re-gum do - mi - ne ___ rec - tor ___ cae - lo - rum ac ter - rae.

1 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

2 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

3 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

U Sal - va pa - ter ___ pan - ton ___ no - bis ___

mi - se - re - re tu Chri - stos. ___

4 Chri - - ste ___ (e)lei - son.

5 Chri - ste ___ (e)lei - son.

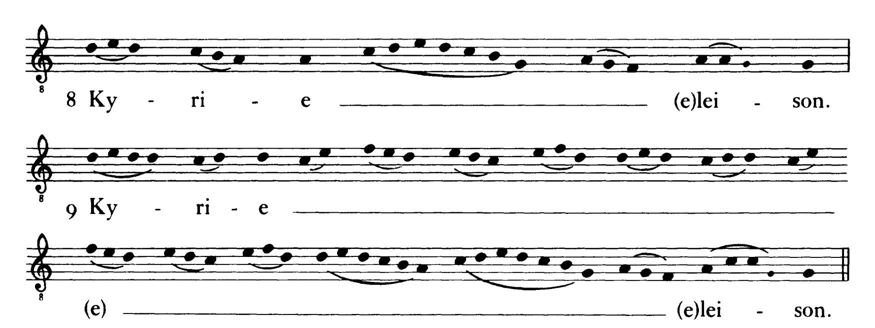
6 Chri - - ste ___ (e)lei - son.

V I - dem com - pos Ky - - ri - u al -

mus ___ ac ___ spi - - ri - tus u - nus.

7 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

Example 2 *(cont.)*



sweeping gestures (e.g., phrases 4, 6 and 8), the trope hesitates and turns in on itself—except in V, which resembles the Kyrie in its boldness. Compare, for example, the opening of U with the intonations of phrases 1 through 3, or the end of U with the closing of any Kyrie phrase. The trope phrases are all built in three arches, while the Kyrie phrases have simpler contours and impress themselves more easily on the ear. The text plays its part in this, for it is set in a way that emphasizes diffuseness. Syllable changes often occur at the most awkward places, where they underscore breaks in the line, disrupt what would otherwise move smoothly, or maximize the effect of a tritone. If they were delayed just one note or two, the effect would be quite different. The way "caelorum" is placed in T, for example, breaks the line by emphasizing the disjunct motion and the change in direction, which at the comparable point in phrase 1 fit easily into a gently descending pattern. When the Kyrie itself is texted, as it is in many sources, each time this pattern occurs (phrases 1, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9), the *G* corresponding to the one over "*cae*lorum" nearly always falls on an unaccented final syllable, which underplays just what the trope emphasizes. This is not to say that the trope is carelessly set, but rather that its text seems to have been set purposely in a way that obscures focus.

As for the tonal structure of the trope, there are several things that deserve attention. First, while none of the trope phrases begin on the same pitch as the following Kyrie phrases, they all end where we expect them to, on *G*, the final pitch of M. 70. The connection of each Kyrie phrase and what immediately precedes it is the same as if there were no trope. At the beginnings of phrases U and V, however, the trope does stand out. Secondly, phrases T and U have a tonal structure different from that of the Kyrie phrases. Both of them center on *A* and move outward to the upper and lower third, thereby avoiding

any pronounced emphasis on *G* until the cadence. Phrases 1 through 3 and 5, however, begin with intonations that define *G* as tonal center, and only then move away from it. If in phrases 4, 6, and 8, *A* seems more important, it is only because the opening figure falls down to it. Trope phrase V, on the other hand, is much closer to the phrases that follow it.

The trope and Kyrie clearly work well together. They resemble each other in certain ways yet differ enough to maintain separate identities. Indeed the contrast between them is marked enough to leave a strong impression; the melodies move in different ways, show different structural features, and even seem to represent different compositional styles. Still there is no lack of congruity, and it is easy to imagine the one having been designed for the other. The dissimilarity is functional and almost certainly intentional. It probably has little to do with chronology; much more, with choice. A quick comparison of several types of chant from this period—say five or six sequences, Kyries, hymns, and tropes—makes it clear that musical language was both varied and flexible in the tenth century, as much as at any time since. Each genre had its own norms, yet what determined the shape of a particular piece was more a matter of compositional craft and imagination than of convention. The composer of *Rex regum domine* could have written something more like the Kyrie melody but did not. What he did write bears the mark of melodic sophistication and shows a keen awareness and control of style.

From East Frankish and Italian areas comes the most widespread of these pieces, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* (see Ex. 3).[25] Often cited in discussions of the Kyrie trope, it has attracted considerable attention because of a mistake, an erroneous attribution to a ninth-century monk. Ekkehard IV, in his history of St. Gall,[26] names Notker's contemporary Tuotilo as author of the trope *Omnipotens genitor fons et origo*. Because of the similarity of its opening words, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque et lucis origo* (AH 47:3), and the West Frankish Kyrie text, *Cunctipotens genitor* (AH 47:4), have been attributed to Tuotilo.

[25] The two diastematic sources not from Nonantola, *Pad 47* and *RoV 52*, agree on a somewhat different reading for the first phrase of this trope: the melody lies a second higher over "Omnipotens genitor," a third higher over "lumen-," and a second higher over "-que et." This reading has two points in its favor. It moves the beginning into line with the rest of the piece, and it makes phrase R closer to Kyrie phrase 1 and to trope phrase S.

[26] *Casus sancti Galli*, III, in *Scriptores rerum sangalliensis*, ed. Idelfons von Arx, Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores, II (Hanover, 1829), p. 101.



Example 3

Trope *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* with Kyrie M. 39

RoC 1741, fol. 6ᵛ

R Om-ni-po-tens ge-ni-tor lu - menque et ___ lu-cis o-ri-go.

1 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

S De ni-hi-lo ius-so ver-bi qui ___ cun-cta cre-a-sti.

2 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

T Hu-ma-no ge-ne-ri pec - ca - ti ___ pon-de-re ___ pres-so.

3 Ky - ri - e ___ (e)lei - son.

U Ad ce-num ter-re mis-sus ___ ge-ni-to-ris ab ar-ce.

4 Chri - ste ___ (e)lei - son.

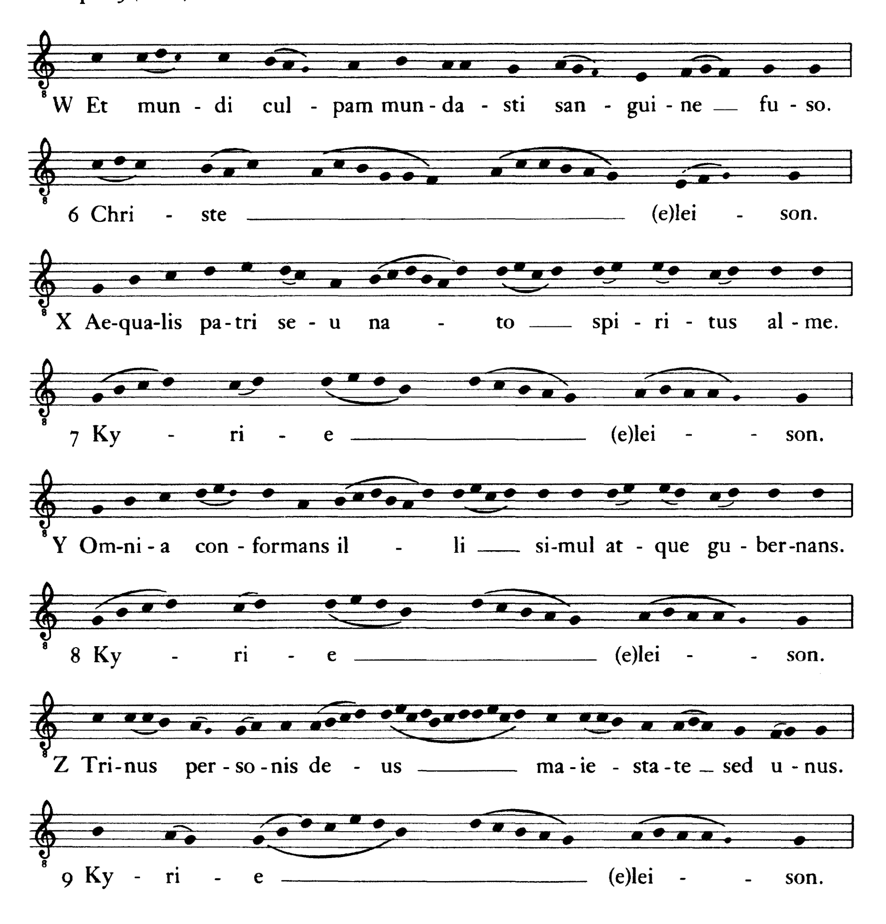
V Qui in - du - e-ras car-nem ca-sta de vir-gi-ne ___ na-tus.

5 Chri - ste ___ (e)lei - son.

---

thing. One could just as well cite *Ineffabilis* as the oldest East Frankish Kyrie trope, for it appears in nearly all the early sources alongside *Omnipotens genitor lumenque.* As for the resemblance between the two Kyrie melodies, which has been remarked by many scholars besides Blume, the much greater ambitiousness and formal complexity of *Tibi Christe supplices* make it hard to believe that the two are actually different versions of the same chant; it is easier to imagine one having been modeled after the other.

Example 3 *(cont.)*



Blume clarified the matter in his commentary to this text,[27] but even afterwards the confusion has persisted.

Like *Rex regum domine*, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* is set neumatically, with most syllables having one, two or three notes, but

[27] *Analecta hymnica*, XLVII, p. 50; see also Blume, "Poesie des Hochamtes im Mittelalter: Die Kyrie-tropen," *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXI (1906), p. 27. Blume himself emphasizes the importance of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* for another reason, its being the oldest East Frankish Kyrie trope; he calls it the pendant to *Tibi Christe supplices* as well as its "Doppelgänger," for the close resemblance between the two Kyrie melodies M. 39 and M. 55. It should be recognized that the true pendant to the West Frankish Kyrie is *Kyrie o theos* (M. 55; AH 47:30), the East Frankish texted version of the same melody, for it appears in the oldest German sources and in most of those from the eleventh century as well, and is of the same genre as *Tibi Christe supplices*. *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, being a trope to its Kyrie, is not the comparable

longer neumes in certain phrases. It differs, however, in moving less regularly, for certain of its phrases and passages are virtually syllabic (e.g., the beginnings of S and T and the whole of U), while others have fairly long neumes, some longer than anything in *Rex regum domine*.

On the whole, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* stands much closer to the style of its Kyrie, and to Kyries generally, than does *Rex regum domine*. It has structural features of the type one identifies with Kyries rather than with tropes. The similarity of the endings (over the last five syllables) of R through W is striking, as are the similarities among the first three trope phrases, the ternary symmetry of the group U, V and W, the virtual identity of X and Y, and their relation to Z. The overall form is tripartite, with a first group of three closely related phrases, a second group of three phrases in which the first and third are alike, and a final group of three closely related phrases. There is a rise in tessitura from beginning to end, marked by the higher intonations of U and W, then by the movement of X and Y into the register centering on high *D*. All these features are more typical of the Kyrie than of the trope, and especially of the West Frankish Kyrie, which tends to have a more complex formal structure than its East Frankish counterpart.

In melodic style, too, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* stands closer to its Kyrie than does *Rex regum domine*. Only in its longest neumes does it seem a bit convoluted, and it has none of the hesitation of the other trope. Its phrases have large, arching contours into which most of the melodic details fit smoothly. They even take over some figures from the Kyrie: the intonation of phrases 7 and 8 appears at the beginning of X; the cadences of R through W seem related to that of phrases 4 through 6.

Two tonal features demand attention. The first four trope phrases all end on *G*, while the first three Kyrie phrases end on *E*. The trope thus disrupts the phrase-to-phrase relation of the Kyrie as it would be without trope (as, for example, when it appears instead with the text *Lux et origo*, AH 47:12a). When trope phrases X and Y cadence on high *D*, the same kind of disruption occurs. Hierarchical tonal structures, in which pitches other than the final function as secondary tonal centers and cadence points, are found in both Gregorian and medieval chant. In the latter, where musical forms often consist of a series of syntactically independent units (i.e., closed phrases), an open cadence has enormous potential for shaping the series and articulating that shape—simply by causing enjambment of successive units. In the sequence and the Kyrie, cadences ending phrases are generally restrict-

ed to one or two pitches; even in the trope set, whose units are somewhat less independent for being intertwined with another chant, cadences are surprisingly often just as restricted or nearly so—far more often than is generally recognized. In protus and tetrardus chants, cadences on the upper fifth are not at all unusual, and in Kyrie melodies they occur often at the end of phrases 7 or 8. The *D* cadences of the trope, then, stand where they would in certain Kyries. What happens after the first three Kyrie phrases is another matter, for the entire first part of the Kyrie is deuterus while the rest is tetrardus. Such things do happen (as, for example, in Kyrie M. 55; Vatican Kyriale, *ad lib.* VI), and the peculiarity here is in the Kyrie, not the trope. The Kyrie itself is playing with the contrast between the two tones and with the similarity among phrases built on them. The trope takes part in this play but by doing so diminishes its formal importance: by bringing the contrasting cadences closer together, the trope obscures the subtle change of focus between the beginning and end of the Kyrie.

The text, addressed to Christ and written in hexameters, is a series of invocatory appeals without pleas. It, too, like the melody, falls into three parts: it focuses at the beginning on the divinity and infinity of Christ, then turns to his humanity and his role as Saviour, and finally considers his position in the Trinity. Very little separates it from a Kyrie text like the hexametric *Cunctipotens genitor* (AH 47:4). The Kyrie closes each line with "eleison," while the trope does not; the Kyrie has a more sharply defined shape, based on syllable count and metrical pattern, than does the trope; and the Kyrie closes with a compound final petition of extra length, while the trope does not. Otherwise the two are much alike, and it is just this similarity between examples of the two genres that has led to confusing them. One does not find in *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* the features that most clearly characterize certain tropes; there is no hortatory invitation to join in singing, there is no indication of introductory function, there are none of the forms "dicentes," "canentes," or "eia," that so often signal the conjunction of trope and item troped. The distinction between trope and Kyrie, in the end, is purely musical: the trope melody is different from that of the Kyrie to which it is attached.

The version of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* given above in Example 3 is found only in two Nonantolese MSS, *RoC 1741* and *RoN 1343*; a third MS, *Vro 107*, gives essentially the same version with the phrase order slightly varied. The numerous German sources, however, have one phrase fewer, for Y ("Omnia conformans . . .") is transmitted

only by the three Italian sources.[28] The German version must be the original, for it was only in German-speaking territory that this large form of Kyrie trope, with a trope element between every two Kyrie phrases, was widely cultivated. In Italy the form was hardly known, and the few examples found there were much more widespread north of the Alps. As the typical manner of elaborating the Kyrie in Italy was with a Latin text nine petitions long, it seems likely that an extra element was added to *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* so that it would conform more closely to what was best known there. Several Italian manuscripts do preserve the German version, after all, and the reading in the Siena troper shows adaptation in two different ways—its fragmentary version of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* includes a line found nowhere else, and its Kyrie melody, a *unicum*, is very close to that of the trope. One musical feature of the transcribed version, the nearly exact identity of X and Y, tends to confirm this reasoning. Tropes usually do not repeat any of their phrases; even the identity of U and W is anomalous, and may well be the only other instance of such phrase pairs in the entire repertory.

All in all, *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* is an unusual trope, and some of its features can best be understood as representing accommodation with the Latin-texted Kyrie. The nine-unit form found in Italy; the melodic repetition of entire phrases; the tight musical interrelationships within each group of three phrases, and the resulting tripartite form; even the integration of Kyrie and trope, with so many details of one being borrowed or imitated by the other—none of these features of *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* are representative of the repertory as a whole.

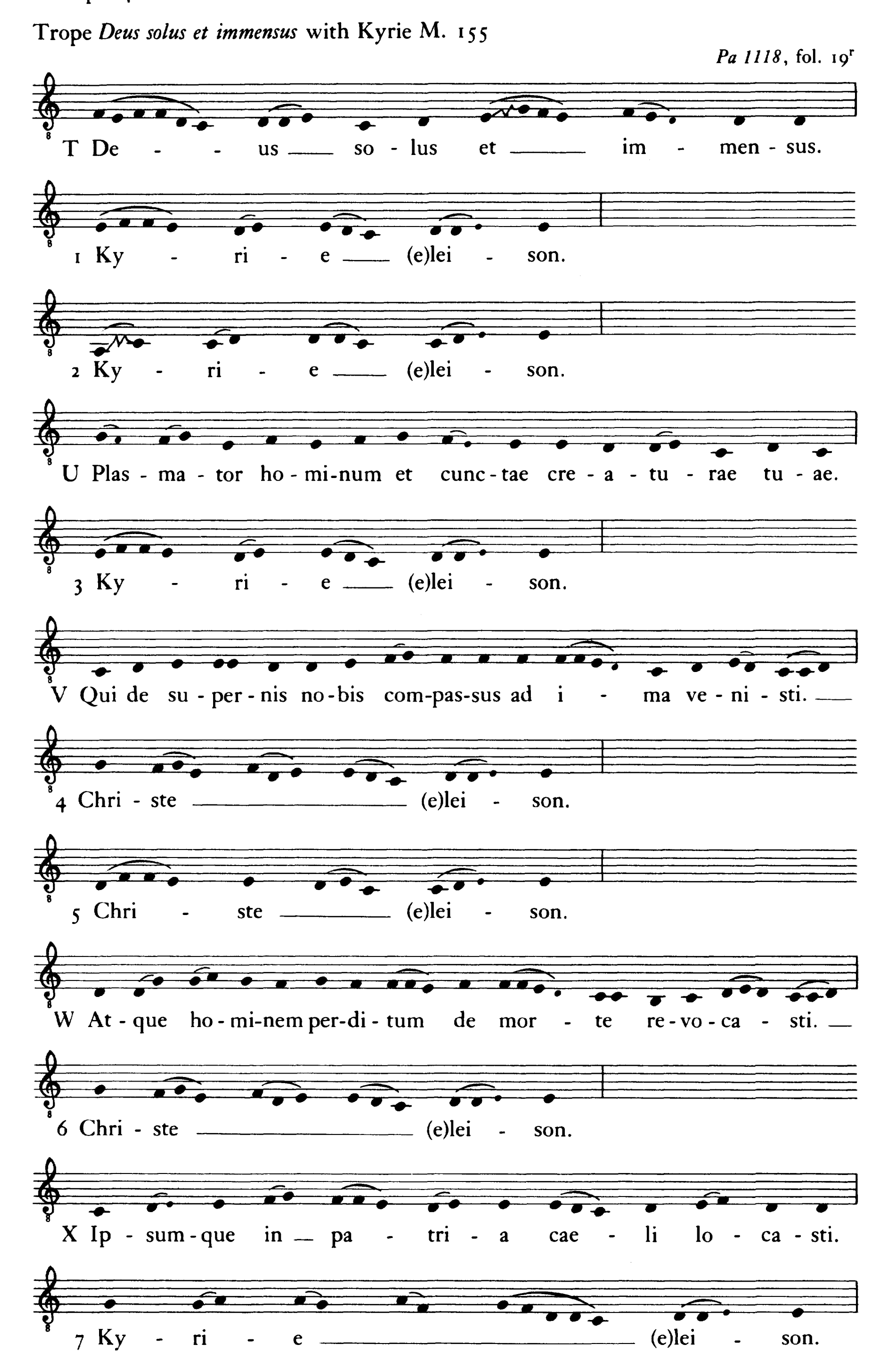
Only one Kyrie trope, *Deus solus et immensus*, has both East and West Frankish sources. As with *Omnipotens genitor lumenque*, the version from German territory has the eight-element form typical of that region, while elsewhere the form is variously reworked into versions that are both clearly derivative and irregular. Example 4 gives the earliest Aquitanian version.[29] Here the trope has been shortened to

[28] A facsimile from *SG 484* can be found in Gautier, *Les tropes*, pp. 229, 231 and 233. Anselm Schubiger's transcription from *SG 546* (*Die Sängerschule St. Gallens vom achten bis zwölften Jahrhundert* [Einsiedeln, 1858], example no. 42, pp. 40–1) is of *Cunctipotens genitor* (M. 18; AH 47:4), with "Omni-" being substituted for "Cuncti-."

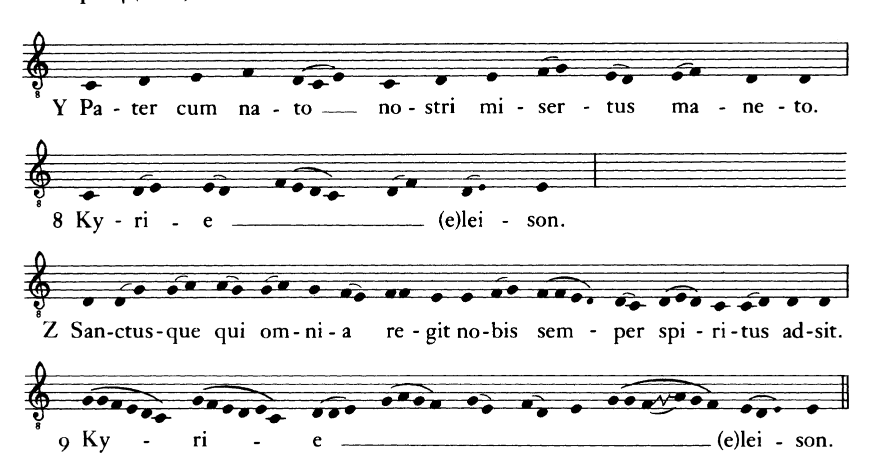
[29] From *Pa 1118*. *Pa 903* gives what may be a better reading at two points: there the pitches are a step higher over "-te revo-" in W and "omnia re-" in Z.

Example 4

Trope *Deus solus et immensus* with Kyrie M. 155




Example 4 *(cont.)*



seven elements (the eighth, reading "Cui omnia saecula semper fuerunt subiecta" and standing between U and V, has been eliminated) and repositioned so that the first few elements stand as introductions before Kyrie phrases, as if approximating the form of other troped West Frankish Kyries or ones with Latin text. The change is most apparent at the very beginning: the eight-phrase East Frankish form of the Kyrie trope almost invariably begins after the first Kyrie phrase, and not before, as in this example; by contrast, the West Frankish tropes, including this one, begin before the first Kyrie phrase. In the next Aquitanian source (*Pa 903*), one more element (X) has been eliminated, and the placement of several lines has again been changed. Two other western sources and one from central Italy have versions closer to the East Frankish model. The two earlier ones, from *Apt 18* and *Vat 4770*, are incomplete, but unintentionally so, it would seem. The former lacks both a trope element (W) and a Kyrie phrase (5), and differs from the East Frankish version in having another line reading "Perditum pridem gratis comfortem supernis egisti" between X and Y, but not the one beginning "Cui omnia secula." (This version of the trope, with its alternate line, and with the missing element restored, appears also in a twelfth-century troper from Gerona, *Pa 495*.) *Vat 4770* also lacks a trope element (Y) and a Kyrie phrase (8), as well as "Cum omnia saecula," and has an additional line reading "In crucifixus sanguinem tuam pro nobis fudisti" between V and W. All three of these sources place the trope so that it begins after Kyrie phrase 1, in the manner usual for this form.[30]

[30] The thirteenth-century Catalan MS Tortosa, Catedral, 135 gives another version of *Deus solus et immensus* in which the texts of elements T, W and Y are placed

But it is the tonal organization of *Deus solus et immensus* that deserves special attention. It should be immediately obvious that the relation between trope and Kyrie is different from anything we have seen so far. All but one of the trope phrases end on *D*, while the Kyrie phrases end on *E*. At first it might seem that the piece has protus and deuterus melodies intertwined, in some unfortunate mismatch. But I think we can make sense of it in another way, so long as we trust our ears and are willing to believe that we hear much the same way medieval musicians did. If we were to sing through the trope raising the final neume of each phrase so that it ended on *E*, we would find that the melody worked well and meshed almost perfectly with the Kyrie—even the cadences would match. As it stands, trope and Kyrie phrases lie in the same register, cover nearly the same range, and emphasize the same pitches. Both tend to move in ways that give special prominence to *E*, sometimes in conjunction with *G* or *C*, sometimes in resolution from *F* or *D*. Certain phrases emphasize *D* and *F* more than others, but not in ways that suggest a protus melody—and not in ways that are foreign to deuterus melodies. What I would suggest is that the *C* and *D* endings have the very ordinary function of open cadences. The *D* cadences in particular do not sound unresolved, but neither do the arrivals on *D* in mode 4 Graduals or in mode 4 Alleluias such as *Alleluia. Dextera dei* or *Alleluia. Post partum*. Many other Gregorian deuterus melodies seem a bit peculiar in their tonal organization. Even in low-lying ones, it is not unusual for the closing pitch to be avoided at interior cadences; resolutions on *D*, *C*, and *F* are especially common. The Easter Introit *Resurrexi* is a well-known example (but not the only one) of a deuterus melody with considerable emphasis on *F* and *D*. To find something nearly parallel to *Deus solus et immensus* is not easy, but we can come close to it in one way or another with pieces such as *Quod dico vobis*, the Communion from the Common of Two or More Martyrs; *Alleluia. Constitues eos* from the Common of Holy Popes; *Alleluia. Post partum* for Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the hymn *Omnium, Christe*, melody 120 in Bruno Stäblein's edition.[31] But the greatest similarities are just where they ought to be,

---

underneath phrases 1, 4 and 7 of a Kyrie found in a number of Spanish sources; they are still treated as if they were trope elements, with each of them standing before a three-phrase group of the Kyrie. See the facsimile and transcription in Higini Anglès, *La música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* (Barcelona, 1935), pp. 209–10. This would seem to be another instance of adapting a Kyrie trope for survival after the genre had died out.

[31] *Hymnen*, 1: *Die mittelalterlichen Hymnenmelodien des Abendlandes*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 1 (Kassel and Basel, 1956), p. 64.

in tropes to fourth-mode Introits. Many of the tropes to *Resurrexi* transcribed by Günther Weiss[32] lie in the same register and move in the same manner as *Deus solus et immensus.* Especially close are *Aurea lux/Quo compos/Omne quod est* (216), *Victor ut ad caelos* (219, II), *Ego autem/Dormivi pater/Ita pater* (220, I–II–III), *En ego verus/Destructo/Quoniam* (221, I–II–III), *Factus homo/Abtuleras/Plebs* (223), and *Gaudete et laetamini/* . . . (224). The last one deserves particular attention, for as with *Deus solus et immensus,* its cadences lie mostly on *D,* while another is on *C.* Yet it is clearly a deuterus melody, with all but its first and last elements ending on non-final pitches.

If we are to arrive at some understanding of the tonal organization of *Deus solus et immensus,* we must consider the overall shape of the troped Kyrie. But in order to do so, we must first take up another problem—the use of this trope with four different Kyrie melodies. The two southern French sources, *Pa 1118* and *903,* use Kyrie M. 155 (Vatican Kyriale, Mass XV); this is the version transcribed in Example 4. The Gerona troper, *Pa 495,* uses M. 103. With one exception, the East Frankish sources use M. 144, as does *Apt 18.* The exception is a MS from St. Emmeram, *Mu 14083,* which uses M. 151 (Vatican Kyriale, Mass XVIII). All four are short deuterus melodies. Three of them, M. 144, 151, and 155, end every phrase on *E* (or, transposed, on *B*) and share certain general melodic characteristics: they move almost entirely within the same narrow range, the hexachord *C* to *A*; they focus primarily on the final pitch *E,* and treat *G* and *C* as structural pitches at the upper and lower ends of the range; they use similar phrase shapes and the same set of cadence formulas—including, often, the distinctive final cadence. The other melody, M. 103, also ends on *E* but until the final cadence moves in the register above the final, within the tetrachord *G* to *C.* The melody resembles M. 217 (Vatican Kyriale, Mass XVI), except that the first eight cadences are on *G*; only the tail end of the last Kyrie phrase moves from *G* down to *E.* The trope in this version also lies in the upper register, so that it cadences on *G* and *A.* This rearrangement makes the trope, like the first eight Kyrie phrases, seem to be tetrardus, although hardly like other tetrardus melodies of this period. It eliminates the ambiguity between *mi* and *re* cadences by defining *G-ut* as the point of resolution, at least until the final phrase, where the *E* cadence comes as a surprise. (Several of the trope cadences are deflected to *G,* too;

[32] *Introitus-Tropen,* 1: *Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropare des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts,* Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 3 (Kassel and Basel, 1970), pp. 232–51.

another one, to *B*.) The solution seems pragmatic, but it reflects the thinking of a later period, when emendations of this sort were not uncommon. Even here, nevertheless, the final cadence comes on *E*.

What all these melodies have in common, aside from their final pitch, is brevity. M. 155, in Example 4, is the longest. They are also exceptionally repetitive; M. 155 has seven different phrase shapes, but the other melodies have only three or four. By themselves they seem redundant, for lack of effective contrast, and it is just this that the trope provides. Even though confined to the same range, and using some of the same melodic idioms, it manages to place considerably more emphasis on *F* and *D* than the Kyries do, and its phrases end consistently on non-final pitches. What better way to enlarge these melodies? None of them are much used for textual underlay; only M. 155, the longest, has more than one source with a Latin text. The reason might be found in their repetitiousness; doubling the number of phrases to accommodate both Latin and Ordinary texts could only make the chants more monotonous. Two of the Kyries, however, are used with other East Frankish tropes—M. 155 with *Ineffabilis* and *O pater piissime*, M. 151 with *Pater infantium*. None of these tropes can be transcribed, yet it is clear that each is a series of eight different phrases. Given a form like this, with eight units of trope and nine of Kyrie, there could be no better way to provide structural clarity and unity than to choose a Kyrie melody with concise and recurring phrases.

* * *

What, then, can we say about the Kyrie trope? What characteristics distinguish it from the texted Kyrie? In the end, the most distinctive and the only universal feature of the Kyrie trope is its musical independence: its melody is different from that of the Kyrie to which it is attached. The Kyrie itself has a ninefold form (the exceptions are rare) and the trope stands outside it. In style the trope may be more or less close to the chant with which it is used, and the two may even be musically related. But they are still different entities, for the Kyrie itself can almost always be found somewhere without the trope.

Beyond this it becomes more difficult, almost impossible, to generalize. Anything else we say must be regarded as description rather than definition. The Kyrie trope tends to be neumatic chant, while the texted Kyrie is usually syllabic. The Kyrie melody is generally repetitive, and has a tightly integrated form; the trope tends to be

through-composed, with no repetition of phrases and with little exact motivic correspondence between them. If the typical Kyrie uses bold melodic gestures in neatly shaped phrases and displays sharp tonal definition, the typical trope would be somewhat more diffuse.

Trope texts can be grouped according to two different types, introductory and invocatory. Most of the introductory ones are simply exhortations to join in singing. These are typically open-ended and refer to the chant that follows; when they close with "eleison," it is usually in illustration and not in response. Some of them refer to a particular feast for which they were designed. The eight-phrase tropes are sometimes nothing but invocatory appeals, each element then an epithet characterizing the Divinity and syntactically dependent on the Kyrie petition that follows. Another common formula turns some elements into affirmative statements (e.g., "Tu es . . ."). A number of tropes reach a finite verb only in the final element, or only at the end of two or three dependent elements, so that the series is tied together. One trope, *O pater piissime*, has many complete petitions, but other such examples are rare. The three-phrase tropes resemble either the introductory type or the invocatory type, with *Miserere domine* being an example of the first and *Rex regum domine* of the second.

The difference between a trope text and a Kyrie text is not always clear. The open-ended invitatory tropes have no equivalent among Kyrie petitions. The open-ended appeals without pleas do, however, especially in the German repertory. While the French and Italian texts usually close most or all of their petitions with "eleison" or an equivalent plea, or turn the petitions into closed affirmations, certain early East Frankish texts use open-ended invocations and arrive only after a group of them at finite verbs. (These texts—e.g., *Cunctipotens dominator*, AH 47:84; *Regnorum rector*, AH 47:86; and *El elion*, AH 47:87—are found alongside the Kyrie tropes and seem to represent accommodation between the two forms. Evidence of accommodation is particularly strong in the case of *Regnorum rector*, for it has only eight petitions and is arranged to look like a Kyrie trope, with a melismatic phrase before and after each syllabic one.[33]) Both Kyrie tropes and Kyrie texts can be written in either hexameter or prose, but the percentage that is metrical is higher with the tropes. German sources, nevertheless, have an unusually high proportion of metrical texts. Is this another sign that in this area the two forms were considered very similar? Generally speaking, trope texts—aside from those in quan-

[33] A similar instance is the version of *Lux et origo* M. 39 in *Ka 15*, which omits petition 7 to leave an eight-petition form resembling the eight-element Kyrie trope.

titative verse—show none of the symmetry (based on length of lines, words, and word groups, and sometimes on accentuation) that typifies Kyrie texts. As trope elements do not normally repeat melodies already used, there is no reason for their texts to be parallel.

So far I have said nothing about the origin of the genre and little about its history. It has been generally assumed that the troped or texted Kyrie is the product of an additive procedure, the trope or text being added to pre-existent Kyries which for a long time had been sung unadorned. That there is some truth in this is perfectly clear. Nothing gleaned from a thorough investigation of the repertory contradicts this way of viewing the Kyrie trope—at its origin.

Liturgical documents demonstrate the presence of some form of Kyrie in the Mass, as well as the Office, at least as early as the sixth century.[34] Yet its existence as a free-standing form sung by the choir and fixed in its now standard ninefold shape cannot be traced back any further than the end of the eighth century.[35] The fixed form is requisite for the development of a repertory of melodies such as we find in musical sources from about the middle of the tenth century onward. So is assignment to the choir. This gives us a reasonable *terminus ante quem non*, for it would place the beginning of Kyrie composition after the importation of Roman liturgy and the establishment of liturgical uniformity throughout the Frankish realm—somewhat before the middle of the ninth century, about the same time the sequence and

[34] In 529 the Council of Vaison decreed that the Kyrie should be used in Gaul as it already was at Mass and in the Office in Rome, elsewhere in Italy, and in the East; see canon 3, *Concilia Galliae A. 511–A. 695*, Corpus Christianorum, Series latina, 148A, ed. Carlo de Clercq (Turnhout, 1963), p. 79. In 598 Pope Gregory the Great wrote to John, Bishop of Syracuse, rebutting the accusation that the use of the Kyrie (among other things) at Rome imitated Greek practice too closely; see *Gregorii I Papae registrum epistolarum*, IX, 26, in Monumenta Germaniae historica, Epistolae (2nd ed., 3 vols., Berlin, 1957), II, p. 59. In the most recent discussion of this evidence, *La "prière universelle" dans les liturgies latines anciennes: Témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, 62 (Münster, 1977), pp. 282–95, Paul de Clerck argues persuasively that the Kyrie was introduced to the West during the fifth or sixth century as an independent entity, and soon came to be used in different ways in the Office and at Mass. One of these ways was in connection with a litany, but not—as has been commonly believed—as a response repeated after each of a series of intentions or biddings. The earliest use of the Kyrie with a litany is as a closing, threefold supplication. The litany with Kyrie response first appears only much later.

[35] The contemporaneous (c. 800) *Ordines romani* IV and XV both specify the number of repetitions while the earlier (c. 700) *Ordo romanus* I seems to imply an open form. See Michel Andrieu, ed., *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge* (5 vols., Louvain, 1931–61), II, pp. 84, 159; III, p. 121.

trope must have arisen.[36] An earlier date—even, say, the late eighth century—would be believable only if the tenth-century repertory of Kyrie melodies were more uniform than it is. Any melodies in circulation about 800 would have been caught up in the movement toward a well-ordered and universal liturgy, and would have been preserved and transmitted as carefully as Gregorian chants were.

By the end of the tenth century, three Kyrie melodies (M. 55, 68, and 155) had spread throughout Europe. One more was known in German territory and Italy; another, west of the Rhine and in Italy. Twenty-five others or so circulated within narrower confines. Virtually all the melodies associated with tropes belong to this early repertory.[37] Even by this date a majority of the melodies, including nearly all those used with tropes, were known in more than one elaborate setting—some with more than one text, some with more than one trope, and some with one or more of each. A number of them, moreover, appear in at least one manuscript as a plain melismatic setting of the Ordinary text.

Does this not imply that Kyrie melodies are older than their texts or tropes? In general it does, of course. But the implication does not necessarily hold true in every case. It seems probable, for example, that the Kyrie melodies used with *Gloriosae virginis* and *Ignis discurrens* were composed along with those tropes; there is no evidence that they ever existed independently of each other. If in these instances Kyrie and trope were composed together, it may have happened in others as well. A more convincing argument can be made for the priority of the syllabic versions of certain Kyries. During the ninth and tenth centuries, composition in many categories—other Ordinary chants (the Gloria, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei), tropes, votive antiphons, and hymns—was neumatic or nearly syllabic in style. Alleluias and Responsories from this period are more melismatic, of course, yet except for the Alleluia jubilus, they typically place their melismas in a context that is primarily or at least partly neumatic. A more purely melismatic style is found in the sequence and the Kyrie, and almost only there. Melismas for the Hosanna in excelsis are comparable except in being only one section of a longer neumatic chant. Pieces in this melismatic style often have a parallel syllabic version. Indeed the style

[36] Compare Crocker, *The Early Medieval Sequence* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), pp. 392–401 and 417–23.

[37] Disregarding the few melodies I have not yet been able to identify, the exceptions are only two: M. 56, with *Omnipotens genitor lumenque* in *Si 15*; and M. 103, with *Deus solus et immensus* in *Pa 495*. Both involve a single late source in which the trope is transferred to a new melody.

seems to exist in conjunction with a syllabic style, a strictly syllabic style or one more nearly strict than what is found elsewhere. Contrariwise, this strictly syllabic style seems to exist in conjunction with the melismatic style. The relation between the two is clearest in the sequence repertory, where virtually every melody has its text and—at least in this early period—every prose its sequence. Much the same can be said of the Kyrie repertory, so long as we allow for a few more exceptions. Something about the forms of sequences and all but the smallest Kyries suggests that the melodies and texts were intended for each other. Several features seem to be literary rather than musical in conception: the series of more or less closed and independent phrases; the repetition of such phrases entire; the grouping of identical phrases by couplets or triplets, or so as to give triplets a ternary (ABA) shape. I would argue, then, that a good number of the Kyries in the early repertory—particularly the largest ones—as well as many later compositions had a syllabic version from the start. They were probably not always performed that way; they were certainly not always copied that way, and some of the earliest texts may even be lost. The Kyrie with Latin text may well have arisen in imitation of the sequence; at least the repertories grew up alongside each other. The troped Kyrie, as it was known in German territory, must be seen as an alternative form, and a preferred alternative east of the Rhine. It cannot be coincidental that the Kyrie melodies used with tropes are for the most part shorter and simpler than the ones used with Latin texts. As it is little likely that these short melodies were intended for texts, there remains the possibility that they were written to go with tropes. But unlike the Kyrie with Latin text, the East Frankish troped Kyrie had no model, nor even any close relative, and it seems not to have been a viable form, for the repertory never grew very large. Composition in the genre must have stopped by 1000 or soon afterward. Even in the shorter West Frankish and Italian form, which had a parallel in tropes to Proper chant, the number was never large. But here it was used, for the most part, in conjunction with the texted Kyrie, and the hybrid was not very prolific. Neither could its roots have been very deep. Its only analogue was the troped prose, a minor genre confined almost entirely to southern France.[38]

If we were to attempt a chronology for the repertory of Kyrie tropes, we would have to place the older pieces somewhere between the middle of the ninth and the middle of the tenth century. The

[38] Compare Evans, "The *Tropi ad Sequentiam*," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), pp. 73–82.

newest ones might possibly date back no further than the end of the tenth century, perhaps even the beginning of the eleventh. To be much more specific than that is difficult, in a repertory as small as this, and with so few concordances for each piece. The problem in determining chronology for the Kyrie trope is the same one encountered with any type of chant that grew up during the ninth and tenth centuries: the oldest surviving manuscript sources are considerably younger than the first compositions in the genre, sometimes by fifty or even a hundred years. The lack of a substantial group of sources contemporaneous with this development deprives us of a secure basis for tracing its progress. It presents an obstacle that can be overcome only with the aid of other documentary evidence (such as the preface to Notker's *Liber hymnorum*) or some special insight concerning stylistic development. For the Kyrie trope it is nearly impossible to date individual pieces or groups of pieces by any means, whether according to the age of their sources, the extent of their dissemination, or their characteristic features. The evidence we have does not permit valid inferences as to which pieces are the oldest. We may eventually be able to discern in the repertory some stylistic development which would allow us to trace its growth. But any chronology of stylistic development would have to consider all manner of tropes, from the Italian and East Frankish and northern French repertories, as well as from Aquitania. No one has yet attempted such a broad stylistic study. But as more of this chant is transcribed and published, it will become easier to accomplish the task.

University of Chicago


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[18]

Pax et Sapientia

A Thematic Study on Tropes from Different Traditions

(Based primarily on Sanctus and Agnus Dei Tropes)

Gunilla Iversen

Are there any themes in trope texts which can be regarded as characteristic for tropes of a certain genre? Or for tropes from a certain regional tradition, limited in place and time? Or for a specific monastic tradition? These questions are the starting points of this article in which tropes will be studied from a thematical point of view.

In the rich literary heritage of biblical and patristic texts, of theological and liturgical treatises as well as hymns and other poetic creations there is a broad common textual basis on which composers of tropes and sequences depended. The writings of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, Bede, Isidore and St. Jerome can, of course, be recognized echoing through trope texts from all regional traditions. On the other hand one can observe that certain themes and formulas are preferred in one tradition more than in another and that certain forms of expression fit into local theological, liturgical and aesthetic traditions better than others. To try to identify and to define a few such thematical preferences will be the purpose of this article.

In this study, which should be regarded as a pilot study, we will present a few selected central traits in the tropes to the Agnus Dei and the Sanctus in manuscripts dating from the tenth to twelfth century. The following four major textual themes will be treated:

1. *Pax, lux et sapientia* (Abstract nouns as epithets in the Western tradition)
2. *Trinitas et unitas* (Trinitarian themes in the late Northwestern tradition)
3. *Haec festa praecelsa/convenite omnes* (Introductions in the Aquitanian tradition)
4. *Salva et parce/quos redimisti cruore* (Prayers in the Italian traditions)

1. PAX, LUX ET SAPIENTIA

Abstract epithets as invocations in the Western tradition

In the Western tradition, the Agnus Dei tropes are above all songs praising Christ the Lord. In the Northwest they are even rubricated as LAUDES — which in fact they are. In the Winchester troper Ox 775, where the different sections of Ordinary tropes have rubrics in hexameters, the Sanctus tropes have:

INCIPIUNT LAUDES AD DULCIA CANTICA SANCTUS

And the Agnus Dei tropes are introduced with the following rubric:

INCIPIUNT LAUDES RESONANT QUAE DULCITER AGNUM
QUI VENIENS PECCATA PIUS TULIT IMPIA MUNDI[1]

But most importantly, a large number of ordinary tropes in the North West present theological expressions defining God primarily with abstract nouns such as *pax, lux* and *sapientia,* peace, light and wisdom. In this they illustrate their dependence on a long patristic tradition of theological thinking and stylistic method — as we will try to demonstrate below.

Trope elements as invocations

Let us first observe the main structure of the troped Agnus Dei in the Western tradition.[2] This is what could be regarded as a "typical" way of combining base text and trope elements in this tradition:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.

Trope element	*Miserere nobis.*
Trope element	*Miserere nobis.*
(Trope element	*Miserere nobis.)*
(Trope element	*Miserere nobis.)*
. . .	

The liturgical base text is given once *in extenso.* After this there follows a varying number of trope elements as invocations addressed to the Lord and ending in the repeated supplication of *miserere nobis* (and *dona nobis pacem* as the final supplication in chants dating from the latter part of the eleventh century). The main structure of the Agnus Dei chant in the Western tradition before the end of the eleventh century differs from the Eastern and Italian traditions. On the other hand, it is similar to the structure of another liturgical text found in contemporary sources, the Litany of Saints:

Gallican Litany of Saints:[3]

. . .
Pater de caelis, deus, *miserere nobis.*
Filius, redemptor, deus, *miserere nobis.*
Spiritus sanctus, deus, *miserere nobis.*
Sancta dei trinitas, *miserere nobis.*
Qui es trinus et unus, *miserere nobis.*
Ipse idemque benignus, *miserere nobis.*
. . .

Like the Agnus Dei, this litany is built of invocations ending in the supplication *miserere nobis.* The Trinitarian formula addressing God the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, recalls formulas used in the tropes in the same Western tradition — as we will see below (p. 33ss). The phrase beginning with *Qui es* in the litany has an equivalent in, for instance, the following trope to the Agnus Dei, which is found in sources from Winchester, Cambrai, Le Mans and Saint Evroult:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Qui es vera sapientia
et verbum et virtus patris, *Miserere nobis.*
Qui sedes ad dexteram dei
maiestatis in excelsis, *Miserere nobis.*
(CT IV, 75)

The trope text varies the invocation of the liturgical base text, calling upon the one who is "the true Wisdom and Word and Power of the Father". It is notable how Christ is given three abstract epithets in this invocation. It takes up a range of biblical expressions, *verbum, virtus* and *sapientia* (I Cor. 1,18; John 1,1 . . . etc.) The last invocation is also biblical (Hbr 1,3), addressing the one, "who sits in the Father's right side in heavenly majesty". By the phrase *qui sedes ad dexteram dei,* it recalls the *Gloria in excelsis.* The same structure, with trope elements used as invocations, is found in the majority of Agnus Dei tropes from Western sources. In the following two examples, the structure and function of the trope elements are the same, though here in the form of hexameters:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
Qui patris in solio residens per saecula regnans, *miserere nobis.*
Tu pax, tu pietas, bonitas, miseratio clemens, *miserere nobis.*
Singula discutiens, dum sederis arbiter orbis, *miserere nobis.*
(CT IV, 76)

Here Christ is not only addressed as King and Judge but also as Peace, Piety, Tenderness and Mild Mercy.

Abstract epithets

In a similar way, abstract nouns are of crucial importance in a large number of texts from the Northwestern region. In the following example, a trope found in both Northwestern and Aquitanian repertories, Christ is called upon as Eternal Wisdom and True Light of the True Light:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Omnipotens aeterna dei sapientia, Christe, *miserere nobis.*
> Verum subsistens vero de lumine lumen, *miserere nobis.*
> Optima perpetuae concedens gaudia vitae, *miserere nobis.*
> (CT IV, 63)

In the Northwestern version of this trope Christ is addressed as almighty eternal wisdom, *aeterna* being an attribute of *sapientia,* thus emphasizing the importance of *sapientia.* In the Aquitanian version on the other hand the corresponding reading is *aeterne — Omnipotens aeterne, dei sapientia, Christe,* thus connecting *aeterne* with *omnipotens* as in the formula used in the prayers beginning with these words.

The next two examples, both hexameters with internal rhymes dating from the late eleventh century, follow the same tradition:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Omnipotens verbum patris deitate coaevum, *miserere nobis.*
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Vera salus hominum, firmissima spes miserorum, *miserere nobis.*
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Virtus cuncta creans, pax omnia iure serenans, *dona nobis pacem.*
> (CT IV, 66)

and:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Lux lucis verbumque patris virtusque perennis, *miserere nobis.*
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Verus sanctorum splendor nosterque redemptor, *miserere nobis.*
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,*
> Nostra salus, pax vera, deus, altissima virtus, *dona nobis pacem.*
> (CT IV, 56)

Here again we find series of abstract expressions used as invocations: *verbum, salus, spes, virtus* and *pax.*

In both tropes the abstract nouns are expanded by means of nominal attributes in the genitive case or possessive pronouns as in *lux lucis, verbum patris, splendor sanctorum* and *nostra salus,* and/or in the form of adjective attributes as in *omnipotens verbum, verus splendor, pax vera* and *altissima virtus.*

As we can observe in the examples given above, the invocational phrases can

be formed in principally three ways in this tradition: First, and not surprisingly, they can be formed as relative clauses recalling formulas used in prayers and in the *Gloria in excelsis*[4] as well as other liturgical and biblical texts — a form which might well be expected to be the "normal" and most frequent also in these trope texts: *qui: qui sedes ad dexteram patris, qui es vera sapientia* as in *Qui es vera.* The phrases can also have a present participle replacing the relative clause: *residens, regnans, subsistens, concedens, discutiens* as in *Qui patris* and in *Omnipotens aeterna dei.*

Mostly, however, — and this is particularly notable in tropes from the Northwestern region — the trope elements do not contain a verb, as in the trope elements *Tu pax tu pietas . . ., Omnipotens aeterna dei sapientia . . ., Omnipotens verbum . . ., Vera salus hominum . . ., Lux lucis . . ., Verus sanctorum splendor . . ., Nostra salus, pax vera, deus . . ., Sanctorum splendor . . .* and *Lux, via, vita, salus* etc.

Similar to the Gallican Litany (see above p. 25), the trope elements are composed as appositional phrases giving theological expositions of the very essence of the addressed divinity in a dense and compressed form. These texts do not address the Lamb of God as the sacrificed and risen redeemer of the world as much as the one who is *Pax et Sapientia, Lux et Verbum, Virtus et Pietas, Spes et Vita, Salus et Decus, Pietas, Bonitas et Miseratio* etc. Thus God is named in a series of abstract expressions. These words are frequently found in the repertories of Winchester, Durham, Arras, Cambrai, Le Mans, Saint Magloire and Saint Evroult, all representing the Northwestern tradition. And it is not only tropes to the Agnus Dei but also tropes to other genres from the same region that reflect this thematic tradition.

As we said above, certain traits discernable in the tropes to the Agnus Dei can also be observed in other tropes of other genres from the same tradition. Thus we may compare these with a trope to the Sanctus, e g. *Summe pater* found in manuscripts from St. Alban's, Reims and one of the Sicilian manuscripts that preserve a repertory from Normandy (Madrid B.N. ms 19421):

Sanctus.
Summe pater, deitatis amor, bone conditor orbis,
Sanctus.
Sanctorum splendor, decus inviolabile pacis,
Sanctus.
Quem chorus ecclesiae colit ac veneranter adorat.
Dominus deus Sabaoth.
Te dominum caeli clamat iubilatio sancta.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua.
Osanna in excelsis.
Lux, via, vita, salus, tibi psallimus omne per aevum.
Benedictus qui venit (in nomine domini
Osanna in excelsis)[5]

This Sanctus trope addresses God as Father and Creator but most explicitly in abstract nouns: *amor, sanctorum splendor, decus inviolabile pacis* — the Love of God, the splendour of the saints, the impeccable beauty of peace. In the last trope element "we bring praises for ever to you, the Light, the Way, the Life and the Salvation". Here the Lord is addressed exclusively in abstract nouns: *Lux, via, vita, salus* . . .

In a Kyrie trope found in manuscripts from Cambrai and Arras[6], the following phrase is found as an invocation in the second section of the chant:

> Lux, via, vita, salus, spes, pax, sapientia, virtus,
> nos te rogamus, eleyson: *Christe eleyson.*

This trope element contains an even longer list of enumerated names, by the words *spes, pax, sapientia* and *virtus,* all abstract nouns.

These trope texts recall the formula used in another liturgical text; that of the *contestatio,* the Preface in the versified *Missa Gallicana* edited by Mone from a manuscript dating from around 700.

After the beginning *Dignum* phrase we find *Lux, via, vita, decus* . . .:

> *Alia contestatio*
> Dignum, aequum ac iustum est, tibi nos, pie, clangere laudes.
> Lux, via, vita, decus, spes, fons, sator, arbiter, auctor,
> Gratia, dulcedo, sapientia, gloria, regnum.
> Qui sine principio perstas, sine fine per aevum,
> Cuius trinus apex statuit tria maxima rerum,
> Sol, luna, astra, polus radiarunt lumine mundum,
> Fons, pecus, herba, frutex terras variavit honore,
> Piscis, concha, lapis, sal, murex aequora complet.[7]
> . . .

It is interesting to observe how these trope texts reflect their dependence on a long patristic tradition, treating the same themes and using the same vocabulary. Let us just recall a few examples from the rich literary tradition to which this kind of trope text belongs. Apart from the biblical sources (Io 1,1—14; Ps 35,10) the Credo and the prayers[8], the trope *Lux lucis* recalls a hymn by St. Ambrose from the fourth century:

> Splendor paternae gloriae
> De luce lucem proferens
> Lux lucis et fons luminis
> Dies dierum illuminans[9]

The trope texts in this Western tradition reflect such expositions on the names of Christ as the one composed by Rhabanus Maurus around 800, when he writes:

Verbum autem ideo dicitur, quia per eum omnia Pater condidit sive iussit;
Veritas, quia non fallit, sed tribuit quod promisit;
Vita, quia omnia vivificat; . . .
Virtus, quod omnem Patris potestatem in semet ipso habe[a]t et omnia potest;
Sapientia, quod ipse revelet mysteria scientiae et arcana sapientiae;
Splendor, quod manifestat;
Lumen, quia illuminat;
Lux, quia veritatem contemplandam cordis oculos reserat; . . .[10]

In a similar way Florus of Lyons writes in his versified transformation of St. John's Gospel in the ninth century:

Verbum Unigenitum semper cum Patre manebit.
Hic lux, hic virtus, hic est sapientia Patris,
Vita hominum, angelicis lucens super aethera turmis . . .[11]

And Sedulius Scotus in the same century begins his *Oratio contra falsidicos testes* with the following hexameter:

Lux aeterna, deus, fons lucis, fons veritatis[12]
. . .

In the trope texts which we have cited above, the names of the Lord have been almost exclusively *abstract* nouns such as *lux, pax* and *sapientia.* But there are also examples in which the Lord is addressed with *concrete* nouns, used both as symbols and metaphors. This also follows a long tradition, as for instance in the following two hexameters by Ennodius from around 500. Here abstract and concrete nouns appear side by side:

Fons, vis, dextra, lapis, vitulus, leo, lucifer, agnus,
Ianua, spes, virtus, verbum, sapientia, vates.[13]

Let us return to the texts in the trope manuscripts from Saints Evroult. In the repertory of this manuscript there is the interesting Sanctus trope *Trinitas, unitas, deitas.* This intriguing trope is worth a study of its own, but it must be quoted here as a further example of enumerations of names favoured in the trope[14] texts of this tradition. Its origin, however, is still obscure. This is the version in Saint Evroult:

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . .

Osanna

1a Trinitas, unitas, deitas superna,	1b Maiestas, potestas, claritas aeterna,
2a Lapis, mons, petra, fons, flumen, pons, semita,	2b Sol, lumen, et numen, cacumen, et vita,
3a Tu sator, creator, amator, redemptor, salvator et vitae gaudia,	3b Tu nitor et decor, et candor. Tu splendor et odor, quo vivunt mortua,
4a Tu vertex et apex, regum rex, legum lex, et iudex, Tu laus angelica,	4b Quem laudant, adorant, cui cantant, quem amant, quem clamant, agmina caelica,
5a Tu theos, Tu heros, dive flos, vive ros, salva nos, rege nos, perduc nos, ad thronos superos et vitae ianua.	5b Tu deus, Tu iustus, Tu sanctus, Tu bonus, Tu rectus, Tu pius, Tu clemens, Tu summus dominus, Tibi sit gloria.

in excelsis.[15]

We will return to the Trinitarian theme of this text. Let us for the moment just observe the constellation of abstract and concrete nouns, and the delicate and well disposed order of the names.

In the same manuscript, Pa 10508, we also find the hexameter sequence *Alma chorus domini* which is a text built up of names in the same way:

De nominibus domini:
Alma chorus Domini nunc pangat nomina summi:
Messias soter, Emanuel, Sabaoth, Adonai
Est unigenitus, via, vita, manus, homousion,
Principium, primogenitus, sapientia, virtus,
Alpha, caput finisque simul vocitatur et est ω,
Fons et origo boni, paraclitus ac mediator,
Agnus, ovis, vitulus, serpens, aries, leo, vermis,
Os, verbum, splendor, sol, gloria, lux et imago,
Panis, flos, vitis, mons, ianua, petra lapisque,
Angelus et sponsus pastorque, propheta, sacerdos,
Athanatos, kyrios, theos pantocrator, Iesus.
Salvificet nos, sit cui saecla per omnia doxa.[16]

This sequence is found in a number of manuscripts in the West Frankish region. Blume and Bannister were unwilling to ascribe it to Notker due to its absence in the East Frankish manuscripts which contain sequences attributed to Notker and in which they would have expected to find it if it were a Notkerian sequence.

Regarding the structure and the vocabulary of this sequence, one is tempted to support the assumption that it rather originates from a West Frankish tradition in which the same themes of Christ as *lux, via, vita, virtus, verbum* and *sapientia* are essential and central in trope texts as well.

2. TRINITAS ET UNITAS

The Trinitarian theme in the North West

The Trinitarian theme, treated in theological expositions, subject of intense discussion, is reflected in tropes from the Western tradition especially. In tropes found in manuscripts from the second half of the eleventh century, the Trinitarian theme becomes more and more frequent. The trope texts reflect the same thoughts as were expressed a century earlier by, for instance, Hincmar of Reims in this treatise against Gottschalk's *De una et non trina trinitate.* Quoting scriptural passages and patristic discussions of the Trinity, he collects a massive quantity of material on the subject, defending the unity of the Trinity against Gottschalk, as in the following passage:

> *Deitas autem, qui Patrem Deum dicimus, Filium Deum dicimus, Spiritum Deum dicimus, et sono et intellectu singularis est numeri, et adjectionem pluralitatem significantem non recipit: quoniam sancta et inseparabilis in personis intelligitur et dicitur Trinitas et in substantia, essentia, natura, divinitate, deitate, intelligitur et dicitur unitas, quia deitas Trinitatis est unitas . . .*[17]

Again, the Sanctus trope *Trinitas unitas deitas,* presented above, expresses the same understanding of the Trinity in its first few lines:

Trinitas, unitas, deitas superna,
Maiestas, potestas, claritas aeterna . . .

As Karlheinz Schlager has pointed out, the melodies of this trope/sequence are entirely built up of threefold melodic figures illustrating the idea of the Trinity in the melodic form.[18]

Hincmar of Reims even gives an explanation of the significance of the words *pax* and *lux* as definitions of the Trinity. By their three letters they illustrate the threefold nature of the divinity:

> . . . et hoc *pacis* et *lucis* praecelsum vocabulum sanctae Trinitati convenientissime coaptatur: nimirum quod ex tribus litteris constat, et pluralitatis numerum sicut Deus ignorat. Cum enim dicimus *pax, lux,* per tres litteras tres in Deo personae intelliguntur, et quia *pax,* sicut nec *lux,* numerum pluralem non recipit, per singularem numerum substantia, id est deitas ipsius Dei accipitur . . .[19]

And Hincmar, is, of course, only one example of many in the rich variety of similar treatises on the Trinity.

The central place of the Trinitarian theme in the liturgical texts, in tropes, hymns and sequences illustrates its central place in the theological and liturgical discussions in the eleventh century, as the feast of the Trinity was still in process of being introduced as a separate feast in the liturgical year.[20]

A text ascribed to Bede, to Alcuin as well as to St. Hilary expresses the Trinitarian theme in phrases which can be recognized as trope elements. Let us quote just a section:

. . .
Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus, O beata Trinitas.
Deus, Dominus, Paraclitus, O beata Trinitas.
Caritas, gratia, communicatio. O beata Trinitas.
Caritas deus est,
Gratia Christus,
Communicatio Spiritus sanctus, O beata Trinitas.
Genitor, genitus, regenerans, O beata Trinitas.
Verum lumen,
verum lumen ex lumine,
vera illuminatio, O beata Trinitas.
Invisibilis, invisibiliter,
visibilis, invisibiliter,
invisibilis, visibiliter, O beata Trinitas.
Fons, flumen, irrigatio, O beata Trinitas.
Ab uno omnia,
per unum omnia,
in uno omnia, O beata Trinitas.
A quo, per quem et in quo omnia, O beata Trinitas.
Vivens vita,
Vita a vivente,
Vivificator viventium, O beata Trinitas.[21]
. . .

The *adnominatio* of *genitor, genitus, regenerans* as well as the *adnominatio* playing with the words *lumen ex lumine, invisibilis, visibiliter* are found in a number of Sanctus tropes. The common threefold form *de/ex quo, per quem, in quo* used in the formula of the preface and repeated twice in Bede's text, is found in different forms in the tropes as well.

In the Sanctus tropes the trinitarian form is naturally existant in the song from the beginning, the Sanctus invocations being normally addressed to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit in tropes from all traditions. Still, it seems to be more explicitly exposed in tropes from this region. Thus, for example, the following short Sanctus trope, here quoted from the manuscript from Saint Evroult, is built up on the formula *ex quo, per quem, in quo* mentioned above:

> *Sanctus,*
> Pater, ex quo omnia, deus.
> *Sanctus,*
> Filius, per quem omnia, deus.
> *Sanctus, dominus,*
> Spiritus, in quo omnia, colendus,
> *Deus Sabaoth.*
> *Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua,*
> *Osanna in excelsis . . .*[22]

In the same manuscript, the theme is also expressed as follows:

> *Sanctus,*
> Summe pater, de quo mundi principia constant.
> *Sanctus,*
> Filius omnipotens, per quem patris est pie velle.
> *Sanctus,*
> Spiritus, in quo par virtus sine fine refulget.
> *Dominus deus Sabaoth,*
> *Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua,*
> *Osanna in excelsis . . .*[23]

Exactly the same trope elements are used in an Agnus Dei trope in the same manuscript:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Summe pater, de quo mundi principia constant, *miserere nobis.*
> Filius unigenitus, per quem patris est pie velle,*miserere nobis.*
> Spiritus, in quo par virtus sine fine refulget, *dona nobis pacem.*
> (CT IV, 87)

Here the invocations addressed to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit end in supplications for mercy and peace.

Both tropes have the same melody: the only difference is that the variants

unigenitus and *omnipotens* produce variations in the melody — *unigenitus* is one syllable longer than *omnipotens* — in fact one syllable too long to make a correct hexameter.

In the trope manuscript from Saint Evroult, we also find the following Agnus Dei trope:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Triplex personis, simplex deus esse sub uno, *miserere nobis.*
> Summe bonus, qui semper eras semperque manebis, *dona nobis pacem.*
> (CT IV, 88)

Here the *trinitas unitas* theme is expressed in the words *triplex — simplex —sub uno esse:* "threefold in persons, one God in one essence." Whereas the trinitarian theme, inherent from the beginning in the threefold exclamation *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,* is present in these tropes from all regions and all traditions, the *Agnus Dei* tropes are not primarily trinitarian, not even when added to a threefold chant.

In the Northwestern tradition towards the end of the eleventh century, there is, however, a notable tendency towards accomodating the Agnus Dei tropes to the Trinitarian theme. We have already seen one example in the trope *Summe pater de quo,* used as both Agnus and Sanctus trope, and in the trope *Triplex personis.* But it is not only in newly composed tropes that the trinitarian theme becomes more and more important during this period. One can also observe how old tropes are changed into a trinitarian form in the Northwestern tradition after 1050. This, for instance is the case with the well known trope *Christe redemptor.*[24] This trope is found both in the early Western and in the early Eastern tradition. In Prüm, Saint Magloire and Nevers it has the following form:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Christe redemptor
> orbisque factor, *miserere nobis.*
> Omnipotens pater
> pius et clemens,
> magnus et magnificus, *miserere nobis.*
> (CT IV, 43)

It is a trope to Christ as Redeemer and Creator of the world, and at the same time to the almighty Father, good and merciful, grand and magnificent.

When the same trope is inserted into the repertory of tropers from Saint Evroult and Normandy, from the end of the eleventh century, it is changed into a Trinitarian text:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Omnipotens pater,
pius et clemens,
magnus et magnificus,
miserere nobis.
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Christe redemptor,
orbisque factor,
miserere nobis.
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
Spiritus in cunctis radians et cuncta reformans,
dona nobis pacem.

The main structure is changed into the normalized threefold form and the last supplication is changed into *dona nobis pacem.* The order of the trope elements is reversed. The text is no longer christocentric: the first element addresses the Father almighty, the second the Son, Christ, the Redeemer. A third element in hexameter has been added: "Holy Spirit radiant in all and reforming all." In this way it is transformed into a Trinitarian trope corresponding to the literary and theological demands of this time and region . . .

3. HAEC FESTA PRAECELSA / CONVENITE OMNES

Introductions in Aquitanian tradition

In the Southwestern tradition, mainly represented in Aquitania, the Agnus Dei is generally introduced by a trope element. The main structure of the chant can then be described by the following model:

Trope element (= Introduction)
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Trope element *Miserere nobis.*
(Trope element *Miserere nobis.)*
(Trope element *Miserere nobis.)*[25]

For the moment we will focus only on the introductory trope element. This text, notably important in the Aquitanian tradition, functions generally as a sort of "Aufforderung zum . . .", inviting the singers to come together to perform the chant with joyful voice. But it also has a significant function in announcing the theme of the feast to be celebrated, or the theme of the text of the Ordinary chant. It underlines the specific liturgical *hic et nunc.*

This function is not only found in the introduction to the Agnus Dei but also in tropes to other Ordinary chants as well as in Proper tropes, as may be seen in the following examples:

Venite fratres in unum
Collaudemus dominum,
quia ipse est
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi
. . .
(CT IV, 65)

This is an exhortation to the brothers to "come together to praise the Lord, because he is the Lamb of God" . . . By the phrase *quia ipse est* the invitation to sing leads to a smooth transition into the liturgical base text.

Another introduction reads:

Haec festa praecelsa
convenite omnes
sacrum corpus percipere
una voce proclamantes:
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
. . .
(CT IV, 52)

Here the invitation to "come together to receive the sacred host", *sacrum corpus percipere,* underlines the liturgical situation, the *hic et nunc* of the Agnus Dei chant in the mass. Its function here is close to that of the fraction antiphon sung during the Breaking of Bread and successively "replaced" by the Agnus Dei during this period.[26] Even the phrases *convenite omnes, sacrum corpus percipere* in the trope recall similar phrases in the Easter fraction antiphon used in the same region: *Venite populi ad sacrum et immortale mysterium . . . cum angelis clamantes Alleluia.*[27]

The ending of the introduction trope element *Haec festa praecelsa, una voce clamantes,* leads naturally to the phrase of the liturgical base text *Agnus Dei . . .*

In fact, this trope element introduces three different Agnus Dei tropes: *Agnus — eia et eia, Cuius in Aegyptum* and *Miserere super nos.*[28] In the same region, but in slightly different form, it is also used as an introduction to the communion antiphon for Easter:

Haec est festa praecelsa.
Convenite omnes
sacrum corpus percipere
una voce proclamantes:
Pascha nostrum . . .
(CT III, 108)

The opening phrase figures in similar versions in introit tropes to other feasts as well:

Haec est praeclara dies
tribus sacrata miraculis,
in qua cum propheta canamus
dicentes:
Ecce advenit dominator dominus . . .
(CT I, 103)

The trope element introduces the introit antiphon at Epiphany and the three miracles referred to in the introduction are, of course, the baptism of Christ, the adoration of the Magi and the miracle of Cana.

As we have seen, introductions to a chant of the Ordinary, as the Agnus Dei, can function as invitations to sing, and as introductions to the liturgical base text. But they can also function as a sort of "Proper" of the Ordinary, illustrating the theme of the actual feast.

In the earlier repertory in the Aquitanian manuscripts, dating from before 1300, there are a few introductions of this kind at the largest feasts of the year: Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the feast of John the Baptist, adapting the Agnus Dei to the theme for the day.

Thus, at Easter we find the following introduction in Aquitanian manuscripts:

Pro cunctis deductus
ad immolandum fuisti ut agnus.
Redempta plebe captiva
te laeti deposcimus voce praecelsa:
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis.
. . .
(CT IV, 68)

At the feast of John the Baptist, the Aquitanian version of the trope *Quem Iohannes* introduces the base liturgical text:

Quem Iohannes in Iordane baptizavit
ovans et dicens: ecce
Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere nobis.
Cui Abel iustus atque sanctus
agno agnum obtulit immaculatum,
miserere nobis.
(CT IV, 69)

The first trope element recalls the passage in Jo 1,29 in which John the Baptist, on the bank of the river Jordan, points at Jesus saying the words which actually form the liturgical text: *Ecce Agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccatum mundi.*

Here *ecce* is inserted in the trope text, and by the words *ovans et dicens ecce*

the phrase *Agnus dei* . . . is anticipated in a similar way as in the earlier examples, *una voce cantantes* . . ., and *quia ipse est* . . .

The second trope element alludes to the text of Genesis in which Abel prefigures Christ in three ways: as the shepherd guarding his sheep, as the one who brings his offering of a lamb to God, and finally as the one who is himself slaughtered like a lamb. Also in this element the liturgical *hic et nunc* is underlined by the reference to Abel as *justus et sanctus,* thus recalling the formula used in the Canon of the Eucharist. (We will return to this piece in considering the Italian trops, p. 49).

Another example of introduction forming a "Proper of the Ordinary" can be taken from the Sanctus repertory. In a number of early Aquitanian manuscripts, we find the following trope at Easter:

Gloriosa dies adest,
qua surrexit praepotens ex mortuis.
Omnes dicite, eia:
Sanctus.
Idem deus conditor hominum
factus est redemptor die ista.
Laudem dicite, eia:
Sanctus.
Iam "Gloria in excelsis"
cantant sancta agmina.
Hymnum dicite, eia:
Sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth . . .[29]

Here again we find expressions indicating the specific theme of the feast: *Gloriosa dies adest,* "the glorious day is here", with further explanation given in the relative clause. In the second element is the expression *die ista,* "this very day", on which the creator was made redeemer. (We will return to the exhortations to sing.)

A similar text is used to introduce the introit antiphon for the feast of St. Stephen in Pa 1084c:[30]

Gloriosa dies haec,
qua processit potens ex virginis aula.
Idem deus conditor hominum
factus est homo die ista.
Iam "Gloria in excelsis"
cantant[es] sancta agmina.
Regi nato hoc quoque
personet simul vox nostra.

With the introit the introduction is adapted to the themes of Christmas by the relative clause *qua processit potens ex virginis aula,* as well as by the reference to the *Gloria in excelsis,* this being primarily a Christmas hymn.

The phrase *gloriosa dies adest* corresponds to phrases like *Haec festa praecelsa, Haec est festa praeclara* and *Haec est praeclara dies* above, and similar expressions are found in many other Aquitanian introductions:

Haec est nimis praefulgida festa . . .	Easter Fer. II intr.	(CT III, 108)
Haec est nimis praefulgida dies . . .	Easter Fer. II intr.	(CT III, 108)
Haec est dies valde praeclara . . .	Epiph. intr.	(CT I, 103)
Haec est praeclara dies . . .	Epiph. intr.	(CT I, 103)
etc.		

The ordinary main structure of the Sanctus is the one in which each of the three exclamations of Sanctus is followed by a trope element. In the case of the Sanctus trope *Gloriosa dies adest,* each of the three Sanctus acclamations is preceeded or introduced by trope elements, in which the exhortations *Omnes dicite eia, Laudem dicite eia* and *Hymnum dicite eia* directly lead to the Sanctus exclamation of the base text. This is very rare. I have not found any examples of such a structure outside Aquitania. But in the Aquitanian tradition this fits in very well. These expressions correspond to a large number of similar phrases in tropes of other genres in this tradition.

Psallite cum laude,
cantate deo fratres,
tempus adest, hora instat.
Psallite iam nunc eia . . . — Pent. intr. (CT III, 166)

*

Omnes una voce cantemus . . . — Epiph. intr. (CT I, 112)

*

Eia cantate,
eia, voce praecelsa dicentes . . . — Jo. Ev. off. (CT I, 215)

*

Filii carissimi, domino melos pangite
una voce dicentes . . . — Innoc. intr. (CT I, 94)

*

(Vox clara personet . . ., clara voce . . ., voce praecelsa . . ., consona voce etc etc.)

The list could be made even much longer. Let us just note that in the tropes (as well as in the sequences, as has been shown by Lars Elfving in his study of the vocabulary of the sequences in Limoges)[31], phrases inviting the singers to sing joyfully are characteristic of the Aquitanian tradition. In the Preface preceeding the Sanctus in the mass, there are phrases introducing the Sanctus. These could make us expect similar phrases as introduction tropes as well. But as we have said they are not frequent as trope elements. One reason for their absence in the case of the Sanctus might perhaps be that the formulas of the different Prefaces already contain an introduction to the Sanctus. Let us recall the Gallican *contestatio* in the following two Prefaces:

"Ipsum igitur omnes angeli cum multiplici turba sanctorum
incessabili voce collaudant dicentes":
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus . . .[32]

*

> "Digne igitur ac iuste te laudare quem omnis angeli cumlaudant
> et astra mirantur, maria benedicunt, terra veneratur, inferna suscipiunt,
> cui cyryphym et seraphym non cessant clamare dicentes:"
> *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* . . .[33]

There is one important difference between the phrases of the Preface introducing the Sanctus and the Aquitanian trope elements used as introductions. Whereas the words are put in the mouths of the Angels in the Preface — as they are in the biblical source — in the trope texts the central actors are the singers. The participants in the mass sing together with the prophet or with the words of the prophet:

Psallite omnes cum propheta dicentes	Epiph. off.	(CT I, 189)
Cum propheta canamus dicentes . . .	Epiph. intr.	(CT I, 103)
Gratulanter dicamus cum propheta . . .	Nat. III intr.	(CT I, 78)

But in the Italian traditions we recognize the expressions of the Preface as trope elements — as we will see below.

4. SALVA ET PARCE/QUOS REDEMISTI CRUORE

Tropes as prayers in Italian tradition

The Italian repertories are, as has been noticed lately, far more extensive than had previously been recognized.[34] Italian manuscripts dating from the later part of the eleventh century contain a rich treasure of tropes to the Agnus Dei and the Sanctus.[35] In the Italian traditions as a whole, the Agnus Dei tropes are not so much *"laudes"*, laudative invocations, as we have seen in the Western traditions, as they are *"preces"*.

There are many separate local traditions and it is not quite relevant to speak of only one main structure, or arrangement, of the troped Agnus Dei. Still, one can demonstrate the most frequent main structure by the following model:

> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Trope element
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Trope element
> *Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*
> Trope element[36]

The base liturgical text is repeated fully three times and the trope elements form a parallel threefold unit.

The following trope is found both in the Northern Italian and in the Southern Italian (Beneventan) traditions:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Benigne pater,
suscipe preces
ad te clamantes.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Agie proles,
tuos tuere,
quos redemisti cruore.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Sit tibi, nate,
gloria perpes
nunc et in aevum.
(CT IV, 41)

It is an intense prayer to Christ as the Father and Son, *pater* and *proles,* imploring to receive the prayers calling upon him, *preces ad te clamantes,* and to see to the supplicants, *tuos,* who are the ones Christ redeemed with his own blood, *quos redemisti cruore.* The final trope element is formed as the doxology of a prayer. The three trope elements form a parallel threefold unity beside the base liturgical text. Within the trope text of the first two elements is both an invocation, *Benigne pater* and *Agie proles,* and a supplication, *suscipe preces* and *tuos tuere.* We can compare this with the tradition in the Northwest in which we could observe how the trope elements normally only contained an invocation and where the supplication was expressed by the *miserere nobis* phrases of the base liturgical text. The final trope element in *Benigne pater* is formed as the doxology of a prayer: *sit tibi gloria nunc et in aevum,* with the additions *nate* and *perpes.* This trope can be seen as an example of a "typical" Italian trope to the Agnus Dei. In the following we will make further observations of what appears to be characteristic of the Agnus Dei and other tropes in Italy.

Discussing the main structure of the Agnus Dei in the Western tradition we compared it to the so called Gallican Litany. Likewise it seems relevant to relate the Italian Agnus Dei to the Roman Litany as well as to the Lombardian regarding their form and vocabulary. The Lombardic Litany, also called the Italian Litany, is found in manuscripts contemporary to the trope manuscripts, some of the earliest sources being in fact at the same time trope manuscripts. The actual section of the Italian Litany reads:

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Suscipe deprecationem nostram,
qui sedes ad dexteram Patris.
Gloria Patri et Filio et
Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum.
Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.[37]
. . .

The phrase *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* is given twice *in extenso*. The phrases *Suscipe deprecationem nostram* and *Qui sedes ad dexteram patris* recall the text of the *"Gloria in excelsis"*. These phrases all appear in tropes to the Agnus Dei in the Northern Italian (Lombardian) repertories. Thus in Northern Italy we find the tropes *Qui sedes ad dexteram patris/Qui es trinus, Qui sedes ad dexteram/Suscipe deprecationem, Qui sedes* and *Suscipe deprecationem.*[38]

In the Roman Litany the entire phrase *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis* appears only once, but also here *in extenso:*

Christe, audi nos
. . .
Propitius esto, parce nobis, domine.
Propitius esto, libera nos, domine.
Ab omni malo libera nos, domine.
Per crucem tuam libera nos, domine.
Peccatores te rogamus, audi nos.
Ut pacem dones, te rogamus, audi nos.
Filius dei, te rogamus, audi nos.
Agnus dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.[39]

This litany is expressedly christocentric, addressing Christ with the words *Christe, Domine, Filius Dei* and *te,* imploring Christ by his cross, *per crucem.* The supplications are not, as in the Gallican Litany, expressed by means of the repeated *miserere nobis,* but are formed by varying imperatives: *audi nos, propitius esto, parce nobis, libera nos* and by the final subjunctive *ut pacem dones.* The praying assembly is present in the text by the words *nos, nobis, peccatores te rogamus.* When returning to the trope texts in the Italian repertories we will recognize these specific formulations.

Again one could say that certain expressions and formal patterns which seem to be favoured in liturgical texts of one kind are also preferred in other liturgical texts in the same regional (or monastic) tradition. Thus, there is a notable resemblance in the form of the Agnus Dei and the form of the litany as they are reflected in the Western and Italian sources, where different forms of the liturgical texts appear to reflect different liturgical traditions and theological thinking, as well as different aesthetic preferences.

The short phrases

The striking difference between the Italian tropes and tropes from other traditions is the frequent use of very short paroxytone verses. The most common phrase consists of five syllables, two of them stressed, as in the rhythmic *adonius* (to use Dag Norberg's terminology[40]), or, as in the classical Roman *cursus planus* as in: *nunc et in aevum* and *cursus velox* as in *saecula saeculorum:* In the specific Roman contributions to the Roman mass, such as the prayers of the Canon, we recognize the same well documented characteristic trait. Let us observe a few examples from the Agnus Dei tropes:

Sit tibi nate	5 p
gloria perpes	5 p
nunc et in aevum	5 p (CT IV, 42)
* * *	
Iuste et pie	5 p
atque benigne	5 p
concede nobis	5 p
veniam semper	5 p (CT IV, 47)
* * *	
Tu qui iurasti	5 p
patribus nostris	5 p
dare nobis	4 p
vitam perennem	5 p (CT IV, 47)
* * *	
Humanum genus	5 p
venisti salvare	6 p (CT IV, 54)
* * *	
Agnus verus	4 p
immaculatus	5 p (CT IV, 40)
* * *	

This tendency to form the text into short phrases is notably evident in the structure of the melodies which can be illustrated in the trope *Fulgida qui regnas.*[41] This Agnus Dei trope is found in two different versions, one in Northern Italian sources and one trope manuscript from Nevers, which is the earliest source of the trope. The other version is found in Beneventan sources. A comparison between the two versions helps us to observe how different aesthetic preferences affected the form and resulted in songs of very different character, though they contain almost identical texts.

The Beneventan version:

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Fulgida qui regnas
in maiestate,
tute nobis tribue
semper laudare.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Alpha et O,
cui tripudiant
agmina sanctorum,
aeterna nobis
largire gaudia.

Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Ipse ad patriam
nos perduc atque
verae laetitiae
gaudia. Amen.

In the Beneventan version, text and music in all the elements are built up from short phrases. (See below). There is no obvious effort to form phrases with assonance. This can be compared with the Nevers version:

O lucis splendor,
angelorum cui canit concentus,
igne cor nostrum tuo adure, redemptor.
Agnus [dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.]
Fulgida qui regnas in maiestate,
tute nobis tribue semper laudare.
Miserere nobis.
Alpha et O,
cui tripudiant agmina sanctorum,
iocundos nos fac de praemio aeterno,
Dona nobis pacem.

Here the phrases are longer. There is no clear tendency to make short phrases. On the other hand the well documented tendency toward phrases built up with assonances and vocal rhymes in Aquitanian and West Frankish sequences and other poetry seems to be illustrated in this version of the trope. In the element *O lucis splendor* the dominant vowel is *o/u: O,* l*u*cis, splend*o*r, c*o*r, n*o*str*u*m, t*uo,* ad*u*re, redempt*o*r;

In the element *Fulgida qui regnas* there are the rhymes on *a — e* which are stressed whereas the melody creates a long line. (The Beneventan version also has short phrases in the melody.) In the third element, *Alpha et O,* the manuscript from Nevers has a version in which the vowel *o* is dominant: *O* sanct*o*-r*u*m, i*o*cund*o*s, n*o*s, praemi*o*, aetern*o* and *aeterna nobis largire gaudia* in Benevento stands against *iocundos nos fac de praemio aeterno* in Nevers.

In a similar way we can compare the prosula/trope *Laudes deo* in another Southern Italian manuscript, (Vat 602) from Monte Cassino, and the manuscript from Nevers:

Nevers (Pa 9449):	Monte Cassino (Vat 602):
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,	
Dominus deus Sabaoth,	
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua,	
Osanna in excelsis.	
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini,	

O
Laudes deo
ore pio
corde sereno,
concio, melos tinnulo:
O
In iubilo
cum cantico
simul ad alta
resonet vox cum organo:
O
Alpha et O
puro carmine
necne dicito:
O
Patri almo,
genito quoque
flamini sancto.
Osanna
Trino deo
omnes proclamant
In excelsis.

Sanctus.
Laudes deo
ore pio
corde sereno
carmine demus tinnulo.
Sanctus.
In iubilo
cum cantico
simul in alto
resonet vox cum organo.
Sanctus Dominus deus Sabaoth.
Caeli regi,
terrae, marium,
rerum omnium,
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria.
Osanna in excelsis.
Patri almo,
genito quoque,
flamini sancto,
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.
Alpha et O
puro carmine
necne dicitur.
Trino deo
omnes proclamant
Osanna in excelsis.

In Nevers, as in a number of Northern Italian manuscripts, this text is a prosula to the *Osanna.* All phrases are built on the vowel *o,* thus playing on the *o* of the word *Osanna.* Only in the last phrase is there an echo of the vowels *a-a* in *Osanna,* the word *proclamant.*[42]

When the same text is used in the manuscript from Monte Cassino, it is divided into trope elements, which are inserted between the phrases of the whole Sanctus chant. The melody underlines the short phrases of four or five syllables, *laudes deo, ore pio,* or *corde sereno.* In the cases where the reading differs from the Northern version there is no notable tendency to retain the consequent rhymes on the vowel *o,* as can be seen in the trope element *Caeli regi* and the readings *carmine demus* in the first element and *necne dicitur* in the last.

Tropes as prayers

As we observed above, the Agnus Dei tropes are formed as intense prayers. Like *Benigne pater,* presented above, the tropes are principally built up of three or four themes that generally follow a pattern which could be summarized as follows:
1. *Exaudi nos,* "Hear us!", 2. *Qui redemisti nos sanguine tuo,* "Who redeemed us with your own blood", 3. *Salva nos et dona nobis gaudia aeterna,* "Save us and give us the joys of eternal life", or *Sit tibi gloria, Amen,* "Glory be to thee. Amen", a regular doxology. In the Agnus Dei tropes one element (often the first) is a plea to the Lord to hear the supplications of the congregation. The form of address is often the vocative form: *aeterne, agie, Agne Dei, benigne, alme, bone, Christe,* sometimes even preceeded by *O: O Christe piissime:*

Benigne pater,
suscipe, quaeso,
ad te clamantes. (CT IV, 41)
* * *

Conditor mundi,
exaudi nos clemens. (CT IV, 84)
* * *

Supplicum preces,
benigne, exaudi. (CT IV, 84)
* * *

Exaudi, domine,
rex caelorum,
populorum gemitus. (CT IV, 49)
* * *

Another element (often the second) will contain an allusion to the passion of Christ. For Christ is not only King of Kings, but above all, the one who died on the cross to save the world. The theme of *Christ as the sacrificial lamb,* who saved the world with his *blood* is frequent in the Italian tradition as a whole. In the Agnus Dei repertory and in the Beneventan manuscripts, it is even more stressed:

Cruore tuo
salvasti mundum (CT IV, 40)

Qui pro nostra salute
patri in cruce
sacrificium obtulisti (CT IV, 62)

Qui pro nostra salute
pependisti in cruce (CT IV, 62)

Qui morti claustra
resurgendo fregisti,
et salva et parce
quos redemisti, (CT IV, 54)

tuos tuere,
quos redemisti cruore. (CT IV, 41)

The central place of Christ as sacrificial lamb in the Italian Agnus Dei tropes may be related to the fact that the chant itself as a part of the Roman mass evidently has its origins in the liturgy of the Syrian Greeks in Sicily. Obviously it had been a part of the liturgy practiced in South Italy during the time before it was officially introduced into the mass by pope Serge I, who himself originated from the same area.[43]

One trope element concludes the prayer with expressions such as the following:

Ne constent nobis
peccatorum vitia,
quod resurgamus,
ne pereamus, (CT IV, 54)

Or the final element expresses the prayer for eternal life:

Gaudia superna pacis
dona nobis benigne. (CT IV, 44)
*

dare nobis
vitam perennem. (CT IV, 47)
*

Largitor pacis,
pacem perpetuam
tribue nobis. (CT IV, 49)

Often the trope ends with the word *Amen* as in the following example:

Ipse ad patriam
nos perduc atque
verae laetitiae
gaudia. Amen (CT IV, 51)

And we remember the final doxology of the trope *Benigne pater:*

Sit tibi, nate,
gloria perpes
nunc et in aevum. (CT IV, 42)

The trope elements form together a syntactical and textual unit which is more separate from the liturgical base text of the chant than is usual in the Agnus Dei chants in the Western tradition studied earlier.

In the Italian Litany, and even more in the Roman Litany of the Saints, we have seen how every separate phrase consists of both an invocation, *Christe, filius Dei, Domine* and a supplication *parce, libera,* etc.

The relation *TU — NOS* is notably accentuated in the Italian tropes. This lies of course in the nature of the direct prayer: "*We* pray to *You Who* have suffered for *us:* bring us your peace and salvation."

It is also notable that the Italian Agnus Dei tropes are explicitly christocentric in a way which differs from the texts of the Northwestern tradition studied above. Direct speech is addressed to Christ, *TU.* This direct speech is also expressed by a verb in the second person: *obtulisti, pependisti, fregisti, salvasti,* etc, as well as by imperative forms: *suscipe, tuere, parce, salva,* etc.

The short phrases in the trope texts also recall the short expressions used in a number of *Mozarabic preces* which occur in many Italian sources from the same period.[44] These *preces* are often built up of the same vocabulary as the trope texts, as exemplified by the following example of Mozarabic formulas:

Ad te clamantes,	Deus, exaudi.
Bone redemptor,	Deus, exaudi.
Contrito corde,	Deus, exaudi.
De tuis caelis,	Deus, exaudi.
	* * *
Exaudi clamantes,	Pater altissime.
Ea quae precamur	clemens attribue.
	* * *
Bone redemptor	supplices quaesumus.
De toto corde	flentes requirimus.[45]

The intense exhortations of the imperatives, *exaudi, attribue, assiste,* as well as the vocative forms, *altissime, bone,* and the expressions reflecting the presence of the supplicants in the text itself, *clamantes precamur, nos, supplices quaesumus, flentes requirimus,* are all found in trope texts, as we have noticed. The function of the two kinds of texts is obviously the same: that of a prayer. In cases where tropes from other traditions are inserted into the repertory one can sometimes observe how these tropes are transformed by additional trope elements of phrases to create a version of the trope in which the character of prayer is stressed. Or, an element may be added so that the central theme of the passion of Christ is underlined in the trope. This is the case with the trope

Quem Iohannes, which we encountered as a trope of two elements at the feast of John the Baptist in Aquitanian sources and which is found in all traditions in one form or another. In some Italian sources this trope has a third element recalling the passion:

> Qui pro nobis mortem pati voluisti,
> ut nos a morte perpetua liberares (CT IV, 71)

"Who were willing to suffer death for our sake/to liberate us from eternal death." (Here quoted from the Monte Cassino Ms Vat 602). It is worth noting that in the cases where a version of this element is found in repertories outside Italy, in Metz, St. Evroult, Echternach and Prüm — all in the transitional zone — the crucial phrase *mortem pati* in the Italian version corresponds to the phrase *nasci pati.* There, Christ is praised not as the One who was willing to die, but as the One who was born for us . . .

In the tropes to the Sanctus one can, among other themes, observe the same preference to address Christ as the One who took human body to save the world with His blood. Thus there are in the Beneventan repertory a number of examples of tropes found in traditions outside Italy, but which are transformed, by additions, to express this theme. In a Beneventan manuscript (Ben 40) the Trinitarian Sanctus trope *Deus pater ingenitus,* which is a trope found in several different traditions, is provided with an additional trope element *Qui venisti carnem sumens,* inserted between *Benedictus — domini* and *Osanna in excelsis:*

Sanctus,
Deus pater ingenitus,
Sanctus,
Filius eius unigenitus,
Sanctus dominus,
Paraclitus ex utroque procedens,
Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua,
Osanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.
Qui venisti carnem sumens ex matre
pro totius mundi salute,
tu nos ab hoste potenter libera,
et exaudi cunctos famulos tuos,
ut possimus laudes promere tibi
voce indefessa.
Osanna in excelsis.[46]

Whereas the three trope elements added to the Sanctus exclamations are formed as plain invocations to the three persons of the Trinity, the additional text

has a totally different character: it is entirely christocentric. Christ is called upon as the one who came to the world to take on human form and who died on the Cross for the salvation of the whole world *(qui venisti carnem sumens ex matre pro totius mundi salute),* and in the following phrase there is an intense prayer recalling the prayers that we have found in the Agnus Dei tropes both in Benevento and in the Northern Italian tradition as well. We recognize the *tu-nos* relation and the imperatives *libera, exaudi (famulos tuos), "Liberate us,* listen to *your* servants" and also the ending phrase, *ut possimus laudes promere tibi,* "so that we can bring praises to you." In other tropes to the Sanctus there are phrases of a similar kind. In the Beneventan manuscript Ben 34, a Sanctus containing no other trope elements, has the following text inserted into the final *Osanna in excelsis:*

Osanna
Pie Christe,
descendisti ad terram
mundum tua factura salvans.
Inferni claustra confregisti fortiter,
dira iura ipsa dextra conculcans,
sanctos sursum levans in aethra,
ut tibi laudes decantent
In excelsis.[47]

Again, this is a christocentric text, addressing in vocative form Christ as the "One who came down to earth to save the world by breaking down the prison of death, crushing its fearful power with your own right hand and lifting up the holy ones to the heaven". The final phrase, *ut tibi laudes decantent in excelsis,* "so that they (the holy ones) may bring praises to you in the Highest", takes up a theme to which we will return below, the praises of the angels, the Cherubim and the Seraphim . . .

To the *Sanctus* trope *Altissime creator,* which is found in other regions as well, the Beneventan manuscript Ben 34 adds the phrase, *quaesumus Christe / parce peccata nobis indignis,* "we beseech you, Christ, forgive our sins, although we are not worthy".[48] And in MC 546 and Vat 602 there is also the reading *Laxa peccata cuncta / Domine, miserere nobis* inserted into the same trope: "Take away all our sins./ Lord, have mercy upon us."[49] The praying assembly talking to, *imploring* Christ to help and save is present in the text. Certainly, we meet similar phrases also in tropes from other traditions, phrases in which the themes of the Incarnation and the Passion are expressed in similar ways (as in the late tropes from St. Gall for instance.) But the themes are never as predominant and accentuated; phrases like *sacrificium obtulisti, mortem pati voluisti, qui venisti carnem sumens* are not as frequent as in Italian sources. And this is not only the case in the Easter tropes, but occurs in the Sanctus and Agnus Dei tropes to other feasts as well. Whereas, in the Aquitanian intro-

ductions we observed how the assembly was primarily present in the trope text as *singers* and *performers* of the chant, we may note that, in the Italian tradition, the assembly is more expressively present in the trope text as praying supplicants, calling upon the One who is praised by the angels, the Seraphim and the Cherubim, or the holy ones as in the *Pie Christe* quoted above.

This can be illustrated by the Sanctus trope *Quem Cherubim atque Seraphim* found in a number of Italian sources, here quoted from the Beneventan manuscript Ben 34:[50]

Sanctus,
Quem Cherubim atque Seraphim
incessanter proclamant:
Sanctus
Qui senas alas habent
quottidie decantant.
Sanctus dominus deus Sabaoth,
Pater prolique,
flamineo almo,
qui est ante saecula
nunc et in aevum.
Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua,
Osanna in excelsis.
Cui pueri Hebreorum
obviantes clamabant:
Benedictus qui venit in nomine domini.
Et plebs Hebrea
vociferantes,
vaticinantes dicebant:
Osanna in excelsis

For the moment disregarding the strange form of the Latin, we see that it is a chant addressed to the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, *Pater (i e patri) prolique flamineo almo.* To these the Cherubim and Seraphim who have six wings, the young boys and people of Jerusalem bring their praises. A trope to the *Osanna in excelsis* found in Northern Italian sources, reads as follows:

Osanna
Agie, altissime domine,
Adiuva, libera, salvifica, protege
Quos creatos redemisti tuo sanguine.
Paradisi gaudiis dona frui iugiter.
Cherumbim coniungi coetibus valeant
Seraphimque tibi dulce dant organa
In excelsis.[51]

The text begins with an address formed in the vocative to the holy highest Lord: *agie, altissime domine.* In the next line, four imperatives implore the Lord to help and liberate the supplicants. The verbs are cumulated without any binding word, *adiuva, libera, salvifica, protege.* The object, *nos,* is not mentioned until the next line, where it refers to *quos redemisti tuo sanguine,* "those whom you redeemed with your blood". Then, there is a variant of the theme "give us eternal peace" which we have noted to be usual in the Agnus Dei as well, beseeching the Lord for the eternal joys of Paradise. Not until in the last two lines is the laudative theme of the *Osanna* introduced in the wish to join the Cherubim and the Seraphim in their praises. And here we also find phrases like the ones of the Prefaces mentioned above[52]. But here these phrases are used as trope texts:

Cui Cherubim et Seraphim non cessant clamare dicentes . . .

As in the *Te Deum,* the praying assembly speaking in the trope texts "implores the One whom the angels glorify".

Te Deum

It seems as if the *Te Deum* has been a particularly important textual base for the Italian Sanctus tropes. Of course, this is natural enough since part of the Sanctus itself is a central part of the *Te Deum.* A significant number of phrases given in the *Te Deum* also occur as tropes to the Sanctus. So the laudative *tibi* clauses at the beginning of the hymn are, for instance, all used as trope texts. Again, the supplicative formulas at the end recall a tradition we have seen richly exemplified both in the Agnus Dei and in the Sanctus: "Therefore, we pray, help your servants, whom you have redeemed with your precious blood":

Te ergo quaesumus:
Tuis famulis subveni,
Quos pretioso sanguine redemisti

In Italian manuscript sources, the lines of the *Te Deum* given here in italics are also found as trope elements to the Sanctus, either in the same form as in the *Te Deum* or in a slightly different form. This indicates the importance of the hymn as the inspiration for the composition of trope texts in the Italian tradition:

Te Deum laudamus.
Te Dominum confitemur.
Te aeternum Patrem omnis terra veneratur.
Tibi omnes angeli,
Tibi caeli et universae potestates,
Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth!
Pleni sunt caeli et terra maiestatis gloriae tuae!

52

Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,
Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus,
Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia
Patrem immensae maiestatis,
Venerandum tuum verum et unicum Filium,
Sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum.
Tu rex gloriae, Christe,
Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.
Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti virginis uterum.
Tu devicto mortis aculeo aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum.
Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes in gloria Patris.
Iudex crederis esse venturum.
Te ergo quaesumus:
Tuis famulis subveni,
Quos pretioso sanguine redemisti.
Aeterna fac cum sanctis tuis gloria numerari.
Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine.
Et benedic hereditati tuae
Et rege eos et extolle illos *usque in aeternum,*[53]

*

Considering the more or less distinctive traits in the Italian Agnus Dei tropes, it is tempting to enter into the discussion on the relationship between the Sicilian and Beneventan traditions. The two manuscripts Madrid 288 and Madrid 289 were both written in Palermo, as has been most recently shown by David Hiley. According to Hiley they both reflect a Normand tradition: "the two Palermo tropers . . . are likely to have been the result of the new recension carried out by a precentor (of the royal chapel?) who put his own individual stamp upon the repertories he knew from Normandy and from the Norman monasteries of Southern Italy."[54] On the relation between Benevento and Sicily he says: "It will have been noticed that none of the important sources from Benevento and Monte Cassino have appeared in the diagrams so far: *this is because the Sicilian books show almost no interesting material from that or from any other part of Italy*" (my italics).[55]

Both in the main structure of the Agnus Dei and in the trope texts these two manuscripts reflect a Northwestern Frankish repertory. Their Agnus Dei repertories are identical — with two exceptions: Ma 289 contains two Agnus Dei tropes which are not found in Ma 288, namely *Conditor polorum* and *Splendor patris.* One of them, *Conditor polorum,* is only found in the manuscript Ma 289. It differs in main structure as well as in its vocabulary from tropes to the Agnus Dei in the Northwestern tradition. The two tropes are placed at the very beginning of the fascicle of Agnus Dei tropes in the manuscript. The so called *lex Baumstark,*[56] which says that new items added to the liturgical repertory are regularly placed *before* the older items when inserted into the repertory in the manuscripts, supports the interpretation that these two tropes were new items

added to the "old" Norman repertory retained in the manuscript Ma 289. At least the trope *Conditor polorum* might then prove to be an exception to the general rule observed by David Hiley and be an example of a text from the South Italian repertory being adopted into the Norman tradition kept in Sicily:

Conditor polorum
omniumque salvator,
Agnus dei, qui tollispeccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Tu redemisti nos
sanguine tuo sacro.
Agnus dei, qui tollispeccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Gaudia supernae pacis
dona nobis benigne.
Agnus, dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.
Amen (CT IV, 44)

The structure of this song, with the base liturgical text repeated in full phrases and given as a parallel to the trope elements, does not so much recall a Norman structure as an Italian one. Phrases like *tu redemisti nos sanguine tuo sacro,* "You redeemed us with Your holy blood" in the second trope element and the prayer of the last element, *Dona nobis . . . gaudia supernae pacis,* as well as the vocative *benigne* "Give us the joys of heavenly peace, o benign one", and finally the ending of the prayer by the word *Amen,* certainly remind us of the traits that we meet in the South Italian tropes, which do not occur in manucripts outside the Italian repertory. In Benevento, another trope, *Salus et vita,* has an additional element after *Supplicum preces/benigne exaudi/atque tuis/ miserere famulis:* also beginning with *Conditor* and ending with *Amen:*

Conditor mundi,
exaudi nos, clemens,
et parce nobis
regnans in aeternum.
Amen. (CT IV, 84)

All these indications suggest that *Conditor polorum* may be an example of a trope originating from South Italy and which has been included in the repertory of the trope manuscript Ma 289 by the composer in Palermo.[57]

54

CONCLUSION

In this study we have followed a few central themes developed in the tropes to the Agnus Dei and the Sanctus but also existant in tropes of other genres. We have seen how these tropes are primarily, in the Western tradition, formed as invocations functioning as theological expositions over the nature of divinity. In the trope texts, God is defined in relative clauses *(qui es, qui sedes,* etc), by verbs in the present participle form depicting the reigning King and Judge (*regens, sedens, residens, discutiens,* etc . . .) But most characteristic are the series of abstract nouns such as *pax, lux, sapientia;* these follow a long patristic tradition. We have noticed the central place of the trinitarian theme in repertories after the middle of the eleventh century especially in the Northwestern sources.

We have focused on the introductions in the Aquitanian tradition. These introductory trope elements have a double function. They tie the chant to the specific theme of the day, in the same way as is familiar from the proper tropes. They are invitations to sing. By words as *psallite, canite, dicite, voce praecelsa, una voce* etc the singers are exhorted to perform the chant in a loud unison voice. Finally we have seen tropes in the Italian traditions functioning as prayers to Christ as the sacrificed lamb "who redeemed us with His own blood," *qui redemisti nos sanguine tuo sacro.*

We have also observed how phrases and structures used in the trope texts recall other liturgical texts in the same tradition, such as the Litanies of the Saints, the Prefaces, the *Gloria in excelsis,* as well as the Mozarabic *Preces* and the *Te Deum* — particularly in the Italian tropes.

Of course, we have only touched on a few themes among many. Other studies remain to be done on other themes and on other trope genres — not to mention the sequences. In the future, when we have access to a concordance of the entire vocabulary of all the different trope genres, such studies will be made much easier.[58] Surely they will give us a deeper understanding of the rich treasure represented in these texts which reflects the spiritual life of the medieval mind in different expressions. In this work we need *pax et sapientia* . . .

Notes

1. Oxford, Bodl. Libr. MS 775, folios 72v, 74v; Cf. also Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 473, folios 73v—74.
2. On the main structure of the Agnus Dei in different traditions see G. Iversen, *Corpus Troporum IV, Tropes de l'Agnus Dei, Edition critique suivie d'une étude analytique,* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XXVI, Stockholm 1980, 210—224 *et passim.* (Hereafter, Corpus Troporum = CT). Not only in analyzing the main structure of the troped chants but also in analyzing central themes in the tropes we discern different traditions. Thus, we speak of a Western tradition, divided into a Northwestern and a Southwestern, an Aguitanian tradition and of a tradition before and after 1050 respectively. We speak of an Eastern tradition and of Italian traditions — a North Italian, South Italian and Beneventan tradition. Then, there is the composite transitional tradition in the "zone de transition" to use the term introduced by Michel Huglo (NKLL Nordiskt kollokvium i latinsk liturgiforskning, Photocopied Reports, 3, Hanaholmen-Helsinki 1975). It also seems relevant to speak of a Catalonian/Pyrenean tradition after 1100 for instance. All these very roughly divided traditions can be further divided into smaller and more local traditions, many of which are worth studies of their own. It is important to note however, as has often been pointed out, that the boundaries between different geographical as well as chronological traditions are often very vague. In the same trope repertory we can find tropes of very different age and of different provenance side by side.
3. The text of the Gallican Litany in Paris, B.N.Lat.MS 13 159, folios 163—166. See G. Knopp, *Sanctorum nomina seriatim, Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte,* Bd 65, 3—4, 1970 184 ff; Cf.CT IV, 199.
4. *Gloria in excelsis* as basis for the Agnus Dei and its tropes cf. CT IV, 197—199; 253—259.
5. Madrid, B.N., MS 19421, f. 90v—91; Cf C. Blume, E. Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi,* Bd 47, nr 271; The Sanctus texts quoted in this article are taken from the material for the critical edition of tropes to the Sanctus to be published by the author as a volume of the *Corpus Troporum.* References to the AH are indicating the number of the trope in AH 47.
6. AH 47, 124.
7. AH 45, p. 201.
8. Cf. G. Manz, *Ausdrucksformen der lateinischen Liturgiesprache bis ins elfte Jahrhundert,* Beuron, 1941, nr 561.
9. Walpole, A.E., *Early Latin Hymns,* Cambridge 1922, 35—39.
10. Migne, J.P., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina* (PL) *CXI, 20.*
11. PL CIXX, 266.
12. AH 50, 231.
13. Here quoted from R. de Gourmont, *Le latin mystique,* Paris, 1913, 118.
14. Karlheinz Schlager, *Zur musikalischen Gestalt und Überlieferung von "Trinitas, Unitas, Deitas",* Journal of the Plainsong & Medieval Music Society, Vol. 6, 1984, 8—14.
    The text of *Trinitas, unitas, deitas* is analyzed by the author in *Music as Ancilla verbi and Words as Ancilla musicae;* On the interpretation of the Musical and Textual Form of the two Tropes to *Osanna in excelsis; Laudes deo and Trinitas, unitas, deitas,* Liturgische Tropen (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 36) Hrsg. G. Silagi. München 1985; cf Dag Norberg, *L'accentuation des mots dans le vers latin du Moyen Age,* Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Filologiskt arkiv 32. Stockholm 1985, 59—60.
15. Paris, B.N.MS lat. 10508, fol. 134.
16. AH 53, nr 87.
17. PL CXXV, 542.

18. Schlager, op. cit.
19. PL CXXV, 575.
20. Cf. R. Jonsson, *Historia. Etudes sur la genèse des offices versifiés,* Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia XV, Stockholm 1968, 164—176; Although the texts for the office of the Holy Trinity had been prepared already by Alcuin, the Feast of the Holy Trinity was not universally declared a separate feast until 1334 by the pope John XXII. In England, however, this feast had been of great importance for a long time by then. Thomas Becket was consecrated bishop on the Holy Trinity feast in 1162 and, before that, there seems to have been a strong tradition in England and in the Northwest of the Frankish region of celebrating the Holy Trinity in a separate feast. Cf. *op.cit.* and F. Cabrol, *Le Culte de la Trinité dans la liturgie de la fête de la Trinité,* Ephemerides Liturgicae, 14 (1931), 270—278.; P. Brow, *Zur Geschichte der Dreifaltigkeitsfestes,* Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft, 1 (1950), 65—81.
21. PL XIVC, 530; PL CI, 55—56.
22. Paris, B.N. MS lat. 10508, fol. 121—121v.
23. *Ibid.* fol. 118v—119; AH 47, nr 256.
24. Cf. CT IV, 225—228.
25. Cf. CT IV, 270—274.
26. Cf. CT IV, 96—97.
27. M. Huglo, *Antiphone antiche per la "fractio panis",* Ambrosius 31, 1955. 85—95.
28. Cf. CT IV, 272.
29. AH 47, nr 249.
30. Paris, B.N. MS lat. 1084, fol. 236.
31. L. Elfving, *Etude lexicographique sur les séquences limousines,* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia VII, Stockholm 1962.
32. *Missale gallicanum vetus, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta,* Fontes III, ed. L.C. Mohlberg OSB, Rome 1958, 78.
33. *Ibid.,* 86.
34. It is a well-known observation that the tropes from the South Italian, the Beneventan, tradition, have been regarded for a long time a second- or third-class material, or even worse. To Clemens Blume, the obscure readings, the "bad" Latin, the structure and the arrangement of the tropes, were all rather disgusting. "Die Handschriften von Benevent sind in einem so trostlosen Zustande, dass wir von Mitteilung der Varianten absehen", Blume remarks for instance to the Beneventan version of the Gloria trope *Christus surrexit* with its interesting prosula added to the trope (AH 47, 222). Maybe the Beneventan tropes were left in peace for so long partly due to this attitude.
35. Among the interesting studies on the Italian material we can note L. Brunner's studies on the repertories of Nonantola: *The Sequences of Verona Bibl. Cap. CVII and the Italian Sequence Tradition.* (Diss.ined.), Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill 1977. Editions of tropes to the Proper and to the Ordinary in the Beneventan manuscript sources are under preparation by John Boe and Alejandro Planchart in *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus.*
36. *CT IV, 221—224.*
37. Text from B. Opferman, *Litania Italica,* Ephemerides Liturgicae, 72, 1958, 310—319.
38. Cf. CT IV, 78—82, 88.
39. Text from E. Bischop, *The Litany of the Saints in the Stowe Missal, Liturgica Historia,* Oxford (1918) 1962, 142 ss. See also P. De Clerck, *La "Prière universelle" dans les liturgies latines,* Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen, Münster Westfahlen 1977, 275 ss.
40. D. Norberg, *Introduction á l'étude de la versification médiévale,* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia V, Stockholm 1958, 78 and 97.
41. CT IV, 51—52; I am grateful to Professor Leo Treitler, who has generously helped me to analyse the different versions from a musicological point of view.

42. For a further analysis of the versions of the trope *Laudes deo,* see my article *Music as Ancilla verbi . . .* in which Professor Charles M. Atkinson has made the analysis of the melodies of the different versions of *Laudes deo;* AH 47, nr 340.
43. Cf. CT IV, 195 ss.
44. See W. Meyer, *Die Preces der Mozarabischen Liturgie,* Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Berlin 1907.
    Let us note that it is not exclusively in the Italian tropes that we can trace the Mozarabic *preces.* Also in Aquitanian tropes we can recognize similar formulas. Again it is possible to relate formulas in the trope texts to phrases used in other liturgical texts in the same tradition. The Agnus Dei trope *Miserere super nos* in Aquitania recalls the same sort of short formulaic phrases used in the *Preces* of the Spanish liturgy which are also found in Aquitanian graduals from the same period investigated by Michel Huglo in his article, *Les preces des Graduels aquitains empruntés à la liturgie hispanique,* Hispania sacra, 8 (1955), 361—383.
45. Meyer, *op.cit.,* 15;
46. Benevento, Bibl. cap. MS 40, fol. 26.
47. Benevento, Bibl. cap. MS 34, fol. 283.
48. Benevento, Bibl. cap. MS 35, fol. 196.
49. Monte Cassino, MS 546, fol. 67v and Roma, Bibl Apost. Vat. Urb. 602, fol. 62.
50. Ben 34, fol. 282v.
51. Here taken from the ms Padua, Bibl. cap. MS 47, fol. 1.
52. Cf. p. 39s. above.
53. An investigation of the relation between the formulas of the *Te Deum* and the tropes particulary in the Italian repertories is evidently promising to be fruitful. Such a study is still waiting to be done.
54. David Hiley, *The Norman Chant Traditions — Normandy, Britain, Sicily,* Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, vol. 107 (1980—81), p. 8.
55. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
56. A. Baumstark, *Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit,* Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft, 7 (1927) 1—23; Cf. Niels K. Rasmussen, *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle,* Unité et diversité des Pontificaux Latins aux VIII[e], IX[e] et X[e] siècles, Conférences Saint-Serge 1975, Rome 1976, 393—410, p. 406.
57. Cf. D. Hiley, *Quanto c'è di Normanno nei tropari Siculo-Normanni?.* Rivista Italiana di musicologia, XVIII, 1983, 12.
58. By means of computer concordances are made of the entire vocabulary of the material included in the Corpus Troporum volumes. These concordances can be consulted at the Corpus Troporum office, Institutionen för klassiska språk, Stockholms Universitet, S-106 91 Stockholm, SWEDEN.

[19]

Introducing the *Gloria in Excelsis**

By THOMAS FORREST KELLY

In the great era of troping, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries, the *Gloria in excelsis* accumulated a repertory of embellishments rivaled in size only by those attached to the Introit and the Kyrie.

The Introit and the Kyrie are natural candidates for troping.[1] The Introit, as the opening chant of the Mass, suggests festal elaboration both because of its prefatory nature—introducing the whole Mass and its liturgical intention—and because its text, often a psalm verse, invites a more specific and objective connection with the feast at hand.[2] Likewise the Kyrie, with its repetitive texts and its possible connections to the litany, invites the creative sympathies of the age to amplify the repeated invocations.[3]

But the *Gloria in excelsis* seems a less likely place for liturgical embellishment. For one thing, it is not always present in the Mass; and secondly, its text is already very long and arranged in short,

* An earlier version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Denver, 1980. I should like to express here my gratitude to Professors Alejandro Planchart and Ruth Steiner for their help in verifying certain manuscript readings.

[1] I must beg the reader's indulgence for the use, here and elsewhere, of the word *trope* to describe a vast array of medieval interpolative chant. We shall, perhaps, never resolve the problem first recognized in the Middle Ages, when books containing tropes, *versus*, prosulae, laudes, and sequences, were called "troparia," as in the following mention from the fourteenth-century Customary of St. Mary's Abbey, York: ". . . si sequentia cantari debet illo die, signum faciet juniori omnibus in choro ut troparia sibi ferat. . . . Quod si Kyrie sit cum versibus, tunc dum introitus cantatur idem signum faciet juveni antedicto et distribuet ut est dictum." *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York (St. John's College, Cambridge, MS. D.27)*, ed. The Abbess of Stanbrook and J. B. L. Tolhurst, 3 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society Volumes, 73, 75, 74 (London, 1936, 1937; Maidstone, 1951), I, 99.

[2] A comprehensive edition of the Aquitanian Introit tropes is Günther Weiss, *Introitus-Tropen*, I, *Das Repertoire der südfranzösischen Tropäre des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts*, Monumenta monodica medii aevi, 3 (Kassel, 1970).

[3] The definition of Kyrie tropes, especially with respect to Latin-texted Kyries, is not at issue here; I mean only to point out the important size of the medieval repertory. A recent comprehensive study of Kyrie tropes is David A. Bjork, "The Kyrie Trope," this Journal, XXXIII (1980), 1–41.

varied invocations, which need little adjustment to bring them into line with the aesthetic desiderata of the trope-makers.

Then why should the Gloria have attracted such a large repertory of tropes? Probably because of its special festive nature, which made it appropriate in the Mass only on Sundays and great festivals during seasons of rejoicing. The Gloria is introduced very solemnly, always begun by the celebrant himself. Indeed, the early history of the inclusion of the *Gloria in excelsis* in the Mass indicates that the rank of the celebrant, as well as the solemnity of the day, determined when the Gloria might be used. This is a point to which we shall return.

* * *

A Gloria trope, like many Introit tropes, is a phrase-by-phrase interpolated commentary and amplification of a liturgical text. Gloria tropes normally begin after the celebrant's intonation, or after the first choral phrase; a great many of these tropes survive, and they have been studied in some detail.[4]

Attached to this large body of rather grand tropes is a small group of pieces that serve as introductions to the *Gloria in excelsis* as a whole. Unlike the Gloria tropes themselves, these prefaces do not comment on the Gloria text, nor on a specific feast day; instead they introduce the act of performing the Gloria, usually by inviting the celebrant to recite the angelic hymn.

Using the evidence of these Gloria introductions and other pieces, Heinrich Husmann has argued that tropes in general originated as invitations to perform a certain liturgical chant, and that introductions form the earliest layer of the trope repertory.[5] It may be, then, that these small introductory pieces stand at the threshold of the great edifice of troping; they appear in many of the earliest trope manuscripts, and may well predate the larger Gloria tropes with which, as we shall see, they have often been confused.
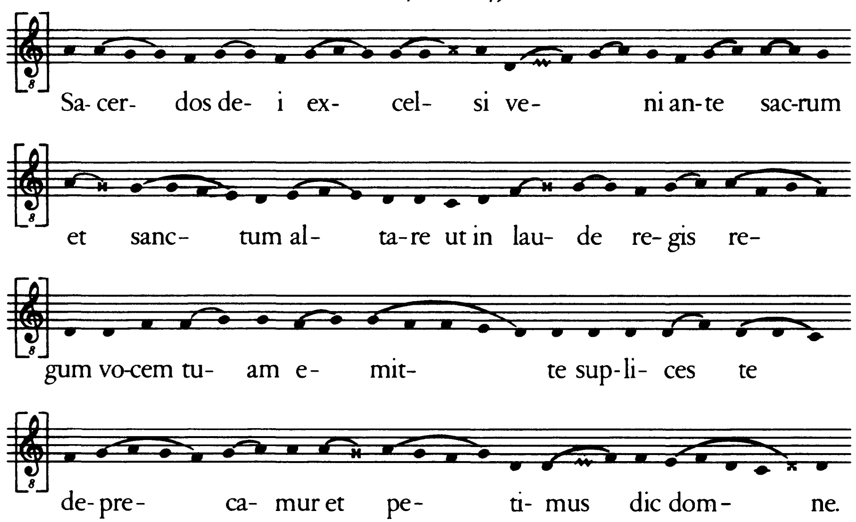
The typical, and arguably the original, introductory trope of this kind is *Sacerdos dei excelsi*, Example 1.

[4] The principal modern study is Klaus Rönnau, *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Wiesbaden, 1967).

[5] "Sinn und Wesen der Tropen, veranschaulicht an den Introitustropen des Weihnachtsfestes," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XVI (1959), 135–47, especially pp. 137, 147.

Example 1

Sacerdos dei excelsi, F:Pn, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 49ᵛ



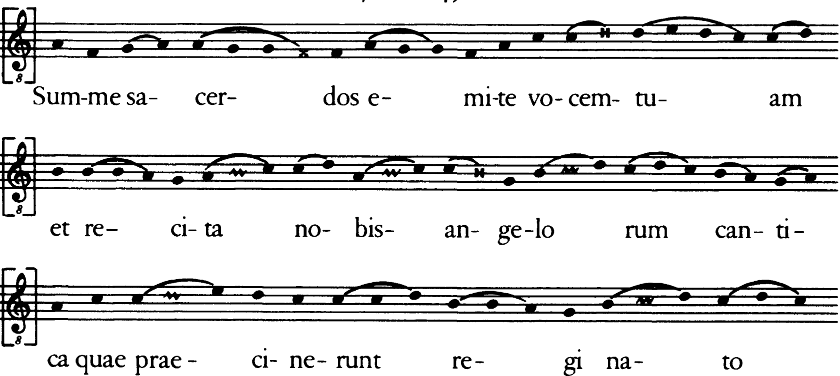
(O priest of the highest God, come before the sacred and holy altar, and in praise of the King of Kings raise your voice, we humbly beg and pray: speak, *domine*:)

At this point the bishop intones the beginning of *Gloria in excelsis*.

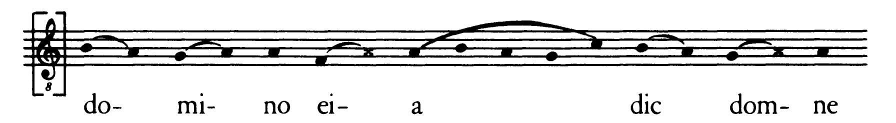
A companion piece to *Sacerdos dei excelsi*, similar in its appeal to the celebrant, is *Summe sacerdos*, Example 2.

Example 2

Summe sacerdos, F:Pn, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 49ᵛ







(O highest priest, send forth your voice and recite to us the song of the angels, which they sang to the Lord, the newborn King, *eia*, speak, *domne.*)

These two pieces in their various versions account for the majority of Gloria introductions, particularly in West Frankish tropers.[6]

The way they appear in the sources depends, in part, on the arrangement of the manuscripts themselves. In some sources (as in Paris, n. a. lat. 1871) tropes are arranged by category; and in these manuscripts the introductions, when present, are placed apart from any specific Gloria—usually before the first Gloria trope—to indicate their general applicability to any subsequent Gloria or trope.

In other manuscripts (as for example, Paris, lat. 1118), these chants appear to introduce the Gloria on specific feasts, one serving for Christmas, for example, and the other for Saint Stephen. This is difficult to avoid in Paris 1118 (and elsewhere) since the manuscript arranges tropes by feast, grouping together all the necessary items for Christmas (Introit trope, Kyrie, Gloria trope, etc.) before proceeding to the next feast in the calendar.

Table 1 shows the presence in the manuscripts of what we shall call the "*sacerdos* chants," listing first those that are attached to specific feasts, and then those that are separable, usually as prologue to a group of Gloria tropes. (The presence of other introductions is noted in an indented column; the various textual versions of *Sacerdos dei* are labeled with capital letters and are edited in the Appendix.)

What can we observe from this table? First, these introductions are applied more often to specific feasts than to entire Gloria sections, but

[6] Gloria introductions have received only limited attention from scholars. Léon Gautier makes a brief reference to them, noting that they are usually addressed to bishops: *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge: Les Tropes*, I (Paris, 1886; repr. Ridgewood, N.J., 1966), 245–47. Some texts are printed in *Analecta hymnica* with brief comments: Vol. XLVII, *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, ed. Clemens Blume and Henry Marriott Bannister (Leipzig, 1905; repr. New York, 1961), pp. 219–20. Rönnau (n. 4 above) notes almost all the introductions in the manuscripts he examines, but he is concerned with tropes in the body of the Gloria, and nowhere presents a discussion of introductions. Alejandro Enrique Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1977), catalogues appearances of *Sacerdos dei excelsi* (II, 264–66) and transcribes the polyphonic version of the Winchester tropers (I, 314–15).

this may be more a matter of manuscript organization than of the original destination of these pieces. Secondly, we note that *Sacerdos dei excelsi* occurs more frequently and more widely than *Summe sacerdos*, appearing in Northern, English, and Italian manuscripts as well as the Aquitanian tropers; a version of this piece, using the address "Pastor bone," appears regularly in Italy, but only once in the North. This introduction is purely an invitation to intone the Gloria, without specific festival reference; it travels widely and independently, being in many cases the only *sacerdos* chant in a given manuscript.

Summe sacerdos, however, occurs only in Aquitanian manuscripts, and only twice without *Sacerdos dei*. And whenever *Summe sacerdos* is applied to a specific feast, it is always used for Christmas; in fact the three manuscripts that connect it with a specific trope (Paris, lat. 903, 1118, and 779) all couple it with the well-known *Omnipotens altissime deus*.

For two reasons, however, we should not consider *Summe sacerdos* to be a Christmas trope, a sort of occasional opening verse for *Omnipotens altissime*. First, the transmission of the piece is largely independent of the trope. Of the four manuscripts in which the introduction is not attached to *Omnipotens altissime*, all but one (lat. 909) do have the trope in their repertories. And second, although the text of *Summe sacerdos* could be read as referring specifically to the Nativity, it is really an allusion to the historical origin of the *Gloria in excelsis* itself: the angelic hymn overheard by the shepherds at the time of Christ's birth. Hence, despite the fact that *Summe sacerdos*, as it stands, is suitable for any performance of the Gloria, its text sometimes caused it to be applied specifically to the Nativity;[7] and it prompted at least one scribe, as we shall see, to substitute other festival references in the text, even though the results are mild misrepresentations of the biblical account of the *carmen angelicum*. Especially if, as we shall suggest, these introductions are related not so much to a given feast as to the rank of the celebrant, and if this tradition later lost its usefulness, then *Summe sacerdos* might have begun its career as a general introduction, only later emphasizing its textual affinity with Christmas.

[7] *Summe sacerdos* is transmitted sometimes without the final "eia dic domne eia." The piece is thus presented in Paris, lat. 1084 and 909 (both without musical notation); and a version in Paris, lat. 887, adds the final words in a later hand. The conclusion that these three versions stem from a single tradition is strengthened by a common textual variant: the use of the word *quam* for *que*. The text of *Summe sacerdos* is edited in the Appendix.

TABLE 1A

Sacerdos introductions for specific feasts
(Letters in parentheses refer to texts edited in the Appendix; an asterisk indicates that only a cue appears)

Manuscript	Feast	Introductory trope	Trope	Rubric
F:Pn, lat. 1240: Limoges, 933–36	Martin	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 37v (A)	*Laus tua deus*	*Ante gloria in ex. Tunc dicat pontifex Gloria*
F:Pn, lat. 1120: St. Martial, *ca.* 1000	Martial	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 63v (A)	———	(Space is provided, rubric is wanting)
F:Pn, lat. 909: St. Martial, early 11th c.	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 11	———	*Ante pontificem*
F:Pn, lat. 903:	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 168	*Omnipotens alt.*	*Ante laudes episcopo dicatur*
St. Yrieix, early 11th c.	Stephen	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 169 (A)	*Laus tua deus*	———
F:Pn, lat. 1118: SW France, 985–96	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 13	*Omnipotens alt.*	*Ad rogandum episcopum . . . Deinde dicat episcopus*
	Stephen	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 19v (A)	*Qui indiges*	*Ad episcopum rogandum*
	Easter	*Surrexit Xrs*, fol. 51	*Cives/Xrs surrexit*	*Item ad gloria*
F:Pn, lat. 779:	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 3v	*Cives/Omnipotens*	———
Limoges, late 11th c.	Stephen	*Sacerdos*, fol. 15v (C)	*Cives/Qui indiges*	———
	Epiphany	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 30 (*)	*Cives/Laudat in ex.*	———
	Easter	*Xrs surrexit*, fol. 38v	*Cives/Xrs surrexit*	———
	InvHC	*O sacer*, fol. 63 (F)	*Cives/Prudentia*	———
	Pentec	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 68 (*)	*Cives/Laus tibi*	———
F:Pn, lat. 1084: Aurillac, late 10th c.	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 39	———	———
F:APT, Ms. 17:	Nat	*Summe sacerdos*, p. 40	*Laus tua deus*	———
Apt, mid-11th c.	Easter	*Sacerdos dei*, p. 136 (G)	*Cives/Xrs surrexit*	———
	Pentec	*Angelica laudes*, p. 217 (H)	*Laudat in excelsis*	*Ad gloriam*

F:APT, Ms. 18: SE France, late 10th c.	Easter	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 35 (B)	*Laudat in excelsis*	*Ad pontificem dicant*
F:CA, Ms. 75: Arras, mid-11th c.	Stephen	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 8^{v} (B)	————	*Ad episcopum*
F:Pa, Ms. 1169: Autun, 996–1024	Nat1	*Letentur celi*, fol. 1^{v}	*Quem glorificant*	————
	Nat3	*Pastor bone*, fol. 4^{v} (B)	*Pax sempiterna*	————
	Easter	*Cives superni*, fol. 20	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:Ra, Ms. 123: Bologna, early 11th c.	Nat	*Pastor bone*, fol. 191^{v} (B)	*Pax sempiterna*	*Ad pontifex*
	Epiph	*Pastor bone*, fol. 203 (B*)	*Quem novitate*	————
	Easter	*Pastor bone*, fol. 214^{v} (B*)	*Cives/Xrs surr*	————
	Peter	*Pontifex bone*, fol. 239^{v} (B)	*Laudat in excelsis*	————
I:MOd, Ms. O.I.7: Forlimpopoli, 11–12th c.	Epiph	*Pastor bone*, fol. 27 (B)	*Laus tua deus*	————
	Easter	*Pastor bone*, fol. 105^{v} (B)	*Cives/Xrs surr*	————
I:Pc, Ms. A 47: Ravenna, *ca.* 1100	Easter	*Pastor bone*, fol. 131 (B)	*Cives/Xrs surr*	————
I:Tn, Ms. G.V.20: Bobbio, 11th c.	Nat	*Pastor bone*, fol. 21^{v} (B)	*Pax sempiterna*	————
I:IV, Ms. Boll. LX: Pavia, early 11th c.	Nat	*Pastor bone*, fol. 13 (B)	*Pax sempiterna*	————
I:PS, Ms. C.121: Pistoia, late 11th c.	Nat3	*Pastor bone*, fol. 16 (B)	*Pax sempiterna*	————
I:BV, Ms. VI 39: Benevento, late 11th c.	Pentec	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 95^{v} (B)	————	————
I:BV, Ms. VI 40: Benevento, mid-11th c.	Pentec	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 76^{v} (B)	————	————
D-BAD:BAs, Ms. Lit. 5: Reichenau, 1001	Stephen	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 33^{v} (B)	————	*Ad carmen angelicum*
GB:Lbl, Add. Ms. 19768: Mainz, 950–72	(Easter)	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 39^{v} (B)	————	(Added in top margin)

TABLE 1B

Sacerdos chants introducing Gloria section
(Letters in parentheses refer to texts edited in the Appendix)

Manuscript	Introductory trope	Rubric
F:Pn, lat. 887: Limoges, S. Martin, before 1031	*Summe sacerdos*, fol. 69v *Sacerdos dei*, fol. 69v (A) *Domne sacerdos*, fol. 69v (A)	*Incipiunt laudes de circulo anni maiorum festorum*
F:Pn, n. a. lat. 1871: Moissac, *ca.* 1050	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 49 (D) *O sacerdos dei*, fol. 49 (E) *Summe sacerdos*, fol. 49v *Sacerdos dei*, fol. 49v (A)	(These introductions do not appear among the Gloria tropes)
F:Pn, lat. 13252: Paris, S. Magloire, late 11th c.	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 26 (B)	———
GB:Ob, Bodley 775: Winchester, *ca.* 1050	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 64 (A)	*Cantores gemini resonant haec verba dicentes /Sacerdos . . ./* *Incipiunt sancti modulamina dulciter ymni quem cecinere chori christo nascenti superni*
GB:Ccc, Ms. 473	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 58 (A) (Organal part, fol. 138v)	——— *Organa dulcisona docto modulamine compta Ut petat altare resonat laus ista sacerdos*
I:VEcap, Ms. CVII Mantua, 11th c.	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 35v (A)	*Tunc veniant duo clerici ante altare et dicant hunc vs*
GB:Lbl, Add. Ms. 19768: Mainz, 950–72	*Sacerdos dei*, fol. 39v (B)	(Added in top margin: not attached to Gloria section)

Both these *sacerdos* introductions, in fact, are independent of any specific Gloria or trope. The manuscripts in Table 1B indicate their general applicability; and Table 1A, whose manuscripts do not arrange Glorias in groups, shows them attached to a variety of feasts and tropes. Likewise there are many Gloria melodies associated with these introductions. In those few cases where the melodic connection between introduction and intonation can be accurately estimated, the nature of the joint varies enough from source to source that we can be sure these introductions are conceived independently of a specific Gloria melody.[8] Their principal function, then, is to petition the celebrant to intone the Gloria. And in some cases at least, judging from the accompanying rubrics, the celebrant must be a bishop.

This episcopal restriction is undoubtedly the impetus for both these introductions, even though the limiting rubric is not always present. A connection with episcopal prerogative exists from the early history of the Gloria; a sketch of this liturgical background can help us to an understanding of these and other Gloria introductions.

The *Liber pontificalis* records that Pope Symmachus (d. 514) ordered the *Gloria in excelsis* to be said on Sundays and on the feasts of martyrs. No restriction is mentioned limiting its use to bishops (Table 2A). But the Sacramentary of Hadrian, brought to France at the end of the eighth century, states in the brief order of Mass that opens the book, "Then is said the *Gloria in excelsis*, if there is a bishop, only on

[8] Where introductions are attached to specific Glorias, the melody in most cases is the Medieval "Gloria prima," which Rönnau (n. 4 above) calls "Gloria A," and which is no. 39 in Detlev Bosse's catalogue, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum "Gloria in excelsis deo"* (Erlangen, 1954), p. 95. This is by far the most widely used melody for troped Glorias. See Richard L. Crocker, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," *The New Grove Dictionary*, VII, 450. For the sake of completeness we list here those Gloria introductions that appear with melodies other than the "Gloria prima" (LU = *Liber usualis*; AM = *Antiphonale missarum juxta ritum sanctae ecclesiae mediolanensis* [Rome, 1954]):

Sacerdos dei:
Bosse, 29: Bamberg, lit. 5
LU, XV: Benevento, VI.40

Cives superni:
LU, IV: Paris, n. a. lat. 1235; lat. 9449; Madrid 19421
LU, XI: Arsenal, 1169; Rome, 1343; Bologna, 2824
AM, 4: Benevento, VI.34; VI.38; VI.40
Bosse, 43 (?): Vatican, Urb. lat. 602

Letentur celi:
LU, IV: Paris, n. a. lat. 1235; lat. 9449
LU, XI: Arsenal, 1169

Sundays and feast days: by priests, however, it is not said at all save only at Easter" (Table 2B).

The *ordines romani*—descriptions of papal ceremonies for those unfamiliar with them—mention the same restriction. The second *ordo*—a supplement to the first, which had arrived in France about 750—gives directions for a Mass when the pope is absent, stating, "And it is done in the same way by a priest when he says a stational Mass, except the *Gloria in excelsis deo*, for it is not said by priests except at Easter" (Table 2C). The fourth *ordo*, from the end of the eighth century, also mentions this restriction (Table 2D).

This state of affairs continued in some measure at least into the eleventh century, when Abbot Berno of Reichenau complained that priests could say the Gloria at Easter, but not at Christmas, when it is particularly appropriate (Table 2E).

The episcopal privilege as regards the Gloria was occasionally granted; Table 2F is the text of the early twelfth-century Pope Calixtus II's permission to one community to use the Gloria on its patronal festival.[9] We know also that certain ("mitred") abbots were granted some episcopal privileges; Table 2G records the ninth-century Pope John IX's concession of the episcopal privilege of intoning the Gloria to the abbey of Monte Cassino.[10]

In the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the distinction between bishop and priest in the matter of intoning the Gloria seems to have disappeared; or rather, the tradition continued in a different degree, in that a bishop retained the right to intone the Gloria whenever he was present at Mass.

Now how is all this liturgical history relevant to our Gloria introductions? The introductory tropes *Sacerdos dei excelsi* and *Summe sacerdos*, preserved as they are only in tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, were current when the Gloria was to some extent restricted to bishops. And it seems evident for several reasons that

[9] It is possible that this is a dispensation to sing the Gloria during Lent, as the feast of the Annunciation occurs on March 25.

[10] The document containing this reference is the "Registrum Petri Diaconi," a twelfth-century cartulary compiled by the librarian of Monte Cassino at that time. Peter the Deacon included in this register a great many forged documents that served to increase the apparent power and importance of the abbey. This particular papal privilege seems to be genuine: the right to intone the Gloria would not have been a serious issue in the twelfth century. But even if the document is a fake, we can learn that Peter the Deacon knew of the restrictions placed upon the Gloria in earlier times. On Peter the Deacon and these forgeries, see E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin, 1909); and Paul Meyvaert, "The Autographs of Peter the Deacon," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXXVIII (1955), 114–38.

Table 2

Some references in nonmusical books to *Gloria in excelsis deo*

A. *Liber pontificalis*: "Hic [Pope Symmachus] constituit ut omne die dominicum vel natalicia martyrum Gloria in excelsis hymnus diceretur." *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. Louis Marie Olivier Duchesne, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1955), I, 263.

B. *Hadrianum* (eighth century): "Item dicitur Gloria in excelsis deo, si episcopus fuerit, tantummodo die dominico sice diebus festis: a presbiteris autem minime dicitur nisi solo in pascha." Hans Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar* (Münster, 1921; repr., 1967), p. 1.

C. *Ordo romanus*, II (eighth century): "Similiter etiam et a presbitero agitur, quando in statione facit missas, preter Gloria in excelsis Deo, quia a presbitero non dicitur nisi in Pascha. Episcopi, qui civitatibus praesident, ut summus pontifex, ita omnia peragunt." Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, II (Louvain, 1948), 116.

D. *Ordo romanus*, IV (late eighth century): "Et si presbiter missa debet caelebrare, non dicit Gloria in excelsis Deo, sed tantum psallit et dicit oracione." Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani*, II, 169.

E. *Berno* (eleventh century): ". . . cur non liceat omni die Dominico vel natalitiis sanctorum presbyteros illum hymnum canere, quem nato in carne Domino angeli cecinere, dicentes: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, etc. quod si concessum est illum cantare in Pascha secundum praetitulationem Missalis non multo minus licitum puto in Nativitate Domini, quando primum coepit audiri ab hominibus in terris qualiter ab angelis canebatur in coelis." Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, *Series latina*, CXLII (Paris, 1880), col. 1058.

F. *Calixtus II* (1119–24): "Pro reverentia B. Mariae semper Virginis, cujus nomine locus vester insignis est, in Annunciatione Domini Salvatoris nostri hymnum angelicum inter missarum solemnia abbati et fratribus pronunciare concedimus." Quoted in Edmond Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri tres*, I, *Tractatus de antiqua ecclesiae disciplina in divinis celebrandis officiis* (Venice, 1783), 132.

G. *John IX* (899; possibly a twelfth-century forgery): "Johannis IX Ragenprando diac. et abb. etc.: confirmat monasterio s. Benedicti et suis pertinentiis libertatem, concedit monachis ius eligendi abbatem ex propria congregatione et episcopum ad sacra ministranda, hymnum angelicum per dies dominicos ad missarum sollemnia dicendum. . . ." Paulus Fridolinus Kehr, *Italia pontificia*, VIII (Berlin, 1935), 127.

H. *Châlons ritual*, thirteenth century (F:Pn, lat. 10579, fol. 8, describing double feasts): "Chorialis regens dextrum chori baculo deposito vadit ad episcopum et ei cantando annuntiat quomodo debeat incipere Gloria in excelsis et continuo repetit locum suum."

I. *Laon ritual*, twelfth century (F:LA, Ms. 215, fol. 48, Christmas midnight Mass): "Cantor dat episcopo Gloria in excelsis et dicitur prosa Sedentem."

J. *Bec customs*, thirteenth century (F:Pn, lat. 1208, fol. 66, Easter midnight Mass): "finita Kyrieleison sine annuntiatio cantoris incipit sacerdos Gloria in excelsis deo."

these introductions were originally addressed to the bishop before he intoned the Gloria. First, the Gloria itself was reserved to the bishops, at least until the ninth century. Second, certain manuscripts make this distinction clear even in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see the

rubrics in Table 1A). And third, the exalted form of address to the celebrant (*Summe sacerdos*, etc.) suggests a dignitary of high rank.[11]

Certain passages from later medieval customaries (shown in Table 2 as items H, I, and J) may even be describing this ceremony. The Châlons and Laon rituals may, of course, simply be describing a cantor giving a cue to the bishop (bishops then as now were not chosen on the basis of their singing ability), but the Châlons description seems so ceremonial that we are tempted to wonder whether the cantor does not embellish his duty. And the Bec customs, which directly forbid any announcement by the cantor, are describing the very day when a *sacerdos* introduction would not be used. But even if these customaries are simply describing some behind-the-scenes maintenance of the liturgical machinery, it is easy to imagine how the necessity of cuing the bishop might give rise to a little ceremony, complete with its own music.

The picture given by our sources is not unequivocal. It would be convenient to find, in a troper of early date, a group of *sacerdos* introductions with some such rubric as "One of these tropes may be sung before a bishop only, on any occasion when he is to intone the Gloria." Unfortunately for us, medieval rubrics are for accustomed practitioners, not ignorant latter-day scholars. The situation, as we find it, is that the *sacerdos* introductions that seem applicable to any Gloria (those in Table 1B) mention no episcopal restriction; while those that are limited to bishops are all attached to specific feasts.

Now if these *sacerdos* chants were in fact to be addressed only to a bishop, then clearly they can be used only in the bishop's presence. For a cantor who understands this restriction, the matter is simple: when a bishop is present and the occasion warrants, the cantor turns to the place in his troper where a *sacerdos* introduction is found and causes it to be sung as the bishop approaches the altar. The difficulty arises for the cantor whose troper is arranged by feast, all of today's tropes being conveniently gathered side by side; for in his book there is no convenient way to place a *sacerdos* introduction before a Gloria without suggesting also that it is to be performed only on the day in question. This is the case with the tropers in Table 1A; and, as it happens, these are the only manuscripts that include rubrics limiting the introduction to a bishop. Apparently these rubrics are added to

[11] In this connection it might be noted that a similar sung trope, with similar rubric, was occasionally used to request an episcopal benediction. In Paris, lat. 1118, fol. 47, the rubric *Ad episcopum interrogandum* introduces such a piece, which begins "Princeps ecclesie pastor."

indicate the normal function of an introduction when its placement among proper tropes might suggest that it is limited by feast rather than by the rank of the celebrant.

Two of the manuscripts in Table 1A solve this problem in another way: instead of showing the introduction's independence of feast and trope by supplying a restrictive rubric, Paris, lat. 779, and Rome, Angelica 123, provide an introduction among the proper tropes of all feasts when a bishop would normally be expected. Rubrics in Angelica 123 show the presence of a bishop on these occasions;[12] we can only surmise that the same procedure is being followed in lat. 779.

The remaining manuscripts in Table 1A do not fit this pattern; each has a *sacerdos* introduction attached to a specific feast, with no indication of episcopal restriction. It may be that the bishop was expected for the feast in question—but then why not for other feasts as well? These sources, all of them Italian and German, and hence beyond the Aquitanian sphere of influence, where the *sacerdos* chants were normally used, may simply have misconstrued the use of such pieces; or perhaps they do not wish to limit these invitations to bishops alone. We simply cannot tell.

* * *

If the *sacerdos* chants illuminate the special prerogative enjoyed by bishops in intoning the *Gloria in excelsis*, the other side of this liturgical coin reveals a second group of Gloria introductions related at its origin to the special case of Easter.

We have seen that the limitation of the Gloria to bishops stipulated in the Sacramentary of Hadrian, the *ordines romani*, and elsewhere, indicates also that a priest may intone the Gloria, but only at Easter. And a trope beginning "Cives superni" has a brief but colorful career as a Gloria introduction connected particularly with that feast.

In its clearest form, *Cives superni* appears as in Example 3. Like the *sacerdos* chants, *Cives superni* refers to the *Gloria in excelsis* as a whole: "The heavenly citizens today announce to the world their festivity and ours; let us all resound the glory of God, Christ arising." But

[12] Table 1A shows the four feasts for which Angelica 123 provides a *Pastor bone* introduction; for three of these, a *versus* is provided to be sung before the bishop. The Christmas *versus* is labeled *Incipit versus in natali domini ante episcopum* (fol. 187ᵛ); similar rubrics (and *versus*) are present for the Epiphany (fol. 202) and St. Peter (fol. 238). Significantly, the only feast not so labeled is Easter, traditionally the one day when a priest may intone the Gloria.

unlike the *sacerdos* chants, this is not an invitation to the celebrant; instead it urges us all to join with the angels—an invitation to choral singing. And except for the ablative absolute attached rather flat-footedly at the end, the text makes no specific reference to Easter; if anything, it might refer to Christmas, since it recalls the angels singing in the sky at the first Gloria performance.

In what we shall call the "Italian version," *Cives superni* appears in many Italian tropers immediately after the intonation of the Gloria; it thus introduces, not the intonation, but the continuation of the performance by the chorus. This Italian version is characterized by

Example 3

Cives superni, I:Rn, Ms. 1343, fol. 9

Glo- ri- a in ex-cel-sis De- o

Ci- ves su- per- ni ho-di- e su- am

si- mul et no- stram nun-ci- ant mun-do

fes- ti- vi- ta- tem glo- ri- am de- o

re- so- ne-mus om- nes Chri- sto sur- gen-te

Lau- da-mus.

Chri-stus sur- re- xit dul- ci-bus hym- nis. . .

the presence of the final words "Christo surgente" and by the fact that it always appears with the Gloria trope *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis*. These appearances of the Italian version of *Cives superni* are detailed in Table 3A.[13] This Italian version by itself is in no way remarkable; it does not introduce the Gloria, since it follows the intonation; and from these sources there is no reason to treat it as anything other than the first phrase of a widespread Gloria trope for Easter. But there is also a "Northern version" of *Cives superni*—a version that lacks what we might call the "Italian coda": the final words "Christo surgente," which alone make the text proper to Easter.

The Northern version differs also in function, as detailed in Table 3B. In three of these manuscripts *Cives superni* is used just as it is in Italy, except that the Italian coda is lacking. But the remaining appearances of *Cives superni* place it in a category with the *sacerdos* chants as being a special and separable introduction to the *Gloria in excelsis*.

Cives superni is used as a movable introduction, but after the intonation, in the relatively late Aquitanian troper Paris, lat. 779. Here *Cives superni* appears six times, with six tropes, in the course of a manuscript arranged in an annual cycle. In each case *Cives superni* introduces the choral portion of the Gloria, appearing always before "et in terra pax"; and in each case the intonation of the Gloria is preceded by an (episcopal) *sacerdos* introduction, with one notable exception: Easter. At Easter, when, as we remember, priests may intone the Gloria, a special introduction, *Christus surrexit a mortuis*, is used, focusing on the feast and not on the celebrant; the same piece appears in Paris, lat. 1118, also preceding the Easter Gloria. This preface may have originated elsewhere, since it often serves as a trope to the Sequentia.[14]

But in Paris, lat. 779, *Cives superni* is used more than just for Easter: it is a wandering introduction, serving not only for the trope *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis* but for five other tropes and feasts as well. The scribe of lat. 779 sees *Cives superni* not as an Easter trope, but as a sort of second-wave introduction, to be applied wherever the Gloria intonation is troped. And the absence here of the Easter Italian coda makes this wider usage perfectly suitable.

[13] In several cases a *sacerdos* introduction appears in the same manuscript, but only in Angelica 123 does a *sacerdos* chant precede a Gloria whose intonation is followed by *Cives superni*.

[14] See Paul Evans, "The *Tropi ad Sequentiam*," *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, ed. Harold Powers (Princeton, 1968), pp. 73–82.

TABLE 3A

Cives superni: The "Italian vesion"

Manuscript	*Cives*	Coda?	Trope	Other introductions in MS
I:Rc, Ms. 1741: Nonantola, 11th c.	fol. 25v	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:Rn, Ms. 1343: Nonantola, 11th c.	fol. 9	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:Bu, Ms. 2824: Nonantola, 11th c.	fol. 7	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
GB:Ob, Douce 222: Novalesa, 11th c.	fol. 19	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:VEcap, Ms. CVII: Mantua, 11th c.	fol. 39	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Sacerdos dei*, (A) heading Gloria section
I:Ra, Ms. 123: Bologna, 11th c.	fol. 214v	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Pastor bone* (B) precedes this Gloria and three others (see Table 1B)
I:Rvat, Urb. lat. 602: Monte Cassino, 11–12th c.	fol. 50v	no	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:PS, Ms. C.121: Pistoia, late 11th c.	fol. 34v	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Pastor bone* (A), fol. 16
I:BV, Ms. VI34: Benevento, late 11th c.	fol. 124	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:BV, Ms. VI38: Benevento, 11th c.	fol. 48	yes	*Christus surrexit*	————
I:BV, Ms. VI40: Benevento, 11th c.	fol. 21v	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Sacerdos dei* (B), fol. 76v
I:MOd, Ms. O.I.7: Forlimpopoli, 11–12th c.	fol. 105v	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Pastor bone* (B) precedes this Gloria and the Epiphany Gloria, fol. 27
I:Pc, Ms. A 47: Ravenna, *ca.* 1100	fol. 131	yes	*Christus surrexit*	*Pastor bone* (B) precedes this Gloria

TABLE 3B

Cives superni: The "Northern version"

Manuscript	*Cives*	Coda?	Feast	Trope	Other introductions in MS
I. *Cives superni* as first phrase of Easter trope					
F:Pn, n. a. lat. 1871: Moissac, *ca.* 1050	fol. 70v	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	Group of four introductions, fol. 49–49v
F:Pn, lat. 1084: Aurillac, late 10th c.	fol. 107v	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	*Summe*, fol. 39, for Nat
F:Pn, lat. 1118: SW France, 985–96	fol. 51	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	*Surrexit Christus* here; *Sacerdos dei* for Nat, Stephen
F:APT, Ms. 17: Apt, mid-11th c.	p. 136	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	*Summe*, p. 40, for Nat; *Sacerdos* (G), p. 136, for Easter; *Angelicae* (H), p. 217, for Pentecost
II. *Cives superni* as movable postintonation trope					
F:Pn, lat. 779: Limoges, late 11th c.	fol. 3v	no	Nat	*Omnipotens alt.*	*Summe sacerdos*
	fol. 15v	no	Stephen	*Qui indiges*	*Sacerdos* (C)
	fol. 30	no	Epiph	*Laudat in exc.*	*Sacerdos dei* (B)
	fol. 38v	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	*Christus surrexit a mortuis*
	fol. 63	no	InvHCross	*Prudentia prud.*	*O sacer* (F)
	fol. 68	no	Pentec	*Laus tibi domine*	*Sacerdos dei* (B)
III. *Cives superni* as intonation introduction for Easter					
F:Pa, Ms. 1169: Autun, 996–1024	fol. 20	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	*Letentur celi* for Nat1 *Pastor bone* (B) for Nat3
GB:Lbl, Royal Ms. 8.C.XI: France, 11th c.	fol. 9v	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	none
E:Mn, Ms. 19421: Catania, 12th c.	fol. 23v	no	Easter	*Christus surrexit*	none

IV. *Cives superni* as introduction, clearly movable					
F:Pn, lat. 10508: St. Evroult, early 12th c.	fol. 26v	no	Easter	*Christe salus mundi*	None elsewhere in MS
F:Pn, lat. 9449: Nevers, 11th c.	fol. 8	no	Nat3	*Pax sempiterna*	*Letentur celi* for Nat1, fol. 5
	fol. 35	no	Easter	*Laus tua*	
	fol. 47	no	Ascens	*O laudabilis*	
F:Pn, n. a. lat. 1235: Nevers, 12th c.	fol. 185	no	Nat3	*Pax sempiterna*	*Letentur celi* for Nat3, fol. 181v
	fol. 208	no	Easter	*Laus tua*	
	fol. 216v	no	Ascens	*O laudabilis*	
V. *Cives superni* placed at head of Gloria section					
E:Mn, Ms. 288: Sicily, 12th c.	fol. 43	no	———	———	None elsewhere in MS
E:Mn, Ms. 289: Sicily, 12th c.	fol. 18	no	———	———	None elsewhere in MS

The other Northern applications of *Cives superni* do not all work as well. In three manuscripts (listed in Category III of Table 3B), *Cives superni* precedes the intonation of the Easter Gloria; and in all three cases the trope that follows is the familiar *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis*. Except for the absence of the coda, this usage is what we know from the Italian sources, with the important difference that *Cives superni* here precedes the intonation. Possibly some imaginative scribe, knowing how to introduce the episcopal Gloria with a special trope, and aware also of the special prerogative of priests with regard to the Easter Gloria, chose to promote *Cives superni* to this prefatory function, even though its text serves better to introduce a chorus than a soloist. But if a transfer was made in this way, it must have happened only after the removal of the Italian coda; for if *Cives superni* introduced only the Easter Gloria (as it does in these three sources) there would be no need to remove a specific reference to that very feast.

So perhaps the scribes of these three manuscripts are preserving a garbled version in which *Cives superni* is confused with a *sacerdos* introduction. If Christmas has an introduction, they reason, why not Easter? Here is *Cives superni*: it sounds like an introduction, so we will move it to where it can serve.

This line of thinking could be followed by the compiler of such a manuscript as Arsenal 1169, which does have two introductions for Christmas Glorias as well as *Cives superni* for Easter. But the other two sources in Group III contain no other Gloria introductions, and this confusion would surely not have originated in a place where the *sacerdos* chants are unknown.

Cives superni in these three sources might be dismissed as a misplaced trope phrase, were it not for a strong tradition, in the two Nevers tropers and in some Norman-Sicilian manuscripts, of using *Cives superni* as a movable introduction like the *sacerdos* chants. These five sources, detailed in Categories IV and V of Table 3B, show varying degrees of independence for *Cives superni*. In the Norman troper Paris, lat. 10508, *Cives superni* introduces one Gloria in the midst of a repertory of troped Glorias; but here the trope is *Christus salus mundi* and not *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis* as we might expect, even though the latter trope does appear a few folios later.

The two Nevers tropers (Paris, lat. 9449, and Paris, n. a. lat. 1235) each employ *Cives superni* for several major festivals as an intonation chant. Here *Cives superni* is clearly not a misplaced trope phrase, and there is no connection with the Easter trope *Christus surrexit*. The *sacerdos* chants are nowhere present in these manuscripts; their place

and function is taken by *Cives superni*, which serves for three feasts, hence for three different Gloria tropes (none of which is *Christus surrexit*, although this trope is in the repertory).

Like other manuscripts arranged by feast, the Nevers tropers do not show whether *Cives superni* may be extended to other feasts as well; but, like the calendar manuscripts that preserve the *sacerdos* chants, there is a rubrical restriction, in one case at least, to bishops: the Christmas appearance of *Cives superni* in Paris, n. a. lat. 1235 is labeled *antiphona ad episcopum*.

Sacerdos introductions, as we have seen, appear in two ways: attached to specific feasts in manuscripts arranged in an annual cycle, but also preceding a whole section of Glorias in sources arranged by category. And *Cives superni* apes both of these practices; the first we have just seen, and the second is found in two Norman-Sicilian tropers of the twelfth century. Madrid 288 and 289 each have extensive sections of troped Glorias, and in each manuscript the Gloria section is preceded by the trope *Cives superni*, standing here evidently to be applied to any of the following Glorias as an introduction before the intonation.

How does *Cives superni* arrive at playing all these roles? Is it a misplaced Italian trope phrase, brought North, detached, and scattered? Or is it rather a special Northern Gloria introduction associated with Easter, mistaken in Italy for a trope phrase?

Scholars have argued that the trope *Christus surrexit dulcibus hymnis* is of Italian origin; Klaus Rönnau further points out that Paris, lat. 1118, the oldest Aquitanian source of this trope, may have originated in the southeast of France and served to communicate the trope northwards.[15] And since that trope travels with *Cives superni* in Italian sources, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have arrived together in the North—but in this case the Northern usage of *Cives superni* is difficult to explain.

First of all, *Cives superni* would arrive bearing its Italian coda. And since this coda appears nowhere in the North, its removal must be a first step in the hypothetical Italian importation. Since lat. 1118 uses *Cives superni* only for the Easter Gloria, in the normal postintonation position and with the usual trope, there would be no reason to remove a received Easter reference; but the coda is missing in lat. 1118, as it is in every Northern source.

The only good reason for removing the Easter coda is to make *Cives superni* suitable for other feasts; this would be a job for the scribe

[15] *Die Tropen zum Gloria in excelsis Deo*, p. 106.

of lat. 779, where *Cives superni* is used six times; or for a Nevers compiler who uses it to introduce several Glorias. And, except in these cases, we should expect *Cives superni* to retain its Italian coda wherever it precedes its parent Easter trope.

Either the Italian coda was removed as soon as *Cives superni* crossed the Alps, or else it is not of Italian origin. And none of our earlier Northern manuscripts give any hint of the *Christo surgente* coda, despite the fact that *Cives superni* is used in them just as it is in Italy, preceding the Easter trope *Christus surrexit*. I think we must conclude that *Cives superni* is not an Italian product at all, that it arose in the same region and at about the same time as the *sacerdos* chants, that, although it does have some special connection with Easter, it is not part of a longer trope, and that the Italian version is a reinterpretation of what was originally not a trope phrase at all. Indeed, we have one Italian source that does not use the Easter coda. But why remove a good reference to today's feast? The coda must not have been there at all.

* * *

The repertory of Gloria introductions, as we find it today, presents a confusing picture, owing to two difficulties, one old and one new. There was confusion in the Middle Ages about the changing liturgical nature of the Gloria; and there is confusion nowadays because we lack enough sources to give a clear picture of the accidents of geography and chronology: we are tempted to view everything in one plane, even though we know that fallen leaves do not fully describe the tree.

It is clear that, in the period represented by these tropers, the *Gloria in excelsis* was not restricted to Easter and those days when a bishop was present. All the sources considered here contain significant collections of Glorias and tropes; yet only a few of the manuscripts were used in episcopal churches.

We have argued that the *sacerdos* chants were designed for use when a bishop intoned the Gloria (when only a bishop could intone it); but by the time these pieces appear in the earliest sources, the Gloria had already begun to be extended to persons of lower rank. Even then the *sacerdos* introductions retained their episcopal function, but we also find variants in the form of address, making chants designed for bishops more suitable for priests. Instead of "Sacerdos dei excelsi" we sometimes find "Sacerdos dei," "O sacerdos dei," or

"Pastor bone." And "Summe sacerdos" humbles itself to be known as "Domne sacerdos."[16]

In fact the two textual traditions of *Sacerdos dei* (detailed in the Appendix) may result from this extension of the Gloria to priests. Version A, with the address "Sacerdos dei excelsi," occurs in the earliest manuscripts, beginning with Paris, lat. 1240 (933–36), and is found chiefly in Aquitanian manuscripts of the early eleventh century; its final appearances, in the middle of the century, are in the Winchester tropers and Cambrai 75.

The second version appears only at the beginning of the eleventh century; this is not an Aquitanian text: it is found mostly in Italian and northern French sources. This later text uniformly uses a different and less exalted address to the celebrant: the Italian sources almost unanimously begin "Pastor bone," and the Northern sources generally agree on "Sacerdos dei" (without "excelsi"). Evidently by the middle of the eleventh century the current version of *Sacerdos dei* is one that permits being addressed to a priest; by the latter part of the century this version even finds its way into the Aquitanian manuscript Paris, lat. 779.

Unlike the *sacerdos* prefaces, *Cives superni* was originally intended for use on a certain feast, for liturgical reasons again connected with the rank of the celebrant. As restrictions on the Gloria relaxed, this introduction was occasionally applied to other feasts as well, in a way that sometimes obscured its original purpose and that of other chants.

As the Gloria found wider use in the course of the eleventh century, the functions of these special pieces were assimilated to those of more normal introductory chants: that of celebrating the feast day on which they are sung. This is much of what confuses our picture. There are two trends that illustrate this reorientation: first, the alteration of purposely neutral texts to enhance a specific feast; and second, the composition or adaptation of newer introductions to serve the new function.

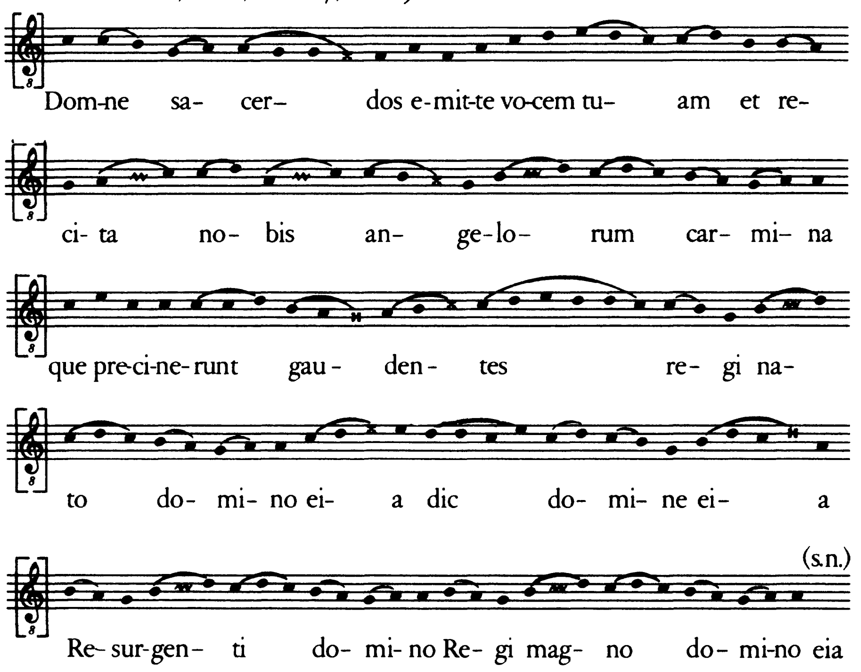
In the first case, we can provide two illustrations of this process. Example 4 shows a version of *Summe sacerdos* from Paris, lat. 887.[17] Here, in addition to changing the form of address to the celebrant, the scribe presents two alternate endings to replace the words "regi nato domino"; the first ("resurgenti domino") seems designed for Easter, while the second ("regi magno domino") is even less focused than the

[16] Texts of all the *sacerdos* chants are edited in the Appendix.

[17] The problem of diastematic alignment in lat. 887 makes an unequivocal transcription difficult. This example is based on the readings of other sources as well.

Example 4

Summe sacerdos, F:Pn, lat. 887, fol. 69v



original. Apparently "regi nato" will serve for Christmas, "resurgenti" for Easter, and "regi magno" for everything else.

Paris, lat. 779, in which *Cives superni* is used for six feasts, presents a similar set of adjustments. Four cases present the normal text as in Example 3. But in two others the word "festivitatem" is changed: at Christmas to "nativitatem," and at Easter to "resurrectionem."

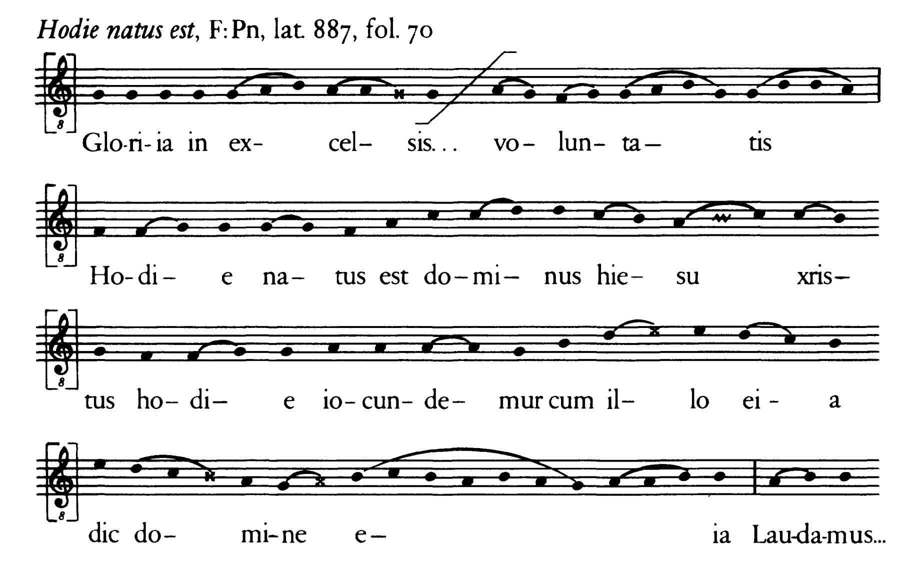
Freer use is made of old materials in two versions of *Sacerdos dei excelsi* adapted for specific feasts (listed in the Appendix as Versions C and D). In each case a creative spirit has begun with the musical and textual material of the introduction, made an excursion in praise of Saint Stephen or of the Resurrection, and returned home to close with the familiar "eia dic domne."

The second illustration of changing function is the composition or adaptation of new introductions. An interesting case is *Hodie natus est*, from Paris, lat. 887 (Ex. 5).[18] This clearly occasional piece seems to

[18] Lacking other sources, the transcription offered as Example 5, also from Paris, lat. 887, is to some degree speculative.

Example 5

Hodie natus est, F:Pn, lat. 887, fol. 70



stem from the *sacerdos* introductions, ending with the customary invitatory words "eia dic domne eia." But the introduction is here presented after the intonation, with the result that the invitation comes too late. Clearly the function of this piece is confused.[19]

Two other Gloria prefaces, of a local nature, are listed in Table 1. *Letentur celi* is a Christmas introduction from the region of Nevers; celebrating the Nativity, it concludes with an invitation to choral performance, even though it precedes the intonation.[20] *Christus surrexit a mortuis* introduces the Gloria only in two Aquitanian manuscripts for Easter, but it is frequently found elsewhere as a trope to the Sequentia.[21] The weight of numbers suggests that this piece is more at

[19] These same invitatory words ("eia dic domne eia") are used in some Italian tropers at the ends of trope phrases for Offertory verses: see Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, II, 216, 221. Here the invitation is an amplification of the "eia" (or "eia et eia," or "dicite, eia"), which frequently cues the end of a trope phrase. Such exclamations are frequently used to warn the choir ("una voce dicentes," "dicamus omnes," etc.); but these Offertories are evidently sung by a soloist.

[20] Letentur celi celorum et exultet omnis orbis terrarum quia hodie xristus de virgine maria natus est iubilemus omnes cum angelis clamantes et dicentes: Gloria. . . .

[21] The text of Paris 1118: "Surrexit xristus a mortuis mortis confractis vinculis gaudentes angeli voces in altissimis resonant dicentes eia: Gloria. . . ." The version in Paris 779 reverses the first two words, as do the versions with the Sequentia. For a discussion of this piece with the Sequentia, and a transcription of the version with a final *alleluia*, see Evans, "The *Tropi ad Sequentiam*" (n. 14 above).

home with the Sequentia; but since the text refers, as do all the Gloria prefaces, to the celestial song of the angels (who are required to sing *Alleluia* when this piece is attached to the Sequentia), it seems equally plausible that *Christus surrexit a mortuis* originated as a Gloria introduction, only later extended to wider use.

* * *

Our picture is thus confused, but in a way that we can understand. From the evidence remaining, we can construct a plausible sequence for the development of this repertory, along the following lines. First, there arise special introductions to the *Gloria in excelsis* that solemnize the bishop's prerogative: the *sacerdos* chants for the bishop himself, and *Cives superni* for the one day when a priest may intone the Gloria. As restrictions relax, these tropes gradually change their focus: sometimes their use is extended by altering the address to the celebrant; sometimes they begin to be assimilated to certain feasts (*Summe sacerdos* to Christmas, for example); and sometimes their original purpose is lost altogether, as when *Cives superni* is substituted.[22] As the original tradition is dissipated, there is a brief flowering of new introductions, with a festival rather than a ceremonial focus, before the practice of introducing the *Gloria in excelsis* dies out altogether.

I cannot resist concluding this study by recalling Léon Gautier's elegant description of the atmosphere of this fleeting ceremonial moment—a description that opens his brief discussion of these introductions in his pioneering 1886 study:[23]

> The bishop has censed the altar, assisted by his archdeacon; he has given the kiss of peace to the deacons, to the assisting priests, to his chaplain. Then, with deliberate steps, he has moved to his throne, which is situated against the wall, behind the altar, in the center of the apse. He has majestically ascended its four steps, and is seated. The Kyrie has just finished; there is a great silence: we are waiting.

Five Colleges, Inc.

[22] Indeed, *Sacerdos dei excelsi* wanders so far afield as to be used as an Introit trope for Saint Martin. See Planchart, *The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester*, II, 265–66.

[23] Gautier, *Les Tropes* (n. 6 above), p. 245; my translation: "L'évêque a encensé l'autel, assisté par son archidiacre; il a donné le baiser de paix aux diacres, aux prêtres assistants, à son chapelain. Puis il s'est, à pas lents, dirigé vers son trône, qui est disposé contre la muraille, derrière l'autel, au milieu et au fond de l'abside. Il en a gravi majestueusement les quatre degrés et s'est assis. Le *Kyrie* vient de s'achever: il se fait un grand silence: on attend."

APPENDIX

Texts of *Sacerdos* Introductions

SUMME SACERDOS

1 Summe sacerdos
2 emitte vocem tuam
3 et recita nobis angelorum cantica
4 que precinerunt regi nato domino
5 eia dic domne eia

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
lat. 1118, fol. 13
lat. 1871, fol. 49v
lat. 779, fol. 3v
lat. 909, fol. 11
lat. 903, fol. 168
4: *quam*; 5: omitted
lat. 1084, fol. 39
4: *quam*; 5: omitted
lat. 887
fol. 69vA:
4: *quam cocinerunt*
5: later hand
fol. 69vC:
1: *Domne sacerdos*
3: *carmina*
4: *quam precinerunt gaudentes regi magno domine*
5: adds *eia resurgenti domino regi magno domino eia.*

Apt, 17, p. 40
3: *carmina*

SACERDOS DEI, VERSION A

1 Sacerdos dei excelsi
2 veni ante sacrum et sanctum altare
3 ut in laude regis regum
4 vocem tuam emitte
5 supplices te rogamus et petimus
6 eia dic domne

Cambridge, Corpus Christi, 473, fol. 58
2: *sanctum et sacrum*
3: *et* (*ut*)
5: *supplices te deprecamur*

Oxford, Bod. 775, fol. 64
2: *sanctum et sacrum*
3: *et* (*ut*)
5: *supplices te deprecamur*

Paris, lat. 1240, fol. 37v
5: om *et petimus*

Paris, lat. 1118, fol. 19v
2: *sanctum et sacrum*
3: *et* (*ut*)
6: *om eia*

Paris, lat. 1120, fol. 63v
1: *om excelsi*
5: *om et petimus*

Paris, lat. 903, fol. 169
5: *deprecamur* (*rogamus*)
6: *om eia*

Paris, lat. 887, fol. 69v
1: *excelse*
3: *et* (*ut*)
6: *om eia*; *domine*

Paris, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 49v
5: *deprecamur* (*rogamus*)

Verona, CVII, fol. 35v
1: *sacerdos dei electe*
2: *sanctum et sacrum*
3: *et* (*ut*)
5: omitted

Cambrai, 75, fol. 8v
2: *sanctum et sacrum*

SACERDOS DEI, VERSION B

1 Sacerdos dei
2 veni ante sacrum et sanctum altare
3 ut in laude regis regum
4 vocem tuam prior emittere digneris
5 supplices te rogamus
6 eia dic domne

Paris, lat. 779, fol. 30, fol. 68
3: *et* (*ut*)

Paris, lat. 13252, fol. 26
2: *asstans* (*veni*)
3: *nunc* (*ut*)
4: *primum* (*prior*)
5: *oramus* (*rogamus*)

Arsenal, 1169, fol. 4v
1: *Pastor bone*
3: *et* (*ut*)

Apt, 18, fol. 35
3: *regem* (*regis*)

London, British Library, Add. 19728, fol. 39v
1: *Sacerdos dei et alme*
3: *et* (*ut*)
4: *dignare* (*digneris*)

Bamberg, Lit. 5, fol. 33v
1: adds *excelsi*
3: *et* (*ut*)
4: *dignare* (*digneris*)
6: *dicito* (*dic domne*)

Ivrea, LX, fol. 1
1: *Pastor bone*

Rome, Angelica, 123
fol. 191v
1: *Pastor bone*
fol. 203
1: *Pastor bone* (cue)
fol. 239v
1: *Pontifex bone* (cue).

Pistoia, C. 121, fol. 16
1: *pastor bone*
4: *voce tua prior*
5: omitted

Benevento, VI39, fol. 95v
3–4: *ut laudes mittere digneris*

Benevento, VI40, fol. 76v
3–4: *ut laudem mittere digneris*

SACERDOS DEI, VERSION C (Paris, lat. 779, fol. 15v):

Sacerdos dei excelsi qui stas ante sacrum et sanctum altare supplices te rogamus ut in laude regis regum vocem tuam emitte ymnum angelicum obnixe precamur per gloriosum martyrem Stephanum ut digneris referre eia dic domne.

SACERDOS DEI, VERSION D (Paris, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 49)

Sacerdos dei excelsi veni ante sacrum et sanctum altare ut in laude crucifixi qui surrexit a mortuis vocem tuam emitte ymnum angelicum obnixe precamur et petimus eia dic domne.

E: O SACERDOS DEI (Paris, n. a. lat. 1871, fol. 49b)

O sacerdos dei audi preces nostras quas in conspectu tuo supplices fundimus ut stare digneris ante sacrum et sanctum altare et predica nobis angelica ymnum eia recita domne.

F: O SACER (Paris, lat. 779, fol. 63)

O sacer hac sumus domini de more sacerdos
laudibus ecce diu divinis iure moratis
petimus angelicum subnecta primitus himnum
eia dic domne.

G: SACERDOS DEI ECCE RESURGENTEM (Apt, 17, p. 136)

Sacerdos dei ecce resurgentem supernum conlauda et in aula regis regum vocem tuam emittere supplices exoramus eia dic domne.

H: ANGELICAE LAUDES (Apt, 17, p. 217)

Angelicae laudis dic carmina, summe sacerdos, eia.

Part V
Tropes in the Office


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[20]

Melismatic Tropes in the Responsories for Matins

By HANS-JÖRGEN HOLMAN

A COMPARISON of the great responsories (*responsoria prolixa*) of the Worcester Codex (13th century),[1] the Sarum Antiphonal (13th century),[2] the Lucca Codex (11th or 12th century),[3] and the Hartker Codex (10th century)[4] shows that a surprising uniformity existed in this repertory of chant in western Europe from the 10th to the 13th centuries. The Antiphonal of Compiègne,[5] even though it contains no musical notation, and the Tonary of Regino[6] both indicate that this uniformity existed still earlier—in the 9th century.

Characteristic of the responsories is the use of a long melisma close to the end of the respond.[7] Approximately twenty per cent of the responsories of the late Antiphonals (Codex Worcester and Sarum Antiphonal) contain such melismas.[8] There are several indications that many of these melismas were originally conceived as musical tropes.

Three responsories of Codex Worcester contain tropes marked "prosa" ("psa") in the manuscript: *Descendit de celis*,[9] for the Nativity; *Sanctissimi martyris stephani*,[10] for St. Stephen; and *O pastor apostolice*,[11] for St. Gregory.[12] Of these, *Descendit de celis* is the most interesting, in that it

[1] *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIIe siècle, codex F. 160 de la bibliothèque de la cathédrale de Worcester, Paléographie musicale*, Ser. I, Vol. XII (Tournai, 1922). (Abbreviated *CW*.)

[2] W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (London, 1901-25).

[3] *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIe siècle, codex 601 de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Lucques, Paléographie musicale*, Ser. I, Vol. IX (Tournai, 1906). (Abbreviated *CL*.)

[4] *Antiphonale officii monastici, écrit par le B. Hartker, no. 390-391 de la bibliothèque de Saint-Gall, Paléographie musicale*, Ser. II, Vol. I (Saint-Pierre, 1900). (Abbreviated *CH*.)

[5] "Liber responsorialis sive antiphonarius S. Gregorii Magni" (9th century), *Patriologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, Vol. LXXVII (Paris, 1844-55), pp. 725-850.

[6] C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptores de musica medii aevi*, Vol. II (Paris, 1867), pp. 1ff.

[7] *Cf.* H.-J. Holman, "The Responsoria Prolixa of the Codex Worcester F 160," (Indiana University Diss., 1961; University Microfilms, No. 61-4447), Vol. I.

[8] A responsory consists of a respond (*R*) and a verse (*V*) after which the respond is repeated complete or, more often, in part from some point within its course.

[9] Codex Worcester, p. 31.

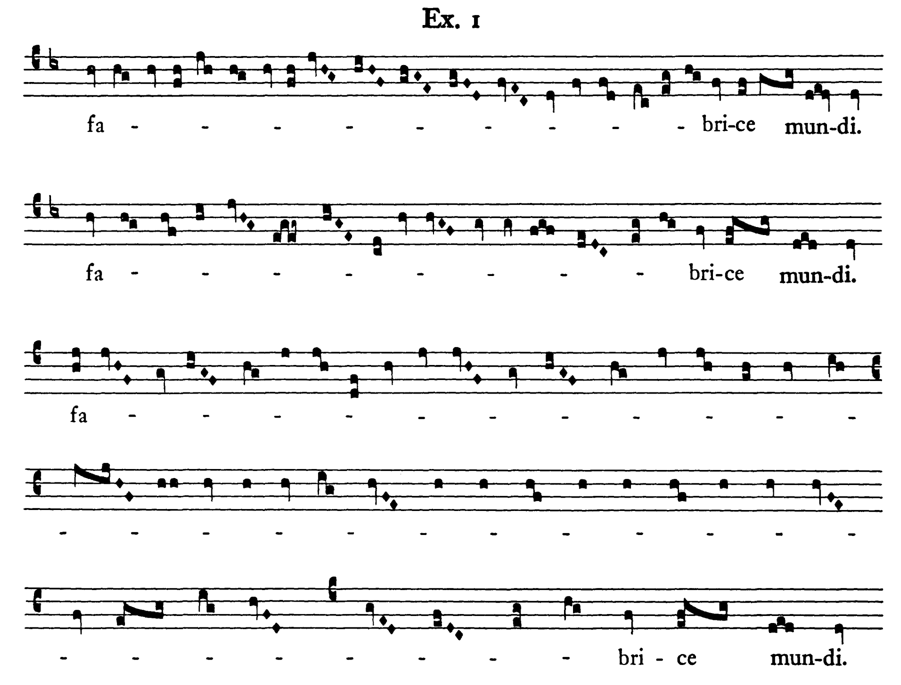
[10] *Ibid*., p. 36.

[11] *Ibid*., p. 290.

[12] This use of the term "prosa" is of great interest, particularly since it obviously refers to a melisma, which is contrary to the usual theory that "prosa" invariably means a textual trope. See Heinrich Husmann, "Sequenz und Prosa," *Annales musicologiques* II (1954), pp. 61-91.

contains the famous *neuma triplex*. According to Amalarius (9th century), this neuma originally belonged to the responsory *In medio ecclesie*, for St. John the Evangelist, but "modern" singers (*moderni cantores*) transferred it to *Descendit de celis*.[13] While it disappeared in the former respond, it remained in the latter, where it occurs on the next to the last word, "fabrice," in the form of three melismas, one for each of the three appearances of the respond.[14] The first of these is one of the longest melismas found in Codex Worcester, the second is of about equal length, and the third is of staggering dimensions (Ex. 1).

Ex. 1
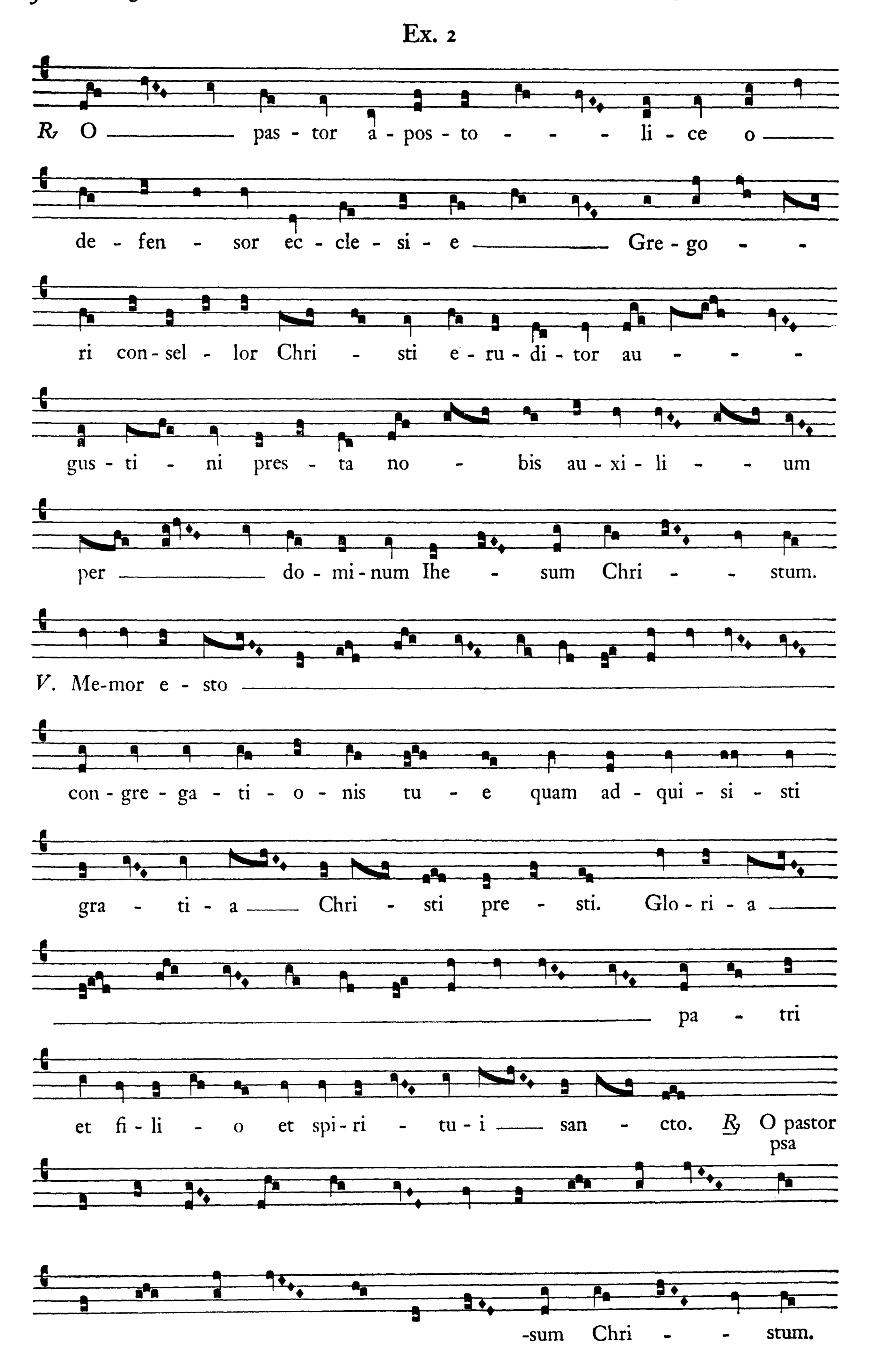


The two other responsories, *O pastor apostolice* and *Sanctissimi martyris Stephani*, have identical forms: *R V R' Gloria Patri R prosa*. After the repetition of the complete respond, which follows the *Gloria Patri*, a long melisma occurs that is marked "prosa" ("psa"). *O pastor apostolice* will illustrate the situation (Ex. 2).

It is seen that both respond and prosa close with the words "-sum christum" sung to the same music. Obviously, the long melisma of the prosa (which has the form A B B) was intended to be sung between "ihe-" and "-sum" at the end of the last statement of the complete respond.

[13] *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Vol. CV, pp. 1273-1275. See also W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, Ind., 1958), pp. 343 and 441; and *New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. II (Oxford, 1954), pp. 141-145.

[14] The form of *Descendit de celis* in Codex Worcester is RVR' *Gloria Patri* R'.

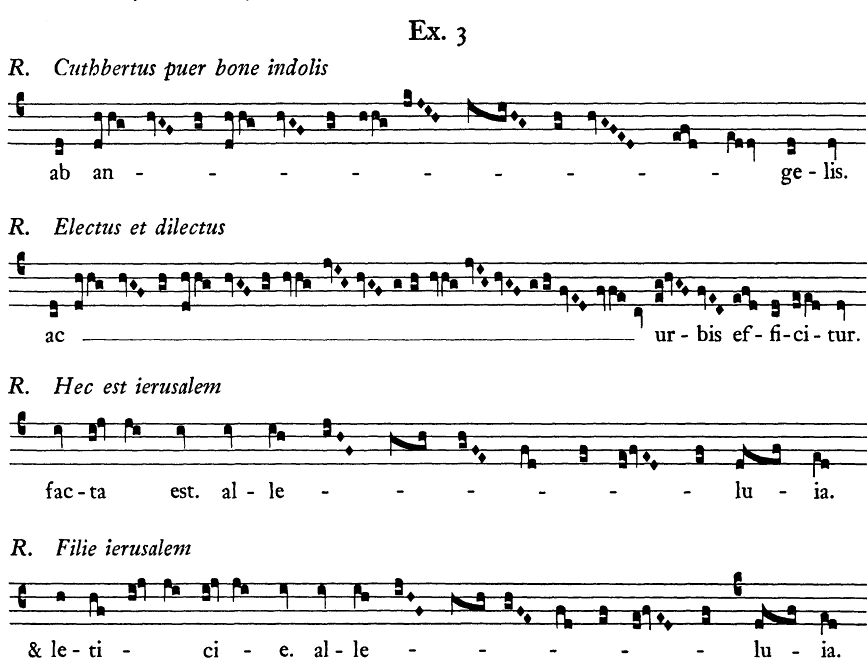
Ex. 2


R O pas - tor a - pos - to - - - li - ce o
de - fen - sor ec - cle - si - e Gre - go - -
ri con - sel - lor Chri - sti e - ru - di - tor au - - -
gus - ti - ni pres - ta no - bis au - xi - li - - um
per do - mi - num Ihe - sum Chri - - stum.
V. Me-mor e - sto
con - gre - ga - ti - o - nis tu - e quam ad - qui - si - sti
gra - ti - a Chri - sti pre - sti. Glo - ri - a
pa - tri
et fi - li - o et spi - ri - tu - i san - cto. R O pastor
psa
-sum Chri - - stum.

Unfortunately, part of the music in the prosa of *Sanctissimi martyris* is deleted. But in this responsory as well the music and text of the end of the prosa are identical with the end of the respond ("-re digneris"). No doubt, the melisma of the prosa was intended to be performed in the respond between "conserva-" and "-re."

A few responds have melismas or parts of melismas in common. This indicates a transfer similar to that of the *neuma triplex*. Two such melismas are seen in the responsories *Cuthbertus puer bone indolis*,[15] for St. Cuthbert, and *Electus et dilectus*,[16] for St. Gregory; and in *Hec est ierusalem*,[17] for the First Sunday after Easter, and *Filie ierusalem*,[18] for the Nativity of Martyrs (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3



Amalarius's report concerning the transfer of a melisma from one responsory to another, the tropes of *O pastor apostolice* and *Sanctissimi martyris cuthbertus*, and the melismas of *Cuthbertus puer bone indolis*, *Electus et dilectus*, *Hec est ierusalem*, and *Filie ierusalem* raise the question as to whether this was a not uncommon practice in the Middle Ages; indeed, whether many of the melismas of other responsories are not actually musical tropes. A study of the melismas of the responsories reveals a number of facts that support the supposition that they were

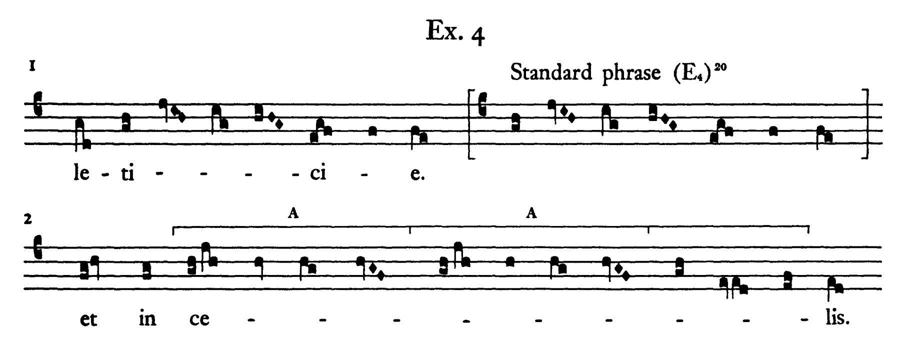
[15] Codex Worcester, p. 292.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 290.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 142.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

originally conceived as additions to the respond proper: (1) in most instances they appear in one fixed place in the responds (immediately before the end); (2) a large number of melismas have a melodic repeat structure (A A, A A B, A B A, A B A C, etc.) that is foreign to the style of the neumatic and syllabic parts of the responsories; (3) they are often stylistically different from the rest of the respond in which they are found even when the melismas do not have a repeat structure; and (4) long melismas are much more common in recent responsories, originating in the 10th to the 13th centuries when troping was common, than in the responsories that originated in the 9th century or earlier.

Of approximately one hundred sixty responds containing extended melismas in Codex Worcester, sixty-five are found in that manuscript exclusively, and another thirty are in Codex Worcester and the Sarum Antiphonal only. All these date from the late 12th or early 13th century. Twenty-six responds are included in Codex Hartker and later manuscripts, hence dating from the 10th century. Only thirty-five are contained in all or most of the manuscripts, including the Codex of Compiègne, *i.e.*, dating from the 9th century or earlier.

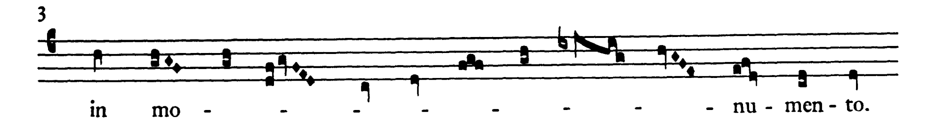
It has been established by Frere, Apel and this writer that most of the responsories are made up of standard phrases or formulae.[19] The melismas of the responsories can be divided into three groups: (1) those that consist of standard material, *i.e.*, the text underlying a standard phrase has so few syllables that the music appears as a melisma, (2) those that have a melodic repeat structure, and (3) those that have a free structure not related to the standard material. The three melismas of Example 4 illustrate these three groups.

Ex. 4



[19] See Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, dissertation; Apel, *Gregorian Chant*, pp. 330-344; and Holman, "The Responsoria Prolixa," Vol. I. The responds can be classified into four groups: (1) those that show the same basic melodic outline, *i.e.*, that belong to a melody type; (2) those that consist of standard phrases that do not follow each other in any set order; (3) those in which standard phrases are intermingled with free phrases; and (4) those that do not use standard material and that can be classified as completely free chants. Melody type responds are found in the second, seventh, and eighth modes. The other types are found in all the modes.

[20] Cf. Holman, Vol. II, p. 437.

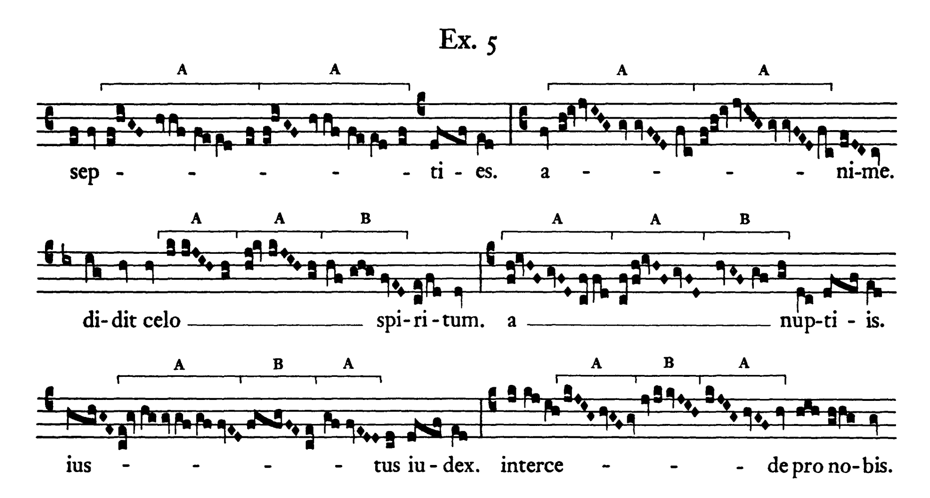


All three types of melismas can be found in all the modes.

Among the older responsories the majority (about 66 per cent) have melismas derived from standard phrases (group 1). The rest of these responsories have melismas that contain repeat structure (group 2; about 17 per cent) or that are free (group 3; about 17 per cent). Among the more recent responsories the situation is rather different: only a small number (about 5 per cent) contain melismas in which the music is a standard phrase, while the majority have melismas that contain repeat structure or are free (about 44 per cent and 51 per cent respectively). Some of the most interesting melismas are found in the responsories of recent feasts, such as those for St. Wulfstan, St. Oswald, St. Vincent, St. Cuthbert, and St. Dunstan, and in newly composed responsories for older feasts (responsories contained only in Codex Worcester and the Sarum Antiphonal).

Immediately repeated melodic fragments are rarely found in syllabic or neumatic parts of the responsories; but in the melismas of the second group of responds, forms such as A A, A A B, and A B A are common. These forms are illustrated in Example 5 by the melismas over the word "septies" in the responsory *Symon bariona tu vocaberis*,[21] "anime" in *Auditor legis non surdus*,[22] "celo spiritum" in *Pretiosus martyr vincentius*,[23] "a

Ex. 5



[21] Codex Worcester, p. 341.
[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

nuptiis" in *Sint lumbi vestri*,[24] "iustus" in *Scio cui credidi*,[25] and "intercede" in *Pulchra facie sed*.[26]

The forms of the melismas with repeat structure are not always as sharply defined as those illustrated in Example 5, although each of the melismas of the following responsories has a structure that is similar to one of the three forms illustrated there:

Form: A A or A A′

CW p.

10 *Civitas ierusalem noli* (over "auferet a")
95 *Igitur ioseph ductus est* (over "agens")
159 *Quis deus magnus* (over "mirabilia")
160 *Honor virtus et* (over "perhenni")
241 *Beatus nicholaus iam* (over "oportet")
241 *Ex eius tumba* (over "sospes")
282 *Auditor legis non surdus* (over "anime")
284 *Oswaldus baiulus crucis* (over "dei")
285 *Occasum tanti pontificis* (text partly deleted)
290 *Hic in annis adolescentie* (over "totis")
293 *Patriarche nostri abrahe* (over "meruit")
294 *Igne fervoris divini succensus* (over "precibus")
341 *Symon bariona tu vocaberis* (over "septies")
383 *Princeps sancte celestis* (over "defensor")
422 *Justorum anime* (over "malitie")
423 *In circuitu tuo* (over "anime")
431 *In sanctitate* (over "gaudia")

Form: A A B or A A′ B

CW p.

44 *Laverunt stolas suas* (over "sanguine")
112 *Cum audisset turba* (over "obviam")
161 *Summe trinitati simplici* (over "orbem")
239 *Confessor dei nicholaus* (over "provehi")
240 *Qui cum audisset* (over "clementiam")
241 *Servus dei nicholaus* (over "fugavit")
241 *Summe dei confessor* (over "posse")
246 *Lucia martyr invictissima* (over "corrupta")
259 *Christi miles preciosus* (over "vernabantur")
260 *Pretiosus martyr vincentius* (over "celo spiritum")
265 *Magnus sanctus paulus* (over "posside")
266 *Sancte paule apostole* (over "te elegit")
280 *Quodcunque ligaveris* (over "celis")
290 *Electus et dilectus domini* (over "ac urbis")
292 *Cuthbertus puer bone indolis* (over "angelis")
293 *Vir domini cuthbertus* (over "pasci")
294 *Celestium minister donorum* (over "sanctitati")
295 *O beatum presulem cuthbertum* (over "prescuit")
297 *Inito consilio venenum* (over "signo")
317 *Terribilis est locus* (over "vere" and "nesciebam")

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 430.
[25] *Ibid.*, p. 330.
[26] *Ibid.*, p. 433.

365 *Ad nutum domini* (over "mariam")
366 *Solem iusticie regem* (over "processit")
396 *Psallite domino omnes* (over "sanctitatis")
430 *Sint lumbi vestri* (over "a nuptiis")
433 *Fuit sacra virgo* (over "diligit")

Form: A B A
CW p.
113 *Circumdederunt me viri* (over "iuri" and "vindica")
239 *Operibus sanctis* (over "sacerdotii")
241 *Magne pater nicholae* (over "cadamus")
330 *Scio cui credidi* (over "iustus")
433 *Pulchra facie sed* (over "intercede")

Repeat structures of a more exceptional nature appear in the responsory *Felix maria unxit,*[27] over "odore" (A B B C); in *Gloria christe tibi personet,*[28] over "associasti" (A B A C); in *O quam gloriosum,*[29] over "quocunque" (A A B B′); and in *Magne deus nostre laudis,*[30] over "sacras" (A B B A′).

Long, "free" melismas are found in the following responds:
CW p.
41 *Apparuit caro suo* (over "fratribus")
46 *Hodie martyrum flores* (over "secula")
99 *Septies in die* (over "perdas")
142 *Hec est ierusalem* (over "alleluia")
158 *Benedicat nos deus* (over "fines")
240 *Quadam die tempestate* (over "statim")
251 *Ad occasum vergens* (over "occubuit")
260 *Gloriosi domine testis* (over "occumbere")
278 *Ego pro te rogavi* (over "fratres")
278 *O princeps apostolorum* (over "peccaminum")
282 *Celebremus solemniter oswaldus* (over "intercessorum")
284 *Emula prosequitur* (over "digna")
284 *Orbata pontifice wigorna* (over "pontifice" and "petit doctorem")
284 *Preditus hinc iuvenis* (over "clarescit")
303 *Stirps iesse virgam* (over "almus")
304 *Filie ierusalem* (over "alleluia")
312 *In visione sancta* (over "spiritus")
313 *Celestium contemplator dunstani* (over "exultavit")
315 *Beatus es care dei dunstane* (over "alleluia")
335 *O magni meriti maria* (over "et")
337 *O diligens christum a christo* (over "valeamus")
338 *Valde mane die dominica* (over "monumento")
355 *Scande thronum prolis* (over "modulante")
377 *O beati martyres* (over "compleverentur")
387 *Vir inclitus dionisius* (over "angelorum")
391 *Miles christi gloriose oswalde* (over "ab")
392 *O sacerdotum nobilissime* (over "O" and "oswalde")
410 *Invenerunt in modum* (over "habitaculum")

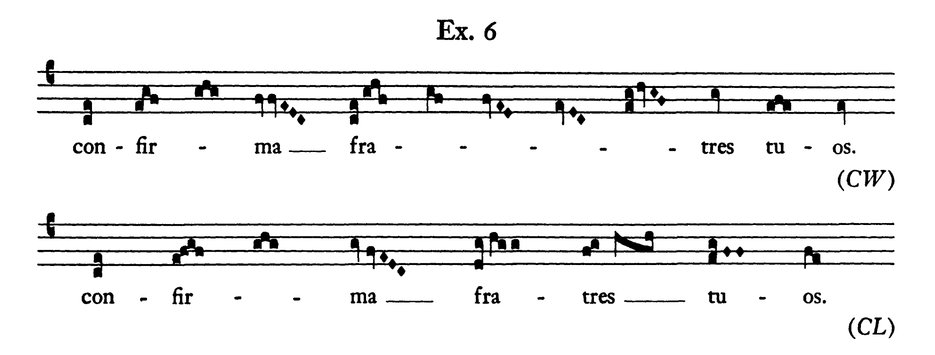
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 337.
[28] *Ibid.*, p. 300.
[29] *Ibid.*, p. 396.
[30] *Ibid.*, p. 318.

433 *Audi filia et vide* (over "deus")
433 *Hec virgo sancta* (over "dilexit")

Also, the style of the free melismas is usually somewhat different from that of the texted parts of the responds in which these melismas are found. This difference consists of (1) frequent use of the extreme ranges of the ambitus of the mode in which the melisma is found, and occasional use of pitches outside it; (2) extended scalar and/or "broken-chord" passages; (3) occasional use of large leaps, and (4) the use of sequential patterns. Such melismas are found over "habitaculum a" in the responsory *Invenerunt in modum*,[31] and over "almus" in *Stirps iesse virgam*.[32]

A comparison of all the melismatic responsories of Codex Worcester (13th century) that are also found in Codex Lucca (11th century) and Codex Hartker (10th century) reveals that the melismas always appear in the same place in the same responds in each manuscript. The only exception is the melisma over "fratres" in the respond *Ego pro te rogavi*,[33] for St. Peter's Chair, which is missing in *CL* and *CH*, where the respond in all other respects is like the version in *CW* (Ex. 6).

Ex. 6

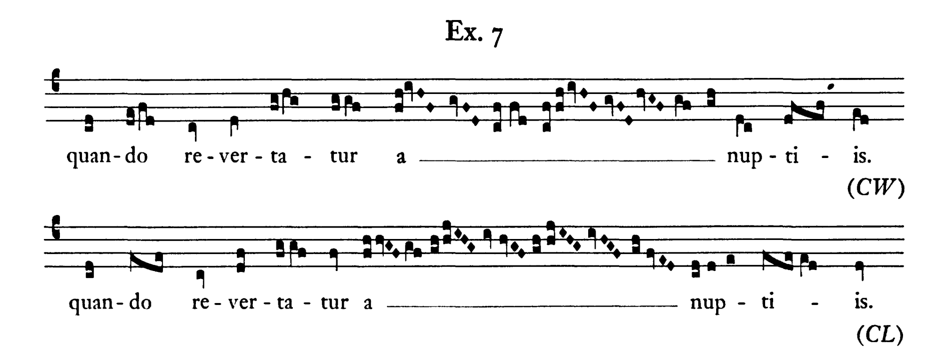


It is important, however, to notice that the melismas of the same responds are not always alike in different manuscripts. Thus, the melismas in the middle of the responsory *Beata progenies unde*,[34] for St. Lawrence, and over "intercede" in *Pulchra facie sed*,[35] for the Nativity of one Virgin Martyr, are different and much smaller in *CL* than in *CW*.

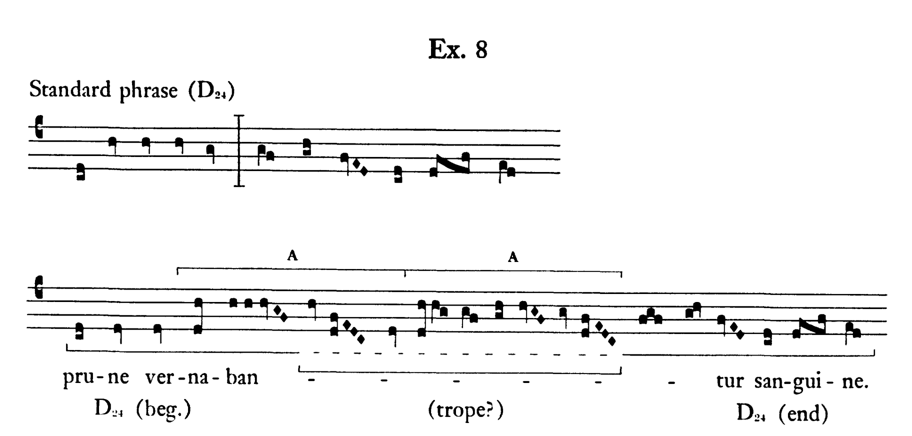
Furthermore, the melismas in the responds *Hic est discipulus*,[36] for St. John the Evangelist, and *Scio cui credidi*,[37] for the Commemoration of St. Paul, also show differences; and the melisma over "a nuptiis" in *Sint*

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 409-410.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[33] Codex Worcester, pp. 278-279; Codex Lucca, p. 417; Codex Hartker, p. 282.
[34] *CW*, p. 367; *CL*, p. 457.
[35] *CW*, p. 433; *CL*, p. 336.
[36] *CW*, p. 40; *CL*, p. 50.
[37] *CW*, p. 330; *CL*, p. 424.

lumbi vestri[38] differs in the two manuscripts in a similar manner: the pitches are not always the same, and the *CL* version is longer (Ex. 7.)



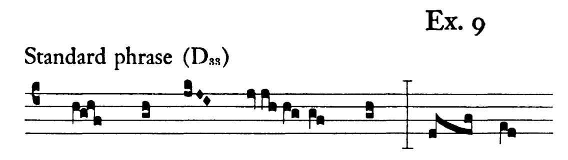
A number of responds that end with a standard phrase appear to contain a shorter or longer trope (melisma) interpolated within this standard phrase (see Exx. 8 and 9). Such a trope may appear as a repetition or an anticipation of a part of the standard phrase, creating a certain repeat structure within the melisma; it may be entirely free; or it may contain a repeat within itself. A musical trope that has apparently been inserted into a standard phrase[39] is seen in the responsory *Christi miles preciosus,*[40] for St. Vincent (Ex. 8).

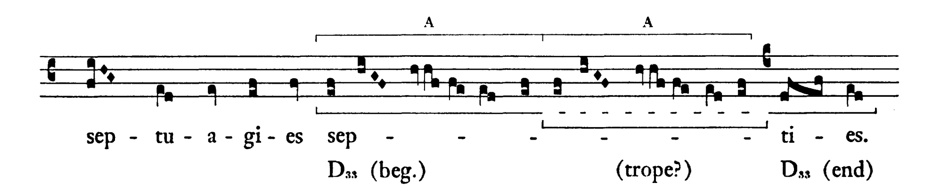


In *Symon bariona tu vocaberis,*[41] for St. Peter's Chains, the first part of a standard phrase[42] is repeated so that the resulting melisma shows the form A A (Ex. 9).

[38] *CW*, p. 430; *CL*, p. 535.
[39] Called D_{24} in Holman, Vol. II, p. 432.
[40] Codex Worcester, p. 259.
[41] *Ibid.*, p. 341.
[42] Called D_{38} in Holman, Vol. II, p. 432.

Ex. 9





Similar good examples of apparent troping are found in the responsories *Peto domine ut de*,[43] within the standard phrase [44] over "te domine;" *Valde mane die domini*,[45] within the standard phrase [46] over "monumento;" and *Invenerunt in modum*,[47] with the standard phrase[48] over "habitaculum."

The variation encountered in the melismas is in sharp contrast to the considerable stability of the fully texted sections. It therefore constitutes an additional strong argument in favor of the concept that the extended melismas originated as additions to the responds and that they were originally conceived as musical tropes.

Andrews University

[43] Codex Worcester, p. 176.
[44] Called D_{18} in Holman, Vol. II, p. 431.
[45] Codex Worcester, p. 338.
[46] Called D_{45} in Holman, Vol. II, p. 433.
[47] Codex Worcester, p. 410.
[48] Called A_4 in Holman, Vol. II, p. 448.


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

[21]

New Music from Old: The Structuring of Responsory Prosas

By THOMAS FORREST KELLY

MEDIEVAL MUSICAL EMBELLISHMENTS for the liturgical Office hours have, until recently, aroused only passing interest among scholars owing largely to the difficulty of access to the repertoire.[1] It is a particularly interesting repertoire, however, since the limited size of these pieces lets us look closely at the way they are made; their small scale invites a detailed observation of how the medieval composer arranged his material. We can study the progressive development of forms and procedures, which is of particular value as many of the same techniques, used on a larger scale, produce the more familiar Mass tropes and prosas.

In practice, tropes[2] in the Office are used almost exclusively with the great Responsories; these are the only large-scale pieces of Office music approaching the style and complexity of the Graduals and Tracts of the Mass. Responsory tropes are normally placed at the end of the performance, as a final flourish added just before the close of the respond. A Responsory has an *ABA* form owing to the repetition of the respond (or a part of the respond, the *repetenda*) after the verse (or verses), but the respond is normally written only once, to conserve space. Thus, if section *A* includes new material the second time, at least that section which is to differ from the original must be written out. This is, in its simplest form, how we recognize Responsory tropes, melismatic or texted: they are included—sometimes without identifying labels—as an alternative version of the repetenda.

[1] Although Mass tropes are conveniently gathered in the medieval compendia called *troparia* or tropers, Office tropes are generally found with the chant they decorate; the extent of the repertoire can be seen only by surveying large numbers of medieval Office books. In the haystack of a faded thousand-page breviary, the needle of a single small prosula can be a real joy! Two recent dissertations have assembled and studied this repertoire: Helma Hofmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums* (Inaugural-Dissertation, Erlangen-Nürnberg, 1971); Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Responsory Tropes," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1973).

[2] The word "trope" is used here in a general sense to avoid the awkwardness of writing "medieval interpolative chant" or some such term. It would be preferable to reserve the term for the interpolations used for Introits and the like, but in the absence of any accepted general term, it seems simplest to make the same compromise as was made in the Middle Ages, when a book containing tropes, *laudes, versus,* prosulas, prosas, and sequentias was generally called a *Troparium.*

In this study, we shall explore the development of textual additions to Responsories by examining two local repertoires. These techniques begin with the simple procedure of adding a syllabic text or *prosula* (i.e., a little *prosa*) to a melisma already present at the end of the respond. More complex procedures include both the expansion of the technique of the prosula and the creation of a prosa to a greater or lesser extent independent of the Responsory's music.

Any prosula, by definition, is restricted in length to the number of notes in the melisma of which it is a texting. If, therefore, a longer texted decoration is thought desirable, more notes must be found to which words can be added. Two principal ways of producing such notes suggest themselves. First, a melisma can be sought that is longer than that available in the Responsory. Some such longer melismas already exist, in fact, as the melismatic tropes used for some Responsories; and these melismas are often found in texted versions.[3] The texting technique, however, is still one of prosulation, of abiding by the musical dictates of a preexistent melisma.

A second and obvious means of finding more notes in order to free the prosula from the restrictions of the respond melisma is simply to produce out of the imagination as many notes as are wanted, that is, to compose words and music together, rather than setting words to a melisma that is already extant. This procedure may seem self-evident, but it is significant and innovative in the light of prosula technique. Furthermore, it can be shown in some cases to be a gradual process, since varying degrees of independence of prosa from respond melisma are to be found. Although these stages do not necessarily represent a chronological development, they do illustrate gradations between two extremes: on the one hand, complete dependence of added text and music on the notes of the final melisma; on the other, complete independence from the music (and also sometimes the sense) of the parent Responsory.

In order to examine this development of prosa technique, I have chosen two repertoires of Responsory prosas, each of which appears in a single manuscript or locality, so as to isolate, as nearly as possible, the efforts of individual creators, or at least individual creative environments. Although these pieces are unique to their parent churches, their techniques are illustrative of a full range of the styles of medieval Responsory prosas.

Manuscript A. 486 in the Bibliothèque municipale of Rouen, a fourteenth-century antiphoner from the abbey of St. Ouen in Rouen, preserves a long and solemn Office for the abbey's patron. The full monastic Office for St. Ouen (Audoenus) occurs only in books from the abbey;[4] The Responsories

[3] A catalogue of many of these melismas, with the prosulas which are sometimes added to them, appears in Kelly, "Responsory Tropes," pp. 49–115. See also Ruth Steiner, "Some Melismas for Office Responsories," this JOURNAL, XXVI (1973), 108–31.

[4] See below, pp. 375–76, for other books in which the Office occurs.

have nonbiblical texts which are metrical and rhyming, and the monastic Office has, like many rhythmic Offices, Responsories arranged in consecutive modes. These Responsories appear complete from folios 228 to 229 in the manuscript. Only one has any sort of addition: to the last Responsory, ***Beatus Audoenus***, is added the prosa *Christi nostra redemptio.*

A few folios later in the same manuscript—after the Antiphons for psalms at Second Vespers of St. Ouen and before the Antiphon on *Magnificat*—appears a long group of prosas apparently intended for insertion in performances of Responsories of St. Ouen. The placement of this group of prosas is a little odd. This is the normal place for a Responsory at Vespers, if one is used, but no Responsory appears here. Instead are found the incipits of eight Responsories of St. Ouen, with prosas written out for each. We may surmise that at Second Vespers a single Responsory was selected from among those whose incipits are provided, and that this Responsory was performed as it is written for Matins a few folios earlier in the same book, except that the prosa was added at the appropriate place.

What, though, is the reason for providing eight different prosas at a place where only a single Responsory would normally be used? A simple explanation is that they provide a wide choice of Responsories and prosas for Vespers. But why the paucity of prosas at Matins and the almost overwhelming choice at Second Vespers? Such a large group of prosas seems extravagant if used at the rate of one per year. It is more likely that the group, which follows the order of Responsories at Matins, is designed for use as a group in the night Office. Keeping the prosas separate from the Responsories maintains whatever purity and authenticity the Responsories have and also preserves the possible unity of the prosas as a group.

Although the two collections are separated, they are clearly related. The prosas evidently derive their order from that of the Responsories; they also derive their melodic material, to a very great extent, from the music of the Responsory melismas. Hence we may suppose that the composer or composers of these prosas had in mind the complete night Office of St. Ouen.

It may be, of course, that these pieces constitute a personal act of creation, an intellectual or devotional exercise, never intended for liturgical use. It is true that the volume in which they are found appears to be a personal book, too small to be used by more than a single singer. Whatever their purpose, however, these prosas are illustrative of the liturgical Responsory prosas found in other sources. The prosas and the Responsories to which they correspond are listed in Table 1, which shows their relation to the complete night Office of St. Ouen.

Prosas are provided for the first and last Responsories of the first nocturn, for all four Responsories of the second nocturn, and for the first and next-to-last Responsories of the third nocturn. There is no prosa here for the last

TABLE I

THE PROSAS AND THE RESPONSORIES TO WHICH THEY CORRESPOND

Order at Matins	Incipit of Responsory	Mode	Incipit of prosa
1	*Confessor christi Audoenus*	1	*Spiritus sanctus faucis*
2	*O summi viri gloriosa*	2	
3	*Sanctorum sepe potitus*	3	
4	*Rome autem ad confessionem*	4	*Eterna visione Dei*
5	*Pretiosa viri merita*	5	*Christi munere predictus*
6	*In Syon velut tuba*	6	*Corde pio votis*
7	*Digne pater Audoene*	7	*Rex regum gloriose*
8	*Sanctus Audoenus dum iam*	8	*Virtutum gratia*
9	*Dilectus Domini quendam*	1	*Celestis turba*
10	*Quoddam autem*	8	
11	*Pastor bonus Audoenus*	2	*O patris genite*
12	*Beatus Audoenus* (prosa *Christi nostra redemptio* appears with Responsory)	7	

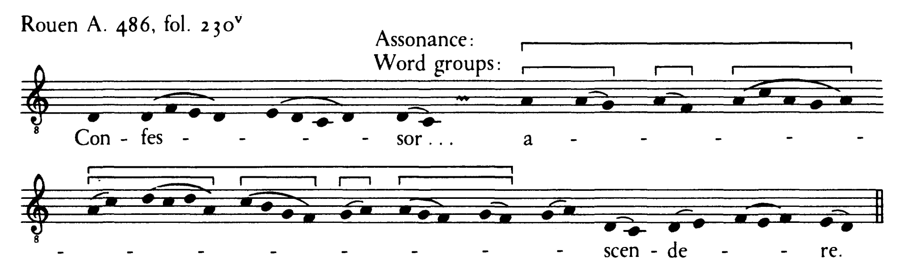
Responsory, presumably because the Matins Office earlier in the manuscript had already provided one.

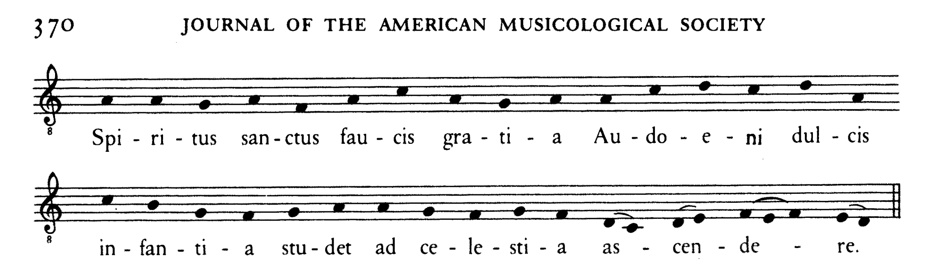
Do these prosas constitute a single stylistic group? Certainly some connection with the final melisma of the parent Responsory is the rule in all cases, but the relationship is not always exactly the same. Indeed, it is precisely this variation that interests us. The different ways of deriving prosa from melisma show the composer's view of the relationship of words and music and his attitude toward the creation of new music from old.

Since the manuscript provides with each prosa only a brief incipit indicating the appropriate Responsory and its melisma, the examples below provide the full melisma from the end of each Responsory as it appears in the Matins Office.

The first prosa is actually a simple prosula (Ex. 1):

Example 1



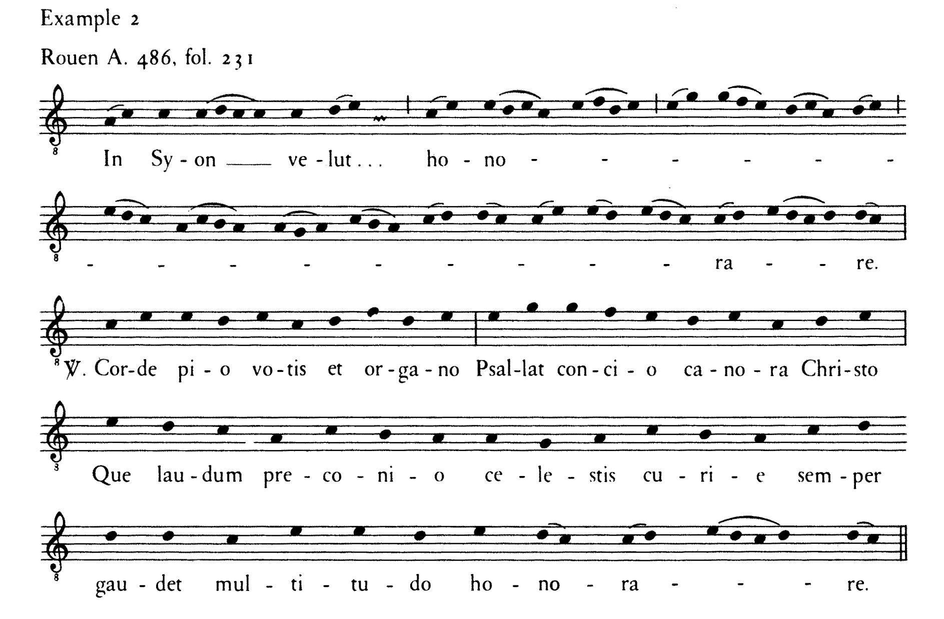


It follows the notes of the melisma closely. Words and syllables are grouped according to the neumes of the melisma to a certain extent, as is shown by brackets above the melisma; larger groups are delineated by assonance with *a*, the vowel of the original text. The omission from the prosula of two notes in the melisma may be scribal error or, as we shall suggest, the prosulator may have had a different melisma for his source than that which appears for Matins in this manuscript.

The prosa *Corde pio votis*, for Responsory 6, is likewise a simple prosula (Ex. 2). But here the prosula is divided into sections, of which the first is

Example 2

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231

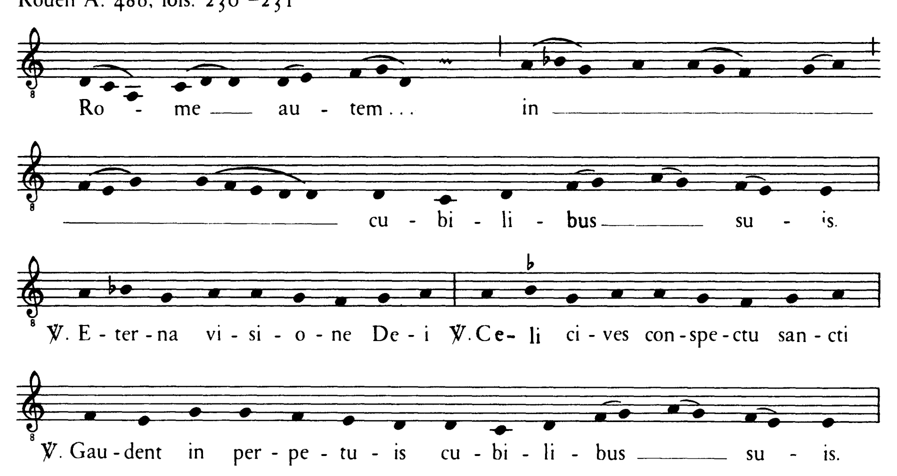


marked with the sign ℣, in the same way, as we shall see, as prosas based on repetition. This division may be intended as an indication for the choir to change sides, although antiphonal performance seems somewhat inappropriate for a piece involving no musical repetition. The text is structured so as to fit the neumes with precision; assonance with *o* is used extensively.

The second prosa in the series, *Eterna visione*, has a somewhat more elaborate derivation (Ex. 3). The prosa divides the melisma in half and

Example 3

Rouen A. 486, fols. 230v–231



repeats the first section with new text, but not the second, producing an *AAB* form from an *AB* melisma. This sort of melodic extension is also frequently found in unprosulated Responsory melismas, where there is no need for more notes simply to accommodate a text. Hence this reduplication is a consciously applied aesthetic principle which creates an order based on repetition where no such order existed.[5] The text is accommodated to this new structure: appropriate assonance with *i* is used in the repetitions, which are marked with the sign ℣. Groups of words and syllables are matched with neumes, and it may be claimed that this correspondence is exact if we consider that the fourth note of the melisma, which is not part of the group, is attached to those notes that follow it (*Vi*-sione) in its first prosulation, to those that precede it (ci-*ves*) in the repetition.[6]

In the third prosa, *Christi munere* (Ex. 4), the prosulator goes twice through the entire melisma, using characteristic assonance and syllable grouping. Here again, the resulting prosa is divided into sections using the sign ℣; but the division does not correspond to the melodic repetition, even though the assonance and the sense of the words make the latter division a more logical one than what the manuscript offers.

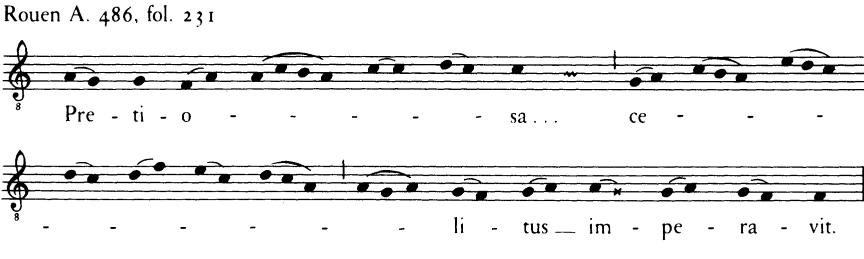
Rex regum gloriose for Responsory 7 (Ex. 5), is produced, like *Eterna visione* (Ex. 3), by reduplication of part but not all of the melisma. Thus an *AAB* form is generated from an *AB* melisma. The resulting prosa is divided

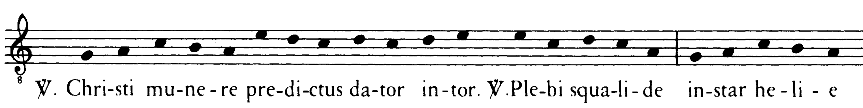
[5] See Thomas Forrest Kelly, "Melodic Elaboration in Responsory Melismas," this JOURNAL, XXVII (1974), 461–74.
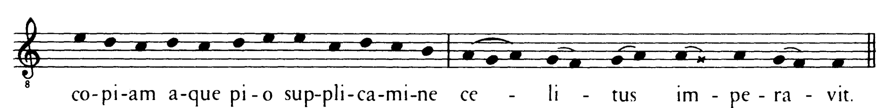
[6] Vertical strokes, which do not appear in the manuscript, have been added to the transcriptions to facilitate melodic comparison.

Example 4

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231

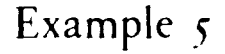






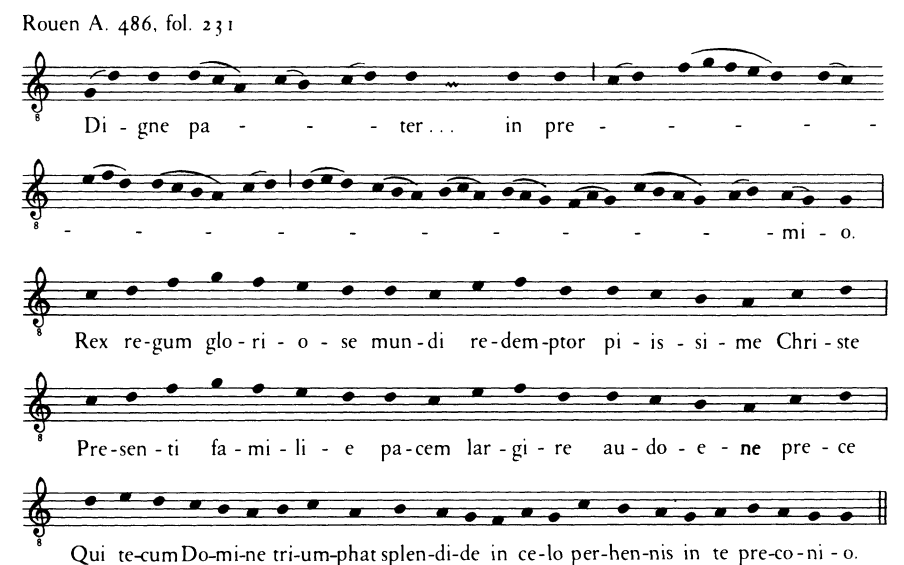
into sections with the points of division occurring at the ends of the repetitions. Much assonance is used, but not necessarily at the same points in corresponding repetitions; neumes are clearly reflected in the text.

The sixth prosa, *Virtutum gratia* (Ex. 6), is produced by dividing the melisma in half and repeating both parts. Division into phrases is according to the melodic repetition. The notes of the prosa correspond to those of the melisma as it appears earlier in the manuscript, but this prosa does not match



Example 5

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231



Example 6

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231

San - - - - ctus . . . ra - di - a ———

——— splen - do - - - - re.

℣. Vir - tu-tum gra - ti - a re - di - mi-tus in - cli - ta. ℣. Chri-sti lu - cer - na splen-di - da

au - do - e - nus per a - stra Sa - cre cru - cis scig - ma - ta a - spec - tat

Ca - stra de - si-gnan-ti - a ful - gi - da splen - do - - - re.

the melisma as closely as the other prosas in the group match their parent melismas. The extra notes for the words *Christi* and the missing torculus before the word *splendore* are inaccuracies that may demonstrate that the maker of the prosa used as his model a melisma slightly different from that which appears in this manuscript. Or he may simply have taken liberties with his model.

Celestis turba terrarum (Ex. 7), the next prosa in the group, is formed by a threefold division and repetition of the melisma. Here, as in *Christi munere* (Ex. 4), the division into phrases is not what one would expect from the melodic structure.

The last prosa of the group, *O patris genite* (Ex. 8), apparently introduces a new procedure: the insertion of new melodic material not directly derived from the melisma or its repetition. The first part of the melisma is reduplicated and prosulated; then another versicle pair is added, which begins with the same notes as the continuation of the melisma but goes on with new material, ending in a musical rhyme with the first phrase. The prosa then concludes with the remainder of the original melisma.[7]

[7] The prosa is transposed with respect to the original Responsory, ending on *a* instead of *d*, although the original *d* of the Responsory is given in the cue that accompanies the prosa. It is not clear whether the performance of the entire Responsory is intended to begin untransposed and end on *a*, or whether the prosa should be fitted to the pitch of the Responsory, be it *a* or *d*. If this were a simple prosula, we might be tempted to propose simultaneous performance in parallel fifths.

Example 7

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231

Di - le - ctus . . . as - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - si - gna - - vit.

Ce-le-stis tur-ba ter-ra-rum per cli-ma-ta dum tan-git al-ta Do-mi-ni po-ten-ti-a

Per va-sam ho-stis i - ra sal-va-bit cle-men-ci-a li-be-ret a pe-ste di-ra

sic

Quos Chri-sto ver-bi do-ctri-na As - si - gna - - vit.

This addition of musical material is the important step toward independence by which a great many more extended prosas are created. It is easy to see how this thin end of the wedge allows for the introduction of progressively larger amounts of new material. We shall presently examine the nature and control of such material from another repertoire, but first we should consider the stylistic qualities of the St. Ouen prosas as a group.

Although they are derived in different ways from their parent melismas, all these prosas (except the last) can be described together as a modest expansion of the art of the prosula; that is, they are created by adding syllables of text to the notes of preexistent melismas. This technique is broadened to the extent that several of the melismas are expanded and reshaped by some kind of reduplication to provide a melody of suitable length for the prosulator's purpose. Musically, these prosas stay very close to home, following the melisma in their assonance and grouping of syllables. Although such a relationship is not unusual in prosulas,[8] a very close correspondence might suggest that the neumatic grouping of the melismas is an arrangement expressly made to fit the text. If a music scribe were writing a melisma while thinking of its prosula, he might well group the notes according to the words he already knew.

[8] For a general discussion, see Bruno Stäblein, "Die Unterlegung von Texten unter Melismen: Tropus, Sequenz, und andere Formen," *Report of the Eighth Congress [of the International Musicological Society], New York, 1961*, Vol. I (Kassel, 1961), pp. 12–29.

Example 8

Rouen A. 486, fol. 231–231v

Pa - stor bo - - - - - - nus...

e - - - - - - - - - ro - ga - re

O pa-tris ge-ni-te per-hen-nis rex glo-ri-e Chri-ste Qui tu-os splen-di-de co-ro-nas

in e-ter-na lu-ce au-do-e-ni pre-ce da no-bis ve-re di-vi-ci-as vi-te

Qui vi-vens in car-ne cu-ra-vit ju-ste cen-sum ec-cle-si-e e - ro - ga-re.

For the St. Ouen prosas, however, it seems fairly clear that some form of the melisma existed before the prosa. In the first place, some of these are not simple prosulations but are the result of reduplications of the melismas—and these, too, reflect the neume groups in their texts. It is difficult to see why a prosulator should burden himself with parallel groupings in versicle pairs where he is not following a melodic original which suggests this grouping. Furthermore, there is no evidence in the manuscript that the melismas are anything other than an integral part of their Responsories, while the prosas clearly play a subservient role. They have no clear liturgical function and cannot be performed without their Responsories. Thus, to argue that the melismas are the abbreviated melodies of these prosas with their texts removed is to go against strong evidence. We must conclude instead that the verbal and musical structures of the prosas are derived from close observation of the melismas.

Despite this evidence of melodic derivation, however, we have noted certain divergences between the notes of the Responsory melismas and their putatively derivative prosas. Though such differences are often to be noted in prosulas, the search for other possible melodic sources for these prosas is rewarding. At least three other manuscripts preserve musical Offices for St. Ouen, though none preserves any of these prosas. Two books are of secular use, presenting only the first nine Responsories of the monastic Office (Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève, MS 2732, a fifteenth-century Rouen breviary; and

Rouen Y. 49, a fifteenth-century life and Office of St. Ouen). Although these books preserve readings that are close to the A. 486 prosas in some details, they introduce discrepancies in other places and are not, therefore, demonstrably closer to the melodies of the A. 486 prosas than are the melismas of A. 486 itself.

A third source is more interesting. Rouen MS A. 531, a thirteenth-century St. Ouen breviary, has the full monastic Office (fols. 281–284) as seen in A. 486. Unfortunately, the manuscript is badly mutilated at this point, so the melisma for Responsory 5 is incomplete, and Responsories 6–9 are wanting altogether. But those that remain show an interesting relationship to the prosas of A. 486 in three melismas.

(1) In *Rome autem* (Ex. 3), the melisma in A. 486 has its *AB* structure reduplicated to generate the *AAB* structure of the prosa. A. 531 includes this *AAB* repetition within the melisma, but the reduplicated portion has been erased, and the melisma now corresponds to that in A. 486.

(2) The two secular sources of *Pretiosa viri* (Ex. 4) have notes which correspond to the prosa's "plebi squalide" (as A. 486 does not). A. 531 has an erasure at this point and is written over so that it now corresponds to the melody of A. 486. Although the relevant page of A. 531 is torn, leaving the melisma incomplete, the melisma breaks off in the middle of a repetition which would, if continued, match the reduplication of the prosa in A. 486. But this repetition, too, is tampered with by erasure.

(3) The melisma for *Pastor bonus* (Ex. 8) in A. 531 provides all the notes found in the A. 486 prosa, but without reduplication. Thus the prosa *O patris genite* of A. 486 is an *AABB* reduplication of the melisma found in A. 531 in the form *AB*. The pitches, however, do not always correspond exactly, and the melisma of A. 531 has been tampered with by a later hand. The prosa of A. 486, therefore, may not actually result from the addition of new musical material but from the reworking of the parent Responsory melisma—albeit a different version of the melisma from that found earlier in the same manuscript.

The evidence available from A. 531 leads us to suggest the following stages of development for the A. 486 prosas. In the thirteenth century or earlier, the prosas of A. 486 were developed from a set of Responsory melismas by a process of reduplication. These melismas were subsequently altered and sometimes simplified; alterations can be seen in progress in A. 531 and are codified without comment in A. 486. The prosas retained the shape of the earlier melismas and were preserved separately in the fourteenth-century MS A. 486 along with the revised melismas, with which they no longer corresponded exactly.

Despite the stylistic consistency of this group of prosas, and despite their probable contemporaneity, a process of increasing complexity can be pre-

sumed, moving from simple prosulation to the prosulation of an extended version of the melisma. It is difficult to imagine these techniques proceeding in the reverse order.

We can continue to trace the evolution of independent prosas by examining another consistent local tradition. A twelfth-century antiphoner from St.-Maur-des-Fossées (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds latin 12044) contains a large repertoire of Responsory prosas; the group is unusually rich in unica, suggesting a consistent local tradition. The few prosas in the manuscript that are known elsewhere are inevitably the best known and most widely disseminated of such pieces. The remaining eighteen prosas in the volume are all unica, with the exception of five which are added in a later hand to another antiphoner of St. Maur from the twelfth century (Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 12584). Of these five, three are found in two other Offices of St. Maur. Table 2, below, lists the prosa repertoire of this manuscript, separating the local repertory from those pieces widely known elsewhere.

Of the eighteen "local" prosas, five—marked with asterisks in Table 2—are prosulas, employing the already familiar techniques of assonance and word grouping; one is an imitation of the well-known *Inviolata integra.* The remaining eleven prosas have a paired-versicle structure with considerable independence from the Responsory melisma, showing development beyond the style of the St. Ouen prosas.

The three prosas for the Office of St. Arnulf will serve to illustrate the style of these pieces. The first, *Solus qui permanes* (Ex. 9), is made of three versicle

Example 9

Lat. 12044, fol. 161v
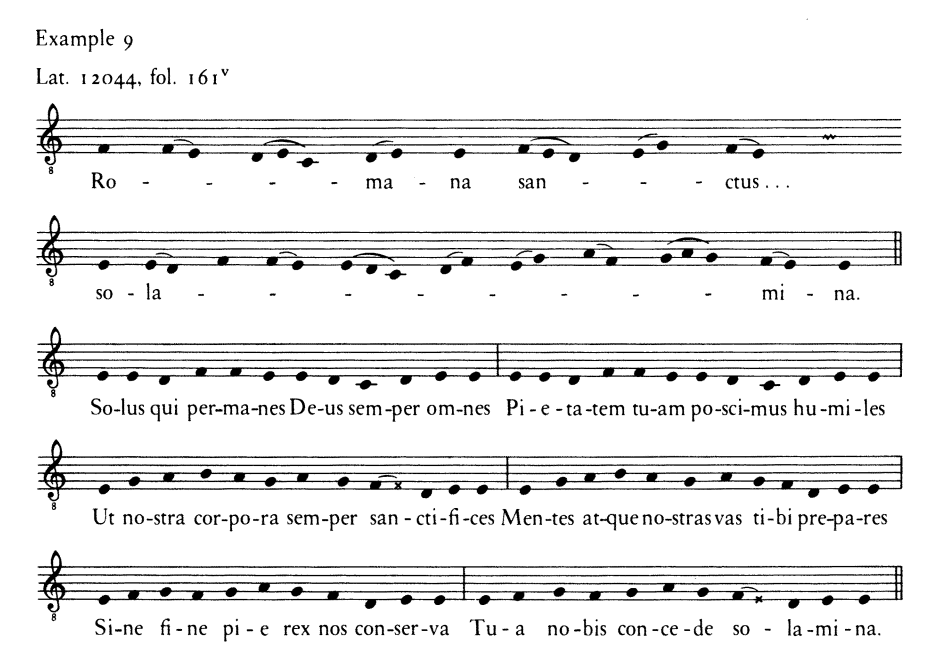


TABLE 2
THE PROSAS OF PARIS, BIBL. NAT., F. LAT. 12044

Folio	Incipit	Responsory	Feast
	I. The General Repertoire		
9	*Et honore virginali*	*Confirmatum est*	Nativity
	Other appearances: London, Brit. Lib., Eg. MS 2615, fols. 45, 73–74^v (pr. Wulf Arlt, *Ein Festoffizium des Mittelalters aus Beauvais* [Cologne, 1970], *Editionsband*, pp. 10–11); Madrid, Bibl. nac., MS 288, fols. 160^v–161; Paris, Ars., MS 279, fols. 107^v–108; Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 904, fol. 26–26^v (facsm. ed. H. Loriquet *et al.*, *Le Graduel de l'église cathédrale de Rouen* [Rouen, 1907]; f. lat. 12584, fol. 210; f. lat. 16903, fols. 41^v–42; Sens, Bibl. mun., MS 46, fol. 25 (pr. Henri Villetard, *Office de Pierre de Corbeil* [Paris, 1907], p. 181—see also p. 120).		
	See also: Henri Villetard, "Une vocalise superbe," *Revue Grégorienne*, IX (1924), 58–63; David G. Hughes, "Liturgical Polyphony at Beauvais," *Speculum*, XXXIV (1959), 194; Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die gregorianischen Melodien*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1911), p. 292.		
9^v–10	*Tanta nunc* *Familiam custodi* *Fac Deus munda* *Facinora nostra*	*Descendit de celis*	Nativity
	The bibliography on these pieces is too extensive to be cited completely here. See the relevant portions of Hofmann-Brandt and Kelly (fn. 1, above). A recent study dealing with these pieces and others is Ruth Steiner, "The Responsories and Prosa for St. Stephen's Day at Salisbury," *The Musical Quarterly*, XVI (1970), 162–82. See also Bruno Stäblein, "Tropus," *MGG*, Vol. XIII, cols. 797–826.		

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Folio	Incipit	Responsory	Feast
57	*Inviolata integra*	*Gaude Maria*	Purification
	Facsimiles: W. H. Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense* (London, 1901–26; repr. New York, 1966), IV, 402–3; Loriquet, *Le Graduel*, fol. 217–217v; *Paléographie musicale*, XII, 271–72; XVII (Chartres, Bibl. mun., MS 260, fol. 64v).		
	Modern editions: *The Liber usualis* (Tournai, 1961), pp. 1861–62; *Variae preces* (Solesmes, 1888), p. 26; Wagner, *Einführung*, 2d ed., Vol. II (Leipzig, 1912), p. 190.		
	See also: J. Pothier, "Inviolata," *Revue du chant Grégorien*, II (1893/94), 19–22; C. Blume, "Inviolata," *Die Kirchenmusik* (Paderborn), IX (1908), 41–48.		
159v	*Consors merito*	*O beati viri*	Benedict
	Printed: Wagner, *Einführung*, Vol. III (Leipzig, 1921), p. 159.		
	Other appearances: Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 1089, fols. 2v, 32v; f. lat. 1338, fol. 125. See also Ruth Steiner, "Some Melismas for Office Responsories," this JOURNAL, XXVI (1973), 113 f.		
224	*Sospitati dedit*	*Ex ejus tumba*	Nicholas
	Very widely disseminated, often imitated. Some modern prints: Frere, *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, IV, 359–60; *MGG*, Vol. XIV, Tafel 89; J. Pothier, "Ex ejus tumba," *Revue du chant Grégorien*, IX (1900/01), 49–52; Hofmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen*, I, 127 (polyphonic).		
	II. The Local Repertoire		

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Folio	Incipit	Responsory	Feast
34^{v}	*Veloci aminiculo*	*Benedictione postulata*	Maur
	Chartres, Bibl. mun., MS 89, fol. 183 (facsm. ed. *Paléographie musicale*, XVII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 5344, fol. 55^{v}; f. lat. 12584, fol. 245.		
41	*Orta de celis*	*Sanctus Dominus Maurus*	Maur
	Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 5344, fol. 56; f. lat. 12584, fol. 245^{v}: a derivative prosa in f. fr. 5717, fol. 121.		
41^{v}–42	*Eximie Christi*	*Egregius confessor*	Maur
	Chartres, Bibl. mun., MS 89, fol. 184^{v} (facsm. ed. *Paléographie musicale,* XVII); Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 5344, fol. 56; f. lat. 12584, fol. 245^{v}.		
57	*Inviolata nos tua*	*Gaude Maria*	Purification
	An imitation of *Inviolata integra*		
61	*Facere quo duce*	*Cornelius centurio*	St. Peter's Chair
	Part of the prosa's melody is borrowed—see below, p. 387; see also Steiner, "Some Melismas." pp. 120–26.		
124	**O precelsa deitas*	*O beata trinitas*	Trinity

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Folio	Incipit	Responsory	Feast
145^{v}	*Prepara Iohannes*	*Inter natos mulierum*	St. John Baptist
	Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 12584, fol. 304^{v}; Steiner, "Some Melismas," p. 124, prints the prosa from f. lat. 12044.		
147	**Pastor bone*	*Post gloriosa prelia*	Babolenus
148	*Angelica condona*	*Sanctus Domini confessor*	Babolenus
161^{v}	*Solus qui permanes*	*Romana sancta*	Arnulf
	Text pr. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 209.		
162^{v}	*Benigne Deus*	*Conserva famulos*	Arnulf
	Text pr. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 310. Cf. prosa *Maxime Deus*, fol. 214; see below, p. 383.		
163	*Pro meritis*	*Beatus martyr Domini*	Arnulf
	Text pr. Wagner, *Einführung*, I, 310. Text and music pr. Stäblein, "Die Unterlegung," p. 19.		
202^{v}	*Perpetua mereamur*	*Concede nobis Domine*	All Saints
	Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 12584, fol. 385^{v}. Pr. Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington, 1958), pp. 436–37.		

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Folio	Incipit	Responsory	Feast
213	**Martyr Domini*	*Post petrum*	Clement
213	*Adjutor omnis*	*Vernans purpurea*	Clement
	Paris, Bibl. Nat., f. lat. 12584, fol. 385^{v}.		
214	*Maxime Deus*	*O felix pueri*	Clement
	Cf. prosa *Benigne Deus*, fol. 162; and see below, p. 383. See also Jacques Handschin, "L'organum a l'église," *Revue du chant Grégorien*, XLI (1937), 16, fn. 8.		
214^{v}	*Adeste Domine*	*Clementis Christi*	Clement
219^{v}	**Culpas nostras*	*Miles Christi gloriosi*	Eligius
224	**Ex eius tumba*	*Sospes nunc efficitur*	Nicholas

pairs. The first versicle is made of the initial notes of the melisma, reduplicated to form a pair and altered to end, like the respond, on *e*. The second pair begins with the next notes of the melisma but continues with additional material. The third pair is not related to the melisma; it presents the same cadence as the other phrases, and though it preserves the original text word *Solamina*, it does not preserve that word's original notes.

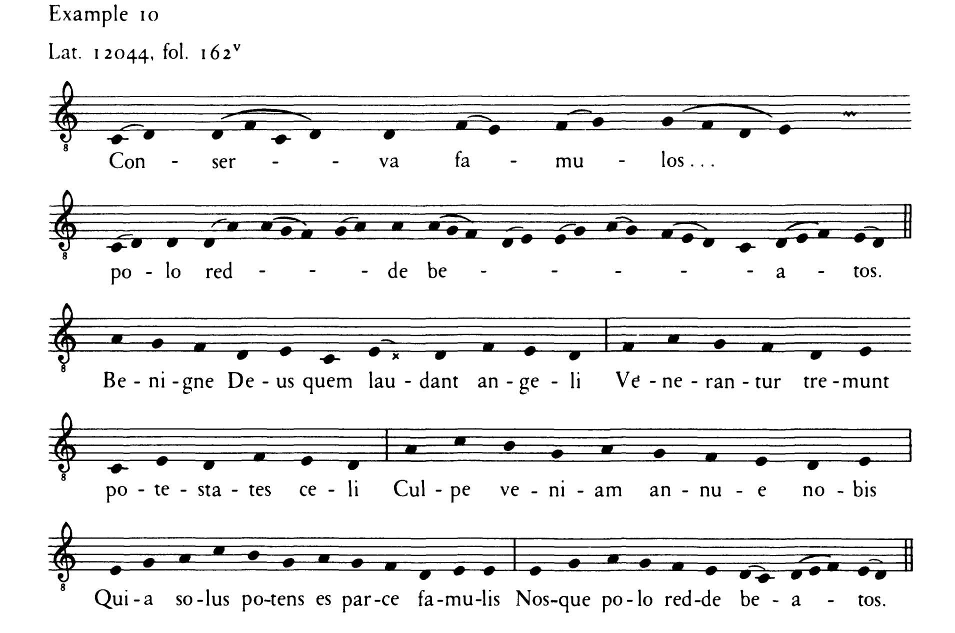
Benigne Deus (Ex. 10), the second prosa for St. Arnulf, preserves the whole melisma while adding new material. The first half of the first phrase, together with the third versicle, comprises the full melodic content of the melisma on *beatos*. Thus the opening notes of the melisma serve as nothing more than an impetus for the prosa, lending not even music enough for a whole versicle pair. Though the prosa is quite short, it manages to have more original than derived melodic material, yet it contains, at its beginning and end, the entire melody of the melisma.

Assonance is used at the ends of lines, but the vowel used is not that of the original text word. This same prosa is used in the manuscript as the second prosa for St. Clement. There the Responsory to which it is attached is *O felix pueri*, which has the same melody and the same verse as *Conserva famulos*; the text word for the final melisma is *magnos*, and the opening word of the prosa reflects this difference: the prosa begins *Maxime Deus quem laudant*, but it is otherwise identical with *Benigne Deus*. The assonance with *i*, however, fits neither prosa especially well.

The final prosa for St. Arnulf (Ex. 11) is longer than the others and

Example 10

Lat. 12044, fol. 162v



Example 11

Lat. 12044, fol. 163

Be - a - - - - - tus mar - - tyr . . .

1. 2,8

pro me - - - - - - - - - - ru - it.

1. Pro me - ri - tis o - pi - mis fu - gi - mus ad te Po - li di - ves

in - co - la mar - tyr ar - nul - fe 2. Ni - mis glo - ri - o - se

3. Te ve - ne - ra-mur cla - ra vo - ce Ad te cla-man-tes nos re - spi - ce

4. Pi - e pa - ter no - bis suc-cur - re Nos ab om - ni ma - lo e - ri - pe

5. Um-bo-ne san-cto fa-mu-los pro-te -ge A-trox ne ser-pens va - le - at le - de - re

6. Dul-cis al-tas pre-ces no-stras su-sci-pe Cle-men-ci-am tu-am no-bis o-sten-de

7. Ro-ga-mus te Chri-ste Hu-ius al - mi mar-ty-ris pre-ce Fac nos il-luc scan-de - re

Quo be - a-tus ar-nul-fus es - se 8. Te-cum-que vi - ve-re Pro me - ru - it.

includes much added material. The opening notes of the melisma are used, in reduplicated form, for the music of the first versicle pair. The continuation of the melisma provides the melodic material of the second versicle, which is unpaired, and this same music recurs twice more: as the opening of versicle 7 and as the unpaired last versicle. Except for this opening flourish in versicle 7,

the musical material between the two single versicles is musically unrelated to the Responsory melisma. Hence, a prosa in the form *AAB–CCDDEEFFGG–B* is created from a melisma in the form *AB*. One is tempted to surmise a reduplication *(AABB)* of the melisma, into which is inserted a group of five paired versicles—a sort of prosa within a prosula.[9] This is perfectly accurate for the musical form, but the sense of the prosa makes it clear that any such insertion happened before the addition of text. The unpaired second and eighth versicles, judging from their texts, do not form a matched pair which have been separated by the insertion of new material. The prosa cannot be separated, like the melisma, into original and added elements. The composer of the musical structure must have laid out the music before he (or someone else) set to work on the words.

The prosas unique to St. Maur are a rather close-knit repertoire. For one thing, we have seen that they are made by adding a number of paired versicles to musical material derived from the Responsory melisma. Further, the comparison of the added music from different prosas reveals that a good deal of music is common to the whole repertoire; short melodic contours recur in different prosas as movable cells, not occurring always in the same order.

Some of these melodic groups can be seen in Example 12, which consists of the melodies of four prosas from this manuscript with all but the opening and closing words omitted. Slurs have been provided to show word groupings that occur in both halves of a versicle since the prosas present only individual notes.[10] The sign *d* is used to indicate that a phrase is immediately repeated in the melody; the sign *x* indicates nonrepetition. I have labeled several melodic configurations that are similar.
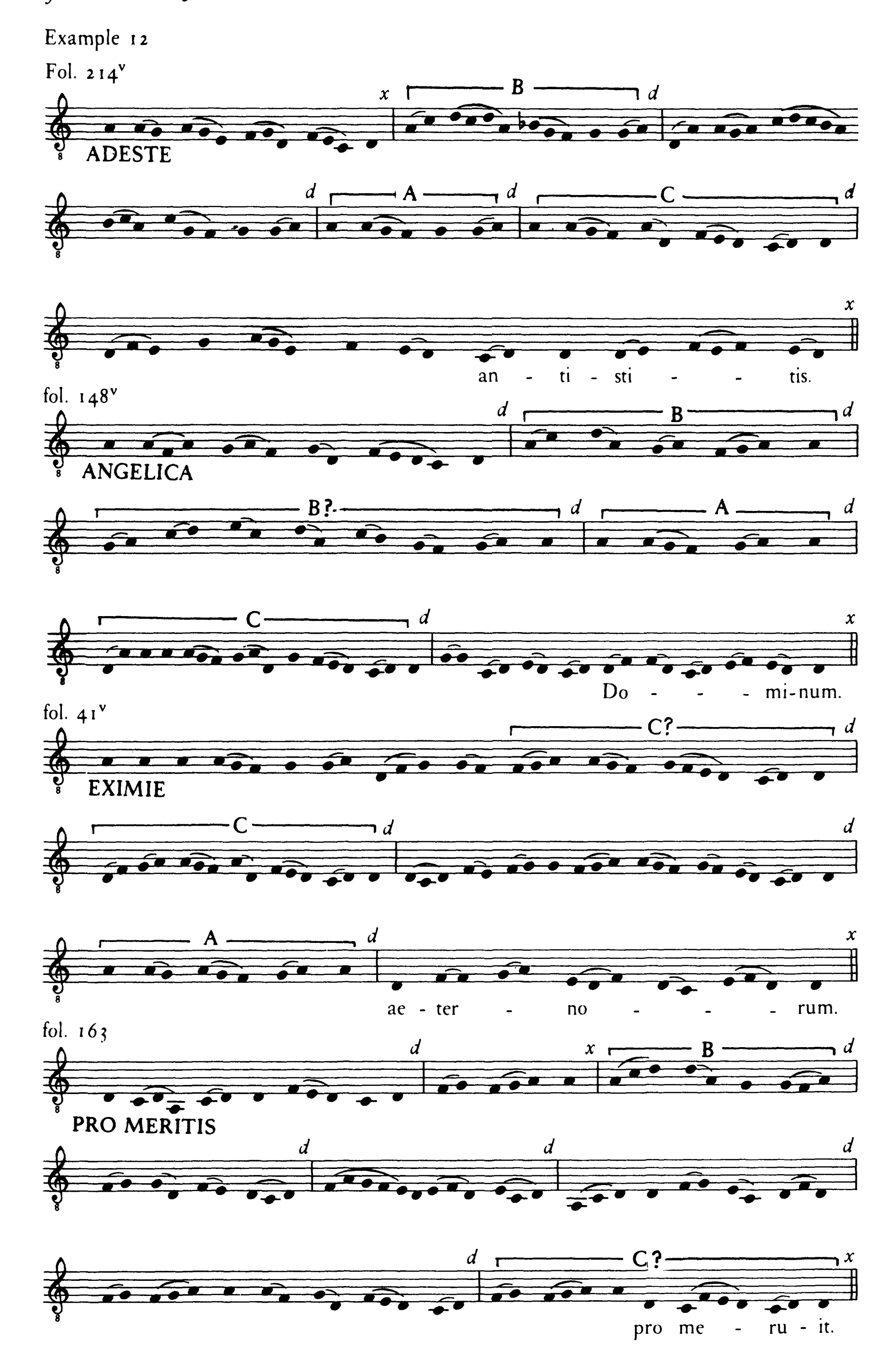
The most striking of these groups is the little cell *A*, which is characterized both by its melody and its brevity. The other cells may seem more or less fluid to the scrutiny of those requiring note-for-note correspondence, but they are reasonable if viewed as different expressions of a general melodic idea rather than as exact formulas in the manner of a Gregorian Gradual or Tract. They give evidence of a close relationship among all these prosas, as almost all of the prosas from St. Maur contain some melodic material not unique to themselves.[11]

One of the prosas in this manuscript, which has a melodic structure like the others discussed so far—a lengthy addition of melodic material between melisma-derived sections—is unusual in that its added material is a well-known melisma from outside the local repertoire (Ex. 13). The portion of the

[9] See Stäblein, "Unterlegung," p. 19.
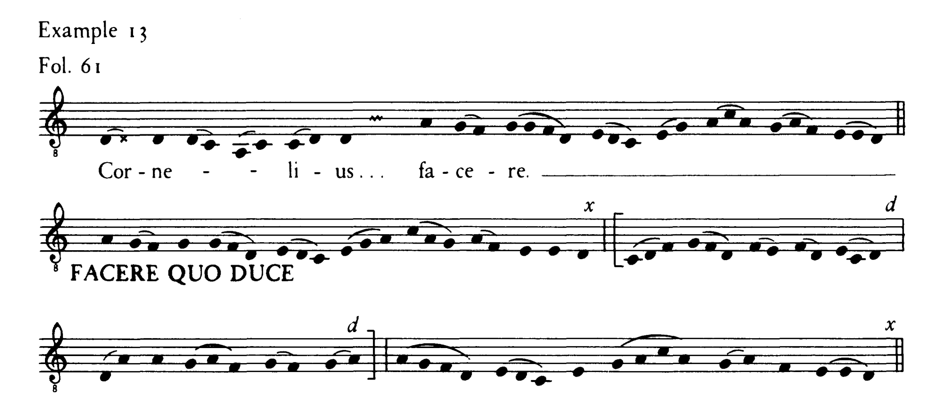
[10] It is easy to see how a melisma might come to reflect a known text even when the text is absent!

[11] A similar use, in Responsory melismas, of such melodic cells is discussed in Kelly, "Melodic Elaboration," pp. 472–74.


Example 12
Fol. 214ᵛ
x
B
d
ADESTE
d
A
d
C
d
x
an - ti - sti - - tis.
fol. 148ᵛ
d
B
d
ANGELICA
B?
d
A
d
C
d
x
Do - - - mi-num.
fol. 41ᵛ
C?
d
EXIMIE
C
d
d
A
d
x
ae - ter - no - - - rum.
fol. 163
d
x
B
d
PRO MERITIS
d
d
d
d
C?
x
pro me - ru - it.

Example 13

Fol. 61



melody not derived from the Responsory melisma is indicated by brackets. These are the opening phrases of one of the most widely disseminated and frequently used melismas for Responsory elaboration.[12] It is not surprising that a composer borrowing a melody for a first-mode Responsory prosa should choose this one. What is surprising is that any melisma was borrowed at all, considering that all the other prosas from St. Maur seem to employ a local fund of common melodic material.

The melody was borrowed before the prosa was created. It is typical of all the prosas of this group in that the sandwiching of external material between sections of melisma-derived music is accomplished before the addition of words. In this case, it can be determined that the borrowed melody brings along no hint of its many prosulations found elsewhere; the text of the prosa in this manuscript, like that of *Pro meritis* (Ex. 11), runs smoothly from the melisma-derived matter to the added material and back again.

Some of these St. Maur prosas have even less connection with the melodic material of the Responsory than do the examples considered thus far. The three prosas for the feast of St. Maur are each made of paired versicles none of which is derived from the music of the Responsory melisma. Each adds a brief unrepeated final tag including the last word or two of the Responsory's text. The melodies of these prosas are otherwise entirely similar to those already examined and are clearly related to other members of the group. The melodies of two such prosas, *Eximie Christe* (for St. Maur) and *Angelica condona* (for St. Babolenus), are provided in Example 12 as typical illustrations of the melody sharing among prosas in this manuscript.

The prosas considered above form together a picture of increasing musical independence of the prosa from the parent Responsory. The final stage of this development, not seen in the examples above, is the sort of prosa that is

[12] For more information on this melisma, see Steiner, "Some Melismas," pp. 120–26.

musically independent of the Responsory and whose text is in metrical rhyming verse, in the manner of the Sequences of Adam of St. Victor. By far, the most widespread of such prosas is *Sospitati dedit egros* for the Responsory *Ex eius tumba* of St. Nicholas, which was widely sung, imitated, and paraphrased.[13] Such prosas characteristically make no reference to the music of the Responsory, sometimes not even returning to the final words of the respond. Prosas of this kind, independently conceived, might almost be separable pieces, entirely effective alone and independent of Responsory performance. But this line of development, so important for the growth of the Sequence, seems to have been little pursued.[14] And these pieces take us beyond our study of developing new music from old.

The examples cited in this study have been arranged to illustrate stages of the prosa's increasing independence from the music of the Responsory. It cannot be conclusively demonstrated, however, that these stages represent a chronological development, although such a process seems in some ways likely. We do know that the earliest Responsory prosas (those for *Descendit de celis*) were prosulations of existing melismas[15] and that metrical rhyming poetry came at a rather later stage of the troping era. But it is not possible, and is probably inappropriate, to insist on the strict chronology of the intervening stages: too much depends on local custom and preference, and on individual creative instincts, as can be seen in our two groups of prosas.

The prosas of St. Ouen appear in a fourteenth-century manuscript, although, as we have seen, the prosas probably date from the thirteenth century; yet they preserve an "earlier" stage of development than the St. Maur prosas, which are found in a manuscript of the twelfth century. Why is their style so "backward"? If we consider the prosa repertoire of the St. Ouen manuscript as a whole, we find that the techniques of the prosas for St. Ouen are unique to that feast. The manuscript contains, besides the well-known prosulas for *Descendit de celis*, only three other prosas. The first of these, *Jesu magne* (for ℟. *Dum transisset*, fol. 101ᵛ) is metrical and rhyming and serves

[13] For further information on this prosa, consult Table 2, above.

[14] Tropes were, however, occasionally separated from their Responsories. The nuns of Barking Abbey in the fourteenth century sang *Sospitati dedit egros* in the refectory on St. Nicholas's Day (J. B. L. Tolhurst, ed., *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 65–66, 2 vols. [London, 1925–26], II, 167). *Inviolata* is frequently found in other roles: it serves for the Rogation procession in Sens, Bibl. mun., MS 21, fol. 2; as a Sequence at Mass for the Octave of the Purification in the fourteenth-century manuscript, Paris, Arsenal 595, fol. 292; as a Sequence for Benediction in *The Liber usualis* (Tournai, 1961), pp. 1861–62.

[15] See the references in Table 2 for *Tanta nunc, Familiam*, etc.

as an addition to a *Quem queritis* Easter drama.[16] This prosa is probably a late addition to the repertoire, as it appears in no earlier books. The other two prosas (*Christi nostra redemptio,* for ℟. *Beatus Audoenus,* fol. 229; *Christi Nigasius hostia* for ℟. *Egregius athleta Christi,* fol. 254^{v}) are also, as it happens, the only prosas to appear in Rouen A. 531 (fols. 284 and 382^{v}), a manuscript that has been shown to be more nearly contemporaneous with the St. Ouen prosas than A. 486. Hence, these two prosas seem to be regular features of the St. Ouen liturgy.

In both these cases, additional music for the prosa is produced by adding a longer alternative melisma to the end of the respond after the verse and texting this longer melisma as a prosula after the Gloria. From the point of view of prosa technique, this is a simpler procedure than that of the St. Ouen prosas, since it involves only prosulation without reworking the melisma. Thus, A. 486 contains no other evidence of prosulation extended by reduplication. Lacking evidence that their technique was otherwise known locally, we must see the prosas of the St. Ouen Office as being a local or personal inspiration.

It should be noted, however, that if these two longer alternative melismas were not present in A. 486 or A. 531, we might confuse their prosulas with St. Maur-style prosas—long texted additions with little reference to the original Responsory melisma. We should then be tempted to argue that the St. Ouen and the St. Maur prosa types are not successive but simultaneous developments from the simpler technique of the prosula: two different ways—additive and repetitive—of extending a melisma. This is unlikely, though, for two reasons: first, the melismas from which these prosas derive, like most such added melismas, are not made up expressly for the prosa, but belong to a large family of decorative melismas which wander from Responsory to Responsory.[17] Second, the St. Maur prosas do, in fact, often preserve (as these two prosas do not) a significant portion of the original Responsory melisma, often extending it, in the style of the St. Ouen prosas, by reduplication.

At St. Maur, the situation is similar to that at St. Ouen: the local prosas have their own technique. But there is a difference in that the full range of possibilities is available for comparison. In addition to prosulas for *Descendit de celis,* the manuscript contains an added alternative melisma (℟. *O felix sacrorum,* fol. 165^{v}) and the metrical *Sospitati dedit egros* as well as the equally popular *Inviolata.* If the local prosas keep to a single style, it is not out of dull ignorance of other possibilities; the local technique is clearly the

[16] A facsimile of the prosa is printed in Diane Dolan, *Le Drame liturgique de Pâques en Normandie et an Angleterre au moyen âge* (Paris, 1975), facing p. 64. She discusses this drama on pp. 75–100.

[17] See Steiner, "Some melismas."

preferred one, and only the unchallenged favorites from outside are allowed to invade the repertoire.

Although we have been able to trace a line of development in the techniques of Responsory prosas, there is evidently an element of aesthetic preference in both these repertoires. Other possibilities are available but they are rejected. It is clear that no simple rejection of the old in favor of the new, or of the simple in favor of the more complex, operates among the creators of these pieces. The elegance of the prosula is not necessarily exceeded by the breadth of the more independent prosa. In these repertoires we are in the presence of creative intellects that consider possibilities, rejecting some, imitating others, and creating new forms which illustrate the aesthetic temperament of the age.

Wellesley College


Taylor & Francis
Taylor & Francis Group
http://taylorandfrancis.com

Index

(References to music examples are in **bold**)